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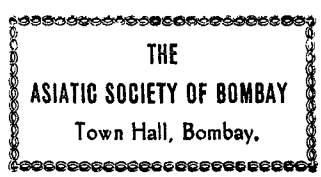

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BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.

VOLUME THE SIXTH;

PART I.

A Character of this Work, by GILBERT WEST, Esq; at the Concluſion of his Poem on EDUCATION, in Note on the Words *Great Lives explain.*

'I CANNOT forbear taking occaſion from theſe words, to make my 'acknowledgments to the writers of *Biographia Britannica*, for the 'pleaſure and profit I have lately received from peruſing the two firſt 'volumes of that uſeful and entertaining work, of which the *monumental* '*ſtructure* abovementioned, decorated with the ſtatues of *great* and *good* 'men, is no improper emblem. This work, which contains *The Lives of* '*the moſt eminent Perſons who have flouriſhed in Great Britain and Ireland,* '*from the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Time*, appears to me, as far as 'it has hitherto gone, to be executed with great *ſpirit, accuracy*, and '*judgment*; and deſerves, in my opinion, to be encouraged by all, who 'have at heart the honour of their country, and that of their particular 'families and friends; and who can any ways aſſiſt the ingenious and labo- 'rious authors, to render as perfect as poſſible, a deſign ſo apparently 'calculated to ſerve the Public, by ſetting in the trueſt and fulleſt light, 'the characters of perſons already generally, though perhaps too indiſtinctly, 'known; and reviving from obſcurity and oblivion, examples of private 'and retired merit; which, though leſs glaring and oſtentatious than the 'former, are not, however, of a leſs extenſive, or leſs beneficial influence, 'to thoſe, who may happen not to have ſeen this repoſitory of Britiſh 'glory. I cannot give a better idea of it, than in the following lines of '*Virgil:*

'Hic manus *ob Patriam pugnando* vulnera paſſi;
'Quique *Sacerdotes* caſti, dum vita manebat;
'Quique pii *Vates & Phœbo digna* locuti;
'*Inventas* aut qui *vitam excoluere per artes*;
'Quique *ſui memores* alios fecere *merendo.*'

VIRG. Æn. Lib. vi. ver. 660.

'*Here* Patriots *live*, *who for their* Country's good,
'*In* fighting fields, *were prodigal of blood*;
'Prieſts *of* unblemiſh'd lives *here make abode*,
'*And* Poets *worthy their aſpiring God:*
'*And* ſearching Wits *of more* mechanic parts,
'*Who grac'd their age with* new invented arts;
'*Thoſe who to* worth *their* bounty *did extend*,
'*And thoſe who knew that* bounty *to* commend.'

DRYDEN's Tranſl.

A

OR, THE

Literary Society OF THE of Bombay

Moſt eminent PERSONS

Who have flouriſhed in

AND

From the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Times;

Collected from the beſt Authorities, both Printed and Manuſcript,

And digeſted in the Manner of

Mr *BAYLE*'s HISTORICAL and CRITICAL

VOLUME THE SIXTH; PART I.

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Printed for J. WALTHOE, T. OSBORNE, H. WHITRIDGE, C. HITCH and L. HAWES, R. MANBY, J. and R. TONSON, H. WOODFALL, J. RIVINGTON, C. BATHURST, L. DAVIS and C. REYMERS, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON, G. KEITH, J. RICHARDSON, T. LONGMAN, B. LAW and Co. G. KEARSLEY, and J. HINXMAN.

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CORRIGENDA.

In page 3604, dele rem. [*B*], the ſons of Baronets not being allowed to wear a nobleman's gown——In p. 3665, rem. [*PP*], col. (2), l. 17, inſtead of the word Kent read Stanford in Berkſhire——In p. 3906, line 6 of the text, for Sir Clement Knight read Sir Clement Wearg, Knt——Item in p. 3907, rem. [*E*], col. (2), l. 16, inſtead of the words every line written by Mr Pope was verified, read every line written by Mr Pope upon Lord Bathurſt was verified.

THE LIVES OF THE Moſt eminent PERSONS Who have flouriſhed in *GREAT-BRITAIN*, and *IRELAND*, From the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Times.

S.

SCOTT [JOHN], an excellent rational Divine, and one of our beſt and moſt pious Engliſh Writers, in the XVIIth century, was the ſon of Thomas Scott, a grazier, and born at Chipenham in Wiltſhire (*a*), in the year 1638 [*A*]. Not being at firſt deſigned for a ſcholar, he ſerved about three years in London as an apprentice; but it being againſt his inclination, which was rather bent upon piety and learning, he left his trade and went to Oxford, where he was admitted a Commoner of New-Inn, in 1657, under the tuition of Mr Chriſtopher Lee. Having made a great proficiency in Logic and Philoſophy, he quitted the univerſity without a degree, and entering into Holy Orders, reſorted to London, where he became an eminent and admired Preacher. His firſt Preferments were the Chaplainſhip of St Thomas Southwark (*b*), and the perpetual Curacy of Trinity in the Minories (*c*). But, on the firſt of February 1677, he was inſtituted to the Rectory of St Peter's-Poor in Broadſtreet, to which he was preſented by the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's (*d*). He was alſo Lecturer of one of the churches in Lombard-ſtreet (*e*). In 1681, he publiſhed the Firſt Part of his moſt excellent work, intituled The Chriſtian Life [*B*]; and dedicated it to Biſhop Compton: by whom

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 921.

(*b*) Wood, ibid.

(*c*) Newcourt Repertor. Vol. I. p. 920.

(*d*) Newcourt, Vol. I. p. 529.

(*e*) Wood Ath. as above.

[*A*] *In the year* 1638.] Ant. Wood ſays, that in 1657, when he came to Oxford, he was about *nineteen* years age (1). And conſequently he was born in the year 1638, or perhaps in the beginning of the year 1639.

(1) Ath. ut ſupra.

[*B*] *In* 1681, *he publiſhed the Firſt Part of his moſt excellent work, intituled* The Chriſtian Life.] The whole title is, 'The Chriſtian Life, Part I. from its 'beginning to its conſummation in Glory; Together 'with the ſeveral Means and Inſtruments of Chriſtia-'nity conducing thereunto; With Directions for pri-'vate Devotion, and Forms of Prayer, fitted to the 'ſeveral States of Chriſtians.' London, 8vo. In this very ſenſible and rational Diſcourſe, he ſhews, 1. That the peculiar and ultimate End of the Chriſtian Life, is *Heaven*. 2. That the way of obtaining heavenly Happineſs, is by uſing the *Means* conducing thereunto: of which means there are two ſorts, namely, The Practice of the *heavenly Vertues*, in the perfection whereof conſiſts the ſtate of Heaven; and the other the Practice of certain *Inſtrumental Duties*. The former being the *proximate* Means, and the latter the more *remote* Means. 3. The *Heavenly* Part of the Chriſtian Life, or the *Proximate Means*, he divides into *Humane*, *Divine*, and *Social Virtues*. The *Humane Virtues*, are Prudence, Moderation, Fortitude, Temperance, Humility: The *Divine* Virtues, are, Contemplation of God's nature, Adoration of his Perfections, Love, Imitation, Reſignation, Truſt and Dependance: And the *Social* Virtues, Charity, Juſtice, Peaceableneſs, Modeſty, and Courteſie. 4. The *Inſtrumental Duties* he ſubdivides into *Initial*, *Progreſſive*, and *Perfective*. The *Initial*, are, Faith, Conſideration, a deep and thorough Conviction of our need of a Mediator, ſorrow ſhame and remorſe for our paſt Iniquities, earneſt Prayer for divine Aſſiſtance, and a ſerious and ſolemn Reſolution of Amendment, &c.—The reſt we ſhall not mention, as the book is very common, and indeed ought to be more common, by being in every pious Chriſtian's hands.——In 1685, he publiſhed Part II. 'Wherein the Fundamental 'Principles of Chriſtian Duty are aſſigned, explained, 'and proved.' This is alſo dedicated to Biſhop Compton, and our author 'expreſſes the grateful ſenſe 'he had, and ſhould always retain, of the *perſonal* 'Obligations he had laid upon him (2).' In this volume, no ways inferior to the former, he treats of theſe important points. Of the nature of Moral Goodneſs, which

(2) Namely, in giving him the Prebend. Dedicat. p. 2.

Sermons publiſhed in 1693 [*G*]. Two Volumes of his Practical Diſcourſes upon ſeveral Subjects, were printed after his deceaſe [*H*] His Character, as drawn up by Dr Iſham at the end of his funeral Sermon [*I*], is given below. Biſhop Burnet ranks him, among thoſe worthy and eminent Clergymen in this nation, who 'deſerved a high character; 'and were indeed an honour, both to the Church, and to the Age in which they 'lived (*m*).

(*m*) Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1753. 8vo. Vol. II. p. 90, 91.

munion of the Church of England. Lond. 1685. 2 vols 4to. reprinted afterwards in one volume in folio, and 3 volumes 8vo.

[*G*] *And a Preface to Mr John March's Sermons publiſhed in* 1693.] This Mr March was Vicar of Newcaſtle upon Tyne, a learned Divine, and eminent Preacher. He dyed in 1692 (10).

(10) See Wood Ath. Vol. II. col. 896, 897.

[*H*] *Two volumes of his Practical Diſcourſes upon ſeveral ſubjects, were printed after his deceaſe.*] The firſt volume was publiſhed in 1697, 8vo. without the editor's name. But the dedication to the ſecond volume is ſubſcribed by Humphrey Zouch. This ſecond volume is particularly intituled, 'Practical Diſcourſes 'concerning Obedience, and the Love of God.' Lond. 1698. 8vo.

[*I*] *His Character, as drawn up by Dr Iſham at the end of his funeral Sermon, &c.*] 'I ſhall, ſays the 'Doctor (11), briefly conſider him in theſe two heads; 'his *Private Vertues*, and his *Services* for the *Church*. 'He had many Vertues of no ordinary growth: and 'we may call them to mind, by reviewing his much 'applauded work of the *Chriſtian Life*: Which he 'intended to continue, and perfect, if Providence had 'not put a ſtop to his uſeful deſign, firſt by a long 'Crazineſs, and then by taking him ſuddenly from us. 'Next to his Piety towards God, his *Social* Vertues '(as his own diſtinction is) were thoſe for which we 'ſhall be moſt ſenſible of our loſs in him; for his 'Kindneſs, and Humanity, and amicable Diſpoſition, 'and Affability, and pleaſantneſs of Temper, and 'Condeſcenſion, and Sincerity, and readineſs to do all 'good Offices for any that had recourſe to him. In 'helping others, and laying out for their advantage 'the Authority which he had gained; in giving coun'ſel, and directions; and in cementing Amity and 'Peace, he exhauſted very much of his time; and de'lighted as much in doing any friendly turn, as if the 'profit had redounded to himſelf. In works of Mer'cy he took a peculiar Pleaſure; and did as zealouſly 'promote them, as if he had relieved himſelf by ſup'porting the Poor: he was a common Father to the 'perſecuted and afflicted; and the *Brethren*, and '*Strangers*, whoſe bowels he hath refreſhed, *will 'bear witneſs of his Charity before the Church*. Friend'ſhip is one of the nobleſt ornaments of human na'ture; and if *God* himſelf is *Love*, 'tis the portraiture 'of God drawn upon the Soul: and for this Vertue he 'was exceedingly valued by thoſe that were intimate 'with him; he was not infected with any of thoſe 'Vices which blaſt it, with Pride or Moroſeneſs, or 'Envy, or Selfiſhneſs; his inclinations were to refreſh 'and cheriſh all men, and only to neglect himſelf: 'his doors, and his heart were open to all; and he 'hath left behind him the indelible commendation of 'a true, and ſtedfaſt, and faithful Friend.

(11) Funeral Sermon, p. 21, &c.

'Again, let us look upon him in his *Publick Cha'racter*; and if they *that be wiſe ſhall ſhine as the 'brightneſs of the firmament, and they that turn many 'to righteouſneſs as the ſtars for ever and ever*; we 'may be humbly confident of his having a propor'tionable reward. His Education happened to be in 'the times of Confuſion, and yet without any detri'ment to him: for he imbibed the principles of that 'renowned *Univerſity* in which he was bred, and not 'of the Men who then governed it; the ſame good 'Spirit, that called him thither from another Em'ployment, directing him what to doe; and when the 'Church was covered in Ruins, he diſcerned her beau'ty; and received holy orders from one of thoſe eject'ed *Confeſſors*, who during the deva ſtation did ſecret'ly preſerve the Apoſtolical diſcipline. His appear'ance in the world was early; and as God had fur'niſhed him with extraordinary talents, and had ena'bled him to improve them well, and to poſſeſs abili'ties equal to his high profeſſion; the ſame divine 'Goodneſs choſe a fitting theatre for them to be ma'nifeſted upon. His eloquent, and ſolid, and fervent 'Preaching, commanded the applauſes of men; and 'his conſtancy in it procured their love: and though 'his frequency in this work, and his diligence in his 'paſtoral charge, and his induſtry in reſolving Caſes of 'Conſcience, and his reſtleſs application to the labours 'of his calling, waſted him by degrees; yet he could 'not be ſatisfied without doing his duty: and that 'which ſent him the ſooner to God, will enlarge his 'recompence from him. He ran his courſe in times 'of great trial, and diſcrimination; and in all of them 'he approved his inflexible, and uncorrupted integri'ty; and adhered ſtedfaſtly to the Principles of our 'Church ——When Popery invaded our eſtabliſhed 'Religion, he was one of thoſe worthy Champions 'that defended it with an upright zeal; they held up 'their ſhields together, and united their counſels and 'endeavours as one man: they ſaw their Dioceſan '(whom they mightily honoured) ſingled out for the 'firſt ſacrifice, becauſe he would not ſurrender them; 'they ſaw the Roman Eagle advancing every day, and 'freſh attempts made to demoliſh our Church; and 'then it was that by preaching, and praying, and 'writing, they gained an univerſal eſteem, and ſup'ported our holy religion. In this Cauſe our Friend 'whom we are waiting upon did cordially concur 'with his Brethren; and was prepared to ſuffer as 'much as any of them. He underſtood our *Conſtitu'tion* entirely, and that made him the more hearty in 'aſſerting it upon all occaſions.——Therefore, 'he did upon all emergencies maintain an unſpotted 'fidelity to the Church; and acted conſonantly to 'what he had profeſſed concerning it, in theſe words: '*Whatſoever her fate may be, I am chained to her for'tunes by my Reaſon, and Conſcience; and ſhall ever 'eſteem it more eligible to be cruſhed in pieces by her 'fall, which God avert, than to flouriſh, and triumph 'on her ruins* (12). This reſolution he kept to the 'laſt, and ſtill with a peaceful, and charitable ſpirit; 'and without aiming at his own intereſt through that 'of the Church: for when offers were made to him of 'higher Stations in the Church, he declined them up'on the ſenſe of decays creeping upon him; and he 'rejoiced more in the advancement of other worthy 'men, than he would have done in his own. His in'herent Greatneſs wanted no outward acceſſions; and 'the Preferment he was ambitious of, was to go from 'his flock unto the Shepherd and Biſhop of our Souls.'

(12) Dedicat. of 1ſt Part of the Chriſtian Life.

C

SEDLEY [Sir CHARLES], Bart. one of the gay wits that enlivened the pleaſurable Court of King Charles the Second, was grandſon of Sir William Sedley, Bart. the munificent founder of the Sedleian lecture of Natural Philoſophy at Oxford (*a*), and ſon of Sir John Sedley of Aylesford in Kent, Bart. by his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Henry Savile, Knt. [*A*], the learned Warden of Merton-college in Oxford, and Provoſt

(*a*) See Sir H. Savile's article. The ſalary of the lecture is now reckoned to be 200 *l.* a year. Dr Edward Lapworth of Magdalen college, who accumulated his degrees in Phyſic in 1611, was the firſt Profeſſor. Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 189.

[*A*] *By his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heir to Sir Henry Savile.*] We have the following particular concerning this lady, from that indefatigable collector of private memoirs Mr Wood. Who tells us, he had been credibly informed, that Sir A. Weldon, author of *the Court and Character of* King James, did, at the beginning of the Long Parliament, communicate the manuſcript of it to the lady Elizabeth Sedley, (mother to Sir William and Sir Charles) accounted a very ſober and prudent woman; who, after peruſal, did lay the vileneſs of it ſo much to Sir Anthony's door, that he was reſolved never to make it public; which, perhaps, continues

Provoſt of Eton. Sir Charles was born probably at Aylesford, about the year 1639; and, after a proper foundation of Grammar learning, was ſent to Oxford, where he was admitted a Fellow-Commoner [*B*] of Wadham-college, in Lent term, 1655-6. But he left the univerſity without taking any degree, and retiring into his own country, lived privately there; out of humour, as it ſhould ſeem, with the governing powers, 'till the reſtoration of King Charles the Second: when he came to London (*b*), in order to join in the general jubilee, the gaiety of which was both agreeable to his years, and exactly ſuitable to his taſte and temper. He was ſoon introduced to the King, and it was not long before they who recommended him to his Majeſty, found they had thereby in ſome meaſure ſupplanted themſelves (*c*). Sir Charles had ſuch a diſtinguiſhingly polite eaſineſs in his manner and converſation, as ſet him higher in the royal notice and favour, than any of the courtiers his rivals, notwithſtanding they all aimed at the ſame turn, and ſome of them even excelled in it. In the view of heightening their pleaſures, our author, among the reſt, did not neglect to exert his talents in writing. The productions of his pen were ſome plays, and ſeveral delicately tender amorous poems (*d*); in which, the ſoftneſs of the verſes was ſo exquiſite, as to be called by the Duke of Buckingham *Sedley's Witchcraft*. There were no marks of genius or true poetry to be deſcried; the art wholly conſiſted in raiſing looſe thoughts and lewd deſires without giving any alarm, and ſo the poiſon worked gently and irreſiſtibly [*C*]. Our author, we may be ſure, did not eſcape the infection of his own art, or rather was firſt tainted himſelf, before he ſpread the infection to others. Diſſoluteneſs and debauchery were the ſcandalous characteriſtic of the times; and Sir Charles ambitioned to diſtinguiſh himſelf for being moſt extravagantly in the faſhion. He was confeſſedly the hero of the frolic with Lord Buckhurſt and Sir Thomas Ogle, in 1603, at a tavern in Bow-ſtreet Covent-garden (*e*), and as ſuch was fined heavier than his comrades, being ſentenced to pay five hundred pounds to his Majeſty; and to go completely through the part he had begun, he gave the Judge himſelf ſome highly indecent language (*f*); who thereupon aſking him, if he had ever read a book called the *Compleat Gentleman*, he replied, that he had read more books than his Lordſhip. However, ſome time before the day appointed for payment, Sir Charles deſired Mr Henry Killigrew *, and another gentleman, to apply to his Majeſty to have the fine remitted; which, 'tis ſaid, they promiſed, but inſtead of ſupplicating in their friend's behalf, they begged the money for themſelves, and did not abate him a ſing'le farthing. By ſuch ways as theſe, Sir Charles found his eſtate much hurt; yet did he not ſeek to repair it by aſking favours of his Majeſty, the uſual reſource of favourite courtiers. He is ſaid, indeed, to have received ſome marks of the King's bounty (*g*). But the temper of that Prince is well known; he knew not how to deny an importunate craver, though he hated his forwardneſs; neither could he remember, to any good purpoſe, the ſilent indigence of his friend, though he applauded the modeſty of it. After the laſtmentioned affair, Sir Charles took a more ſerious turn, applied himſelf to buſineſs, and was choſen a Recruiter † of the Long Parliament in this reign, to ſerve for New Romney in Kent. He ſat likewiſe in the three ſucceeding Parliaments of the ſame reign, and was a frequent ſpeaker in them. We find him alſo in the Houſe of Commons in the ſucceeding reign of King James the Second, whoſe attempts upon the conſtitution he vigorouſly withſtood. When the defeat of the rebels in the Weſt, under the Duke of Monmouth, made it neceſſary, in the language of the Court, to have a ſtanding army, it was oppoſed ſtrongly by the Country Party in the Parliament, among whom were the *Earl of Dorſet* and *Sir Charles Sedley*; one of which bore a great ſway in the Houſe of Peers, and the other in that of the Commons. Their intereſt was ſo great in both, eſpecially Sir Charles Sedley's, that the King, foreſeeing it would be a work of the greateſt difficulty, to gain their conſent for the payment of more troops than what were upon the eſtabliſhment of the laſt reign, contented himſelf with dropping the purſuit of it, by a diſſolution of the Parliament (*h*). In the ſame ſpirit, our patriot was very active in bringing on the Revolution. This was thought more extraordinary, as he had received favours from King James: But that Prince had taken a fancy to Sir Charles's daughter (tho' it ſeems ſhe was not very handſome ‖ [*D*]); and, in conſequence of

(*b*) Id. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1099.

(*c*) He has been compared in this reſpect to Cardinal Richlieu, but with this difference in his favour, that he was never ungrateful.

(*d*) See his Works, in two volumes 8vo.

(*e*) See the Article of Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorſet.

(*f*) Mr Wood, from whom we have the account of this frolic, tells us, Sir Charles's words were, that he thought he was the firſt man that ever payed for ſh—g. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1100.

* Almoner to the Duke of York, and author of *The Conſpiracy, a tragedy*, beſides ſeveral ſermons; father alſo of Mrs Anne Killigrew, and brother to Will. and Tho. Killigrew, all of them diſtinguiſhed wits and poets, and Court-favourites in theſe times. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1035, 1036, 1080, 1081, 1082; and Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. III.

(*g*) See the preface to the ſecond volume of his Works.

† That is, he was choſen to fill up a vacancy, which happened during the courſe of that Parliament, after it's firſt meeting in 1661.

(*h*) Memoirs of Charles Montague, late Earl of Halliſax, p. 7. edit. 1716, 8vo.

‖ King James was remarkable for his choice of miſtreſſes in that reſpect. General Hiſtory of England.

* W. Saunderſon, in the proem to his Reign of King James I. Lond. 1655, fol.

continues our Antiquary, is the reaſon why a certain writer ſhould ſay*, that with ſome regret of what he had maliciouſly written, he did intend it for the fire, and died repentant, *though ſince ſtolen to the preſs out of a lady's cloſet*. And if this be true, our exceptions may willingly fall upon the publiſher of the ſaid libel, who, by his additions, may abuſe us with a falſe ſtory; and therefore in ſome manner gives us occaſion to ſpare our cenſure on Sir Anthony, who was dead ſome time before the ſaid libel was publiſhed. The ſecond edition of it, printed at London, in 8vo. 1651, is dedicated to the ſaid noble lady, Elizabeth Sedley (1).

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 729.

[*B*] *He was admitted a Fellow-Commoner.*] Was he then only a younger ſon, and his elder brother, Sir William †, ſtill living? Otherwiſe, as the eldeſt ſon of a Baronet, he would have had a right to be admitted a Nobleman, *inferioris ordinis*, by Archbiſhop Laud's ſtatutes: but, indeed, thoſe ſtatutes were little regarded at this time.

† So he is called in the preceding remark.

[*C*] *The poiſon worked gently and irreſiſtibly.*] We have a moſt picturesque deſcription of it in the following lines, by Wilmot Earl of Rocheſter.

Sedley has that prevailing, gentle, art,
That can, with a reſiſtleſs charm, impart,
The looſeſt wiſhes to the chaſteſt heart;
Raiſe ſuch a conflict, kindle ſuch a fire,
Betwixt declining virtue and deſire,
That the poor vanquiſh'd maid diſſolves away,
In dreams all night, in ſighs and tears all day (2).

(2) Imitation of the 10th ſatire of the firſt book of Horace, among Rocheſter's Poems.

[*D*] *She was not very handſome.*] She is ſatiriſed by the Earl of Dorſet, that beſt natured man with the worſt natured muſe, in the following lines; which, bitter as they are, intimate, however, that ſhe had been once, at leaſt, miſtreſs of a good face.

To

of his intrigues with her, he created Miſs Sedley Counteſs of Dorcheſter [*E*]. This honour, ſo far from pleaſing, greatly ſhocked Sir Charles; however libertine as himſelf had been, yet he could not bear the thoughts of his daughter's diſhonour; and, with regard to this her exaltation, he only conſidered it as rendering her more conſpicuouſly infamous. He therefore conceived a hatred for King James, and readily joined to diſpoſſeſs him of the throne [*F*]. Sir Charles lived many years after the Revolution in full poſſeſſion of his wit and humour, and was an agreeable companion to his death; which ſeems not to have happened before he had arrived to a good old age, and perhaps not much before the year 1722 (*i*); when his Works were publiſhed, in two volumes, 8vo. with a preface to the ſecond volume, by Mr Ayloff, a relation of the author's, who ſpeaks with pleaſure of the happineſs he had enjoyed in Sir Charles's company, during the then long interval of peace. We ſhall give ſome account of his Works below [*G*]; which, however cenſured, it is certain the author was, in Charles the Second's time, the oracle of the poets; and it was by his judgment every performance was approved or condemned: which made the King jeſtingly tell him, that *Nature had given him a patent to be* Apollo's *Viceroy* [*H*]. He was alſo a good friend to his brother poets (*k*).

(*i*) However, the ſtory, that he lived to the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, and died at an age near ninety, in Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. III. ſuggeſts at leaſt a great inconſiſtency.

(*k*) Among others, he was particularly inſtrumental in bringing Charles Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax, into the notice of the world. That Earl's Memoirs, ubi ſupra.

To the Counteſs of Dorcheſter, miſtreſs to King James II.

Tell me, Dorinda, why ſo gay,
Why ſuch embroidery, fringe, and lace;
Can any dreſſes find a way,
To ſtop the approaches of decay,
And mend a ruin'd face.

Wilt thou ſtill ſparkle in the box,
Still ogle in the ring,
Can'ſt thou forget thy age and pox;
Can all that ſhines, in ſhells and rocks,
Make thee a fine young thing.

So have I ſeen, in larder dark,
Of veal a lucid loin,
Replete with many a brilliant ſpark,
As wiſe philoſophers remark,
At once both ſtink and ſhine (3).

(3) Collection of the Works of the Minor Poets, p. 199. Vol. I. edit. 1750.

[*E*] *She was created Counteſs of Dorcheſter.*] Biſhop Burnet, another dealer, like Wood, in ſecret hiſtory (4), introduces an account of this creation in the following ſtory. 'An accident happened, ſays he, at this time, 'that gave the Queen great offence, and put the King '[James] much out of countenance. The King continued to go ſtill to Mrs Sedley, and ſhe gained ſo 'much on him, that at laſt ſhe prevailed to be made 'Counteſs of Dorcheſter (5). As ſoon as the Queen 'heard of this, ſhe gave orders to bring all the prieſts 'that were admitted into a particular confidence, into 'her cloſet; and when ſhe had them all about her, 'ſhe ſent to deſire the King to come and ſpeak to her. 'When he came, he was ſurprized to ſee ſuch a company about her, but much more when they fell all on 'their knees before him, and the Queen break out 'into bitter mourning for this new honour, which 'they expected would be followed with the ſetting 'her up openly as miſtreſs. The Queen was then in 'an ill habit of body, and had an illneſs, that, as 'was thought, would end in a conſumption; and it 'was believed, that her illneſs was of ſuch a nature, 'that it gave a very melancholy preſage, that if ſhe 'ſhould live, ſhe could have no children; the prieſts 'aſſured the King, that ſuch a blemiſh in his life 'blaſted their deſigns, and the more it appeared, and 'the longer it was continued, the more ineffectual all 'their endeavours would prove. The King was much 'moved with this, and was out of countenance for 'what he had done; but to quiet them all, he pro'miſed them that he would ſee the lady no more, and 'pretended that he gave her this title in order to the 'breaking with her more decently; and when the 'Queen did not ſeem to believe this, he promiſed 'that he would ſend her to Ireland, which was done 'accordingly; but after a ſtay for ſome months, ſhe 'came over again, and the ill commerce was ſtill con'tinued (6). The prieſts, continues the Right Reve'rend Hiſtorian, no doubt were the more apprehenſive 'of this, becauſe ſhe was bold and lively, and was 'always treating them, and their proceedings, with 'great contempt.' After King James's abdication, ſhe married the Earl of Portmore (7).

(4) It is remarkable, that his Lordſhip is ſevere upon the Oxford antiquary for this very quality. So true it is, that two of a trade can never agree.

(5) She had a daughter by his Majeſty, an account of whom ſee in Sheffield Duke of Buckinghamſhire's article.

(6) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, p. 682, 683. Vol. I. fol. edition.

(7) Warburton's notes to the character of her daughter, in Pope's Letters.

[*F*] *He joined to diſpoſſeſs King James of the Throne.*] Being aſked one day, why he appeared ſo warm againſt the King, who had created his daughter a Counteſs; he replied, *it is from a principle of gratitude; for, ſince his Majeſty has made my daughter a Counteſs, it is fit I ſhould do all I can to make his daughter a Queen* (8).

(8) Gen. Hiſt. of England.

[*G*] *Some account of his works.*] Theſe are, beſides his poems and ſpeeches in Parliament, which have been already mentioned, the following plays. 1. *The Mulberry-Garden*, a comedy, acted by his Majeſty's ſervants, at the theatre royal, 1668; dedicated to the Dutcheſs of Richmond and Lenox. 2. *Anthony and Cleopatra*, a tragedy, acted at the Duke of York's theatre, 1667. This met with great applauſe. The ſtory is taken from Plutarch's life of Anthony. 3. *Bellamira: or, The Miſtreſs*, a comedy, acted by his Majeſty's ſervants, 1687. It is taken from Terence's Eunuch. While this play was acting, the roof of the playhouſe fell down, but very few were hurt, beſides the author, whoſe merry friend, Sir Fleetwood Shepherd, told him, there was ſo much fire in the play, that it blew up the Poet, houſe, and all: Sir Charles anſwered, No; the play is ſo heavy, it brought down the houſe, and buried the Poet in his own rubbiſh. 4. *Beauty the Conqueror: or, The Death of Mark Anthony*, a tragedy. To him are alſo aſcribed, 5. *The Grumbler*, a comedy of three acts; ſcene, Paris. And 6. *The Tyrant King of Crete*, a tragedy; both of them firſt printed with his works, in two volumes 8vo. 1722.

[*H*] *Nature had given him a patent to be Apollo's viceroy.*] Lord Rocheſter bears teſtimony to this, when he puts him foremoſt among the Judges of Poetry.

I loath the rabble, 'tis enough for me,
If Sedley, Shadwell, Shepherd, Wycherly,
Godolphin, Butler, Buckhurſt, Buckingham,
And ſome few more, whom I omit to name;
Approve my ſenſe, I count their cenſure fame.

P

SELDEN [JOHN], the famed Antiquarian, was born December 16, 1584, at a ſmall village called Salvinton, near Tering, a ſea-port town in Suſſex; where his anceſtors, though not above the common rank, had lived for ſome time in good repute [*A*]. He was

(1) Mr Wood tells us he was a Plebeian, but excellently ſkilled in Muſic, and obtained his wife thereby. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 179.

[*A*] *A family of common rank.*] In our author's epitaph wrote by himſelf, he obſerves that his father John Selden (1), ſon of Thomas Selden, was born in 1561; that he married Margaret, only daughter and heir of Thomas Baker of Ruſhington, deſcended from the equeſtrian family of that name in Kent; that from this match there iſſued beſides himſelf the eldeſt, two other ſons George and Henry, who both died in the cradle,

was first put to the free-school at Chichester, and gave a remarkable specimen of his genius at ten years of age [*B*]; and at fourteen, the schoolmaster (*a*) seeing him fit for the university, recommended him to his brother Mr Anthony Barker, Fellow of New-college in Oxford, who had him admitted of Hart-hall [*C*] in 1598 (*b*). He went through his academical studies with unusual eagerness, absolutely mastering every difficulty that occurred to him in any of the sciences. He continued at the university four years; after which, fixing his choice upon the Law for his profession (*c*), he removed to Clifford's-Inn in 1602 (*d*); where, having instructed himself in the ordinary forms and practice of the Courts, he was admitted *Socius* of the Inner Temple in May 1604: but being perswaded that his talents did not suit for making a figure at the Bar, he resolved to pursue the bent of his inclinations, and employed himself in searching into the origin of the Law in all it's branches. This plan he pursued with indefatigable diligence and extraordinary success. The first fruits of his studies was, A Treatise of the Civil Government of our Island, before the coming in of the Normans, which he drew up in 1606. This being done at the age of two and twenty, when the manuscript was shewn to some persons versed in this kind of antiquities, it was much applauded (*e*), and esteemed an extraordinary performance for his years [*D*]. Continuing to push his researches the same way, he soon became acquainted with the most eminent in it [*E*], and published in a few years several other tracts relating to the same subject [*F*], and, in 1614, enriched the learned world with his incomparable piece upon the Titles of Honour [*G*]. This was followed by

(*a*) Mr Hugh Barker of New-college. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 179.

(*b*) Life of Selden, prefixed to his Works in fol. 1726. Mr Wood fixes his admission in the year 1600.

(*c*) See his epitaph below, in remark [ ].

(*d*) Wilkins, in his Life, as before, who says he was four years at Oxford.

(*e*) Consult his preface to his *Diis Syris*.

cradle, and an only daughter, afterwards married to John Bernard of Goring in Sussex, to whom she brought two boys and four girls, nephews and nieces to our author, who by his last Will bequeathed a hundred pounds to each of them.

[*B*] *Specimen of his genius.*] This was a smart epigram contained in a Latin distich, which was wrote over the door of the house where he was born, as follows:

(2) Dr Wilkins says it was still to be seen in his time.

Gratus, Honeste, mihi; non claudar, inito, sedebis;
Fur abeas, non sum facta soluta tibi (2).

The house it seems was distinguished by the name of *Lacies*. The practice of putting mottoes over doors was more in use at that time than it is at present. That which the late Lord Bolingbroke put over the door of his house aptly bespeaks the admiral genius of it's author (3). This of our author seems to be drawn in imitation of that famous one set over his school by Plato ἀδεὶς ἀγεωμέτρητος εἰσίτω. Let no one unskilled in geometry enter here; which he might not improbably have met with in some of his school books.

(3) See his article.

[*C*] *Admitted of Hart-Hall.*] This custom of tutors in colleges procuring chambers for their pupils in the neighbouring halls, has been already mentioned in the course of the present work (4). Dr Wilkins has given our author, besides Mr Barker, another tutor, Mr Thomas Young, but both Fellows of New-college.

(4) In the article of Sir Thomas More.

[*D*] *An extraordinary piece for his years.*] The title runs thus: *Analectôn Anglo-Britannicôn Libri duo; quibus ea maxime quæ ad civilem illius, quæ jam Anglia dicitur, Magnæ Britanniæ partis antiquitus administrationem, res domi publicas, sacras, profanas, statusque catastrophas usque ad Normanni adventum attinent, ex antiquis simul & neotericis deprompta, temporum juxta seriem digesta, historice & arctissime componuntur.* It was put into the hands of a printer as soon as finished, but was not printed 'till 1616, at Francfort, and then so defective and incorrect, that he would not acknowledge it for his work (5). Degory Whear, Professor of history at Oxford, recommends it to young students, as a fit book to begin with in the study of the English history (6); but then he will find it necessary to consult others in many points, since the *analectica* do not so clearly account for the religion, government, and revolutions of state, as to give full satisfaction (7); and this is insinuated by our author, where he says it was his first piece, and not ill performed for one of his years, *quod primo meum & ætatula non ita indignum* (8).

(5) Preface to his *Syntagmata de Diis Syris*.

(6) De Ratione & Methodo legendi Historias Civiles & Ecclesiasticas, §. 27. edit. Oxon. 1637.

(7) Nicolson's English Historical Library. Lond. 1696, 8vo.

(8) Preface to his Syntagm. de Diis Syris.

[*E*] *He became acquainted with some of the most eminent in it.*] Dr Parr tells us (9), that Archbishop Usher became acquainted with him in his third voyage to England in 1609; therefore he must have been known to Camden and Sir Robert Cotton before that time; whether with Sir Henry Spelman so early may justly be doubted, since that knight did not settle in London 'till the year 1611 (10). But that he was not a member of the Society of Antiquaries, upon the revival of it in 1614 is highly probable, since his name is not expressly mentioned by Sir Henry Spelman in his account of it, a distinction which would surely have been made to his merit at that time: it seems a little hard to suppose him concluded in the words 'among others.' However that be, 'tis most likely that he was intimate very early with that *Prince of Poets*, as he calls him (11), *Ben Jonson*, who 'tis said, first gave him a true relish for *Horace*. Our author, whose ambition seems to have aimed at universal scholarship, did occasionally attempt to play the Poet, figuring it in Greek and Latin, as well as English verses, to his friends in various measures. On account of his prodigious learning, he is called *the great dictator of learning of the English nation* *: and for the same reason Sir John Suckling has given him the precedence in his session of poets.

(9) In his Life of Archbishop Usher.

(10) See his article.

(11) *Pectorum ille facile Princeps.* Vindiciæ Exiftimationis suæ &c. p. 1422. in the second volume of his Works, by Wilkins.

* Lexicon Historicum Universale Germanicum, Tom. IV. p. 390. where there is an account of his Life and Writings, but full of errors.

'There was Selden, and he sat close by the chair,
'Wainman not far off, which was very fair.

† Biblioth Anglo-ise, Tom. VI. p. 1.

[*F*] *Tracts relating to the same subject.*] These are first, *Jani Anglorum facies altera*; secondly, *England's Epinomis*; the latter of these served for a foundation to the former, and both were printed in 1610, 8vo. †, the former at his own expence, and dedicated to Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury, and Lord High Treasurer of England (12). Dr Adam Lyttleton, author of the *Anglo-Latin*, &c. dictionary, published a translation of it into English, with large notes, under the name of Redman Westcot, Gent. Lond. 1683, folio (13). They contain several curious remarks upon the English history under the Normans, but is observed, that the laws quoted in the *Jani Anglorum*, &c. are as faulty as Lambard's translation of them, and want William Somner's emendations (14). Our author published also, in 1610, a third tract, *De Duello, or of single Combat* ‡; and a fourth, intituled, *Notes and illustrations on the first eighteen songs in* Michael Drayton's Polyolbion, 1612, folio.

(12) There was another edition in 1681, without either dedication or preface.

(13) See his article.

(14) Nicolson's Historical Library, ubi supra.

‡ It was reprinted in 1706, and again in 1712, on occasion of the quarrel between Duke Hamilton and Lord Mohun. Bibliotheque Angloise, Tom. VI. p. 2.

[*G*] *Titles of honour.*] This learned piece is dedicated to his friend Edward Heyward of Cardeston in Norfolk, Esq; who was his chamber-fellow in the Temple, and had prefixed a commendatory copy of verses in Latin, to Selden's *Jani Anglorum*, &c. and a Recommendatory Poem, by his friend Ben Jonson, is also prefixed to it. In the second edition printed in 1631, folio, there are many additions. It was reprinted there in 1672, folio. From this edition it was translated into Latin, by Simon-John Arnold, Inspector of the churches of the Bailywick of Sonenburg, and printed at Francfort 1696, 4to. And Monf. Briot (who published the French version of Sir Paul Rycaut's history of the Turks) had designed to translate it into French for the use of the French nobility ||, but was prevented by death. Dr John-Christopher Beeman took an occasion from it of writing a treatise upon the same subject; and Eric Mauritius in his *Dissertationibus* has one p. 237, *de Nobilitate imprimis Germaniæ*, in which the subjects of several of Mr Selden's chapters in this book, are handled in the same manner. Dr Nicolson observes, that 'as to what concerns our nobility and gentry, all that come within either of those lists

|| As *Theatre d'Honneur*, by Andrew Favin, was translated into English [illegible] the ufe of [illegible] Engl [illegible] Nobility, in 162[illegible]

by ſome notes on Sir John Forteſcue *de Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, and Sir Ralph Hengham's *Sums*, printed in 1616, 8vo. The next year, 1717, he publiſhed his Treatiſe upon the *Idolatry of the Ancient Syrians* [*H*]; and in the mean time he wrote a *Diſſertation upon the State of the Jews, formerly living in England*, publiſhed in Purchaſs's Pilgrimage [*I*] the ſame year. His reputation for profound learning was raiſed at this time to the higheſt pitch, and therefore the Clergy were greatly alarmed, by an attempt which he made to leſſen the general opinion of their divine right to tythes, in 1618. This was thought a matter of ſo much importance, that complaint being made of it to King James, his Majeſty was greatly incenſed thereby; and, when this firſt ſtorm ſeemed to be blown over,

‡ Hiſtorical Library.

‘ liſts will allow, that Mr Selden's *Titles of Honour* ‘ ought to be peruſed for the gaining of a general no- ‘ tion of the diſtinction of a degree, from an emperor ‘ down to a country gentleman ‡.’ Our author in this tract, col. 727, delivers his opinion, that the biſhops and other principal governors in the Church, were ſubject under William the Conqueror, to a military tenure, by act of Parliament: which is confirmed alſo, by a paſſage of William of Malmſbury, *in vita Sci Wulſtani* §. Dr White Kennett in his *third Letter to Biſhop Merks*, p. 85, takes notice of an inadvertency of our author, upon a paſſage from *Froiſſard*, which mentions the *Cinque Pers d'Angleterre*, who ſat at the table next the King. ‘ I know not, ſays Selden, what to make of this paſſage, though I cannot judge of it by any manuſcripts of him having none by me, yet I am forward to think *Cinque Pers* may be miſ-publiſhed in him for *Cinquante Pers*, which does not notify any eſtabliſhed but an accidental name only for thoſe that ſat with the King at that time.’ A ſtrange and remote conjecture, ſays *Kennett*, to make a plain thing ſeem intricate, for moſt certainly Froiſſart's placing the King at the head table at the coronation dinner, with the Cinque Pers at the ſecond table, and the commonalty of London at the third, muſt intend the Cinque Barons, or the Barons of the Cinque Ports, who then had, and ſtill have, that precedency of dining at every King's Coronation. The ſame author, in his *Parochial Antiquites*, p. 418, ſpeaking of the revenues, which were formerly given out of the profits of the county, for the better ſupport of the dignity of an Earl, convinces Selden in this Treatiſe of the Titles of Honour of a miſtake, in aſſerting, that Hugo de Aldithly Earl of Gloceſter, was not the firſt Earl, who by his creation-charter had this revenue granted him in lieu of the third penny out of the pleas of the county *.

§ C. 16. apud Anglicam Sacram, Vol. II. fol. 264.

* Before this book was finiſhed at the preſs, our author fell dangerouſly ill of a fever, but was recovered by the aſſiſtance of Dr Fludd, which he gratefully acknowledges in the dedication.

[*H*] *Idolatry of the Ancient Syrians.*] The title is *De Diis Syris ſyntagmata duo.* It was wrote as a commentary upon all the paſſages of the Old Teſtament, where mention is made of any of the heathen gods, as Bel, Aſtaroth, &c. and therefore beſides the Syrian, gives an account of the Arabian, Ægyptian, Perſian, African, and European Idolatry. The firſt edition was all bought up in a few years, whereupon *Ludovicus de Dieu*, Profeſſor of Hebrew at Leyden in Holland, wrote a letter to our author, deſiring leave for Elziver to print another edition there; Mr Selden complied with the requeſt (15), reviſed it, making ſome additions, and dedicated it to *Daniel Heinſius*, who aſſiſted *de Dieu* in the care of the preſs. This ſecond edition came out in 1629, 8vo. After this it was reprinted at Leippe in 1668, 8vo. and again in 1672, by the ſame editor Andrew Boyer. Dr Richard Mountagu (16) charged Selden, with having ſtolen a great part of this book out of Peter Faber's Semeſtres, but he vindicated himſelf from that imputation in the preface to the ſecond edition. Mr *Le Clerc* cenſures our author (17) for three miſtakes common to him, he ſays, with other writers upon the idolatry of the ancient nations. Firſt, that in treating of the hiſtory and deities of theſe nations, together with thoſe writers who might know ſomething of theſe matters, either by the advantage of the times and places of their living, or from the ancient hiſtories, he cites the Rabbins as of equal authority, who 'tis well known had no ancient remains of the writers of their nation, except the Old Teſtament, and never read the heathen authors to inform themſelves; but when they attempt to explain any place of the Old Teſtament, which alludes to the idolatry of the people bordering on the Jews, relate meer romantic ſtories, as if they were exactly true. Secondly, he taxes Selden, with perpetually confounding the gods of the Greeks with thoſe of the barbarous nations, without making the leaſt diſtinction. The third error, he ſays, is, that Selden and others admit in ſomes places, an allegorical meaning of the fables to repreſent under them certain myſteries. Dr Wilkins's edition has this advantage, that ſeveral additions are therein made from the author's manuſcripts; among the reſt he had ſome manuſcript notes, by Henry James, given him by Dr Tanner, then Chancellor of Norwich, one of theſe was taken from Sir John Marſham's Canon Chronicon. p. 481, where mention being made of Selden's opinion, *de ſorte fortunæ*, that Leah's acclamation, when ſhe congratulates Zilpah's having born a child to Jacob, is to be underſtood of this *ſors fortunæ*, in the ſenſe of the aſtrologers: Sir John ſays, it does not ſuit with the age of the Patriarch, ſince there is no inſtance of the Syrian's art ſo ancient, unleſs we allow, with ſome, that all Mathematicks had their original in Seth. Again, in p. ii. c. 4 Selden ſays, the Mahometans borrowed their cuſtom of dedicating the ſixth day, Friday, to Venus from the Saracens, of which he makes a great doubt in lib iii. c. 20. *de jure* N. & G. *apud Hebræos*; Dr Wilkins has likewiſe given us a curious letter from Selden (18), in anſwer to one from Ben Jonſon, inquiring into the true ſenſe of that text in Deuteronomy xxii. 5. *The woman ſhall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither ſhall a man put on a woman's garment*; which Mr Selden is of opinion does not relate to confounding of the dreſs peculiar to each ſex, about their ordinary occaſions; obſerving that the original is, The woman ſhall not put on the armour of the man; a practice much uſed by the Syrians and other neighbouring nations to the Jews, in their idolatrous worſhip of Mars and Venus, to which he ſays this prohibition refers. In the ſame letter, having given the ſtate of this ſpecies of idolatrous practice among the Eaſtern nations, he excuſes himſelf from entring into that of the Greeks and Romans, ‘ Mr Jonſon being, ‘ as he ſays, a perfect maſter of the moſt recondite ‘ parts of that learning.’

(15) Theſe Letters are prefixed to this edition.

(16) In his Diatribe, &c. p. 9.

(17) In Bibl. Choiſie, p. 82, & ſeqq.

(18) It is dated Feb. 28, 1615, and printed in the ſecond volume of Selden's Works, p. 1690, & ſeq. from a copy communicated by Matth. Hale, Eſq; of Alderly in Glouceſterſhire.

[*I*] *The ſtate of the Jews in Purchaſs's pilgrimage.*] In this peice he obſerves, that the time when the Jews firſt came into England is uncertain; but that their condition was ſervile both before and after the Conqueſt; and it appears by the laws of the Confeſſor, that all they had was the king's right. In the 17th of Henry the Third, the *Domus Converſorum* [now the Rolls, in Chancery-lane] was built for the converts, their goods being then confiſcate to the Crown. Their cuſtom was to ſteal a young boy, whom they firſt circumciſed, and then crucified him at Eaſter. That five Jews were dragged at horſe tails, and hanged on gibbets, for this offence in the reign of Henry the Third; and in the the thirty-ninth of the ſame reign eighteen of them were executed for the like offence. That the lands they held were ſubject to executions for debt, when other lands were not; ſo that particular judges were aſſigned to hear and determine their cauſes, *ſecundum leges & conſuetudines Judaiſmi*, according to the laws and cuſtoms of Judaiſm. That in moſt caſes, two Chriſtians and two Jews were appointed public notaries, for ſigning all debts of contracts; which inſtruments were lodged in a cheſt, of which all four had each a different key. That they were expelled the kingdom for extortion and uſury in the eighteenth of Edward the Firſt. This tract is printed very defectuouſly in the Pilgrimage, as Dr Wilkins informs us, from Mr Prynne, who, in a piece intituled, *A ſhort Demurrer to the Jews diſcontented Remitter*, obſerves, that our author complained much of it. What complaints ſoever he might make of that kind they did not hinder him from inſcribing a copy of Greek verſes in commendation of Mr Purchaſs's work (19); and the marginal notes in that work are cited by Gataker, as made by Selden (20).

(19) It is a tetraſtich, and is printed in the 2d volume of Selden's Works, by Wilkins, p. 1721.

(20) *Diſſertatio de Nomine Tetragrammato*, among Gataker's *Opuſcula Philoſophica*, printed in his *Opera Critica*, col. 35.

[*K*] *The*

over, by the intereſt of his friend Ben Jonſon the poet, he was ſoon after proſecuted in the High-Commiſſion-Court, and obliged in a ſolemn manner to acknowledge himſelf guilty of a fault, in publiſhing that Hiſtory. The book was likewiſe ſuppreſſed, and he was reſtrained from printing any thing in defence of it [*K*]. In 1621, King James having

[*K*] *The divine right of tithes.*] As our author's conduct had yet raiſed no ſuſpicion of his diſaffection to the Clergy, this piece, without any difficulty, obtained the licence from the Archbiſhop's chaplain; ſince he declares, in the preface, that it was not written to prove tithes are not due by divine right; or, that the laity may detain them, or ſtill enjoy impropriations, nor at all againſt the maintenance of the Clergy. But, after it came out, being more diligently peruſed, it was preſently obſerved, that though he had indeed, ſtrictly ſpeaking, given only the hiſtory of the authorities on each ſide, concerning that right, without making any abſolute determination upon it; yet in weighing theſe authorities, he had managed it ſo, that every one might plainly ſee which way the ballance turned in his hand; and that though he had cautiouſly forbore to decide the queſtion himſelf, yet he had taught others to do it for him. Complaints being made of this to the King, Sir Robert Naunton, Secretary of State, brought him a ſummons, about the middle of December, to appear before his Majeſty, then at Theobalds, in his return from Newmarket: being himſelf a ſtranger yet at Court, he got Ben Jonſon and Edward Heyward, of Ruffam, in Norfolk, Eſq; to introduce him. He ſtaid three days at Theobalds, where his Majeſty, among other things, objecting to an incidental paſſage in his book upon Chriſtmas day; wherein he had intimated, that the 25th of December was not the true birth-day of our Saviour, as had been aſſerted in the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions; and being apprehenſive, that the Preſbyterians might make an ill uſe of it againſt the obſervation of that feſtival, deſired Selden to write ſomething further upon it. In obedience to his Majeſty's requeſt, he drew up his piece upon Chriſt's birth-day, and preſented it to the King in a month's time (21); after hoping, as he ſays, his Majeſty's anger was well pacified: but, in the latter end of this month, he was cited before ſome Lords of the High Commiſſion, which occaſioned the following act to be regiſtered in that Court:

'Viceſimo octavo die menſis Januarii, anno domini, 'juxta computationem eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, 1618, 'coram Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patre Domino 'Georgio, Providentia divina, Cantuarienſi Archie- 'piſcopo, totius Angliæ Primate & Metropolitano; 'Johanne London, Lancelot Winton (22), & Johanne 'Roſſen, eadem providentia reſpective Epiſcopis; 'Johanne Bennet, Wilhelmo Bird, & Georgio New- 'man, Militibus in Manerio Epiſcopali apud Lam- 'behith, in comitatu Surrey, judicialiter ſedentibus, 'præſente Thoma Motterſhed, officiali dominorum 'contra Johannem Selden, de Interiori-Templo, 'London, Armigerum.

'This day appeared perſonally, John Selden, Eſq; 'and made his ſubmiſſion, all under his owne hand- 'writing, touching the publication of his book, in- 'tituled, *The Hiſtory of Tithes*; *ſub tenore verborum* 'ſequente.

'My good Lords,

'I moſt humbly acknowledge my errour, which 'I have committed, in publiſhing the Hiſtory of 'Tithes; and eſpecially in that I have at all, by 'ſhewing any interpretation of holy Scriptures, by 'meddling with Councils, Fathers, or Canons, or by 'what elſe ſoever occurres in it, offered any occaſion 'of argument againſt any right of maintenance, *jure* 'divino, of the miniſters of the Goſpell; beſeeching 'your Lordſhips to receive this ingenuous and humble 'acknowledgment, together with the unfeined pro- 'teſtation of my griefe, for that through it I have ſo 'incurred both his Majeſties and your Lordſhips diſ- 'pleaſure conceived againſt mee in behalfe of the 'Church of England.

'John Selden.'

The ſame Court proceeded alſo in the ſame ſpirit, to prohibit the ſale of the book; neither did the matter reſt here. The following year, Sir James Sempil, a Scotch Knight, publiſhed a treatiſe, intituled, *Sacrilege ſacredly handled*; in the appendix to which, he takes our author's hiſtory to taſk. 'By his 'title, ſays he, and by his preface, he diſclaims it to 'be written to prove, that tithes are not due by the 'law of God; wherefore, I have no reaſon to ſuſpect, 'much leſs to account him an adverſary to my poſition. 'The moſt is, he may doubt, (and ſo do many of 'great note) but he who ingenuouſly doubteth, may, 'when God pleaſeth, find reſolution (23).' In proceeding, he makes it a remark, that Mr Selden hath given us *veram hiſtoriam*, as he found it recorded, *ſed hæc ipſa hiſtoria, non eſt vera*, but leaves dangerous inſinuations and prejudicial impreſſions on the *jus divinum* (24). In return to this, our author drew up a paper, which he called *The Admonition*; wherein he treats the Scotch Knight with great contempt (25). About this time, his Majeſty being informed, that an anſwer to the hiſtory was preparing by Dr Richard Mountagu, he ſent for Mr Selden, and acquainting him with Dr Mountagu's deſign, ſaid theſe words, 'If thou preſumeſt, either thy ſelf, or by any of thy 'friends, to write any anſwer to that book, I will 'throw thee into priſon.' Our author had alſo ſome diſcourſe with the Marquis of Buckingham, upon this ſubject, at Greenwich; ſoon after which, he wrote a letter to that Miniſter (26), wherein he takes notice, that his Lordſhip had ſpoke of the great prejudice the Clergy had ſuffered by the publication of his book. 'I doubt not, ſays he, but both his Majeſtie and your 'Lordſhip have been moved only by information, to 'ſpeak of any ſuch prejudice; ſeek for an example 'of it, I dare venture the loſs of my life, if any ſuch 'can be produced.' The Marquis had alſo told him, that the Clergy alledged, that his whole book was written to no other purpoſe than to prove that tithes are not due, *jure divino*; to which he declares, that, 'in England, tithes are not recovered by that right; 'but I have, ſays he, delivered other mens concluſions 'for and againſt it, but have not judged of their reaſons, 'nor made any reſolution either way about them:' this the Marquis, it ſeems, had preſſed him to do, but he declined it, yet, ſo as ſufficiently to intimate his opinion. Complaining of his Majeſty's prohibition, he ſays, all that will, have liberty, (and ſome uſe it) to write and preach what they will againſt me, to abuſe my name, my perſon, my profeſſion, with as many falſehoods as they pleaſe, and my hands are tied: I muſt not ſo much as anſwer their calumnies. I am ſo far from writing more, that I have ſcarce ventured, for my own ſafety, ſo much as to ſay, they abuſe me, though I know it. However, animadverſions upon the hiſtory being publiſhed by Dr Tilleſly, Archdeacon of Rocheſter (27); who, in the preface, took notice of the abovementioned ſubmiſſion; Mr Selden wrote an anſwer, ſeveral copies of which he diſperſed among his friends, wherein he has theſe words: 'He tells 'you I made a ſubmiſſion in the Court of High Com- 'miſſion. That I was ever preſent in that Court, or 'called thither, as I live, it is more than I know; but 'I wonder not that the doctor ſhould begin with 'playing falſe with you, it is common with him 'through the whole. I confeſs that I did moſt 'willingly acknowledge, not only before ſome Lords 'of the High Commiſſion (not in the High Commiſſion 'Court) but alſo to the Lords of his Majeſtie's Privy- 'Council, that I was moſt ſorry for the publiſhing of 'that hiſtory, becauſe it had offended; and his 'Majeſtie's moſt gracious favour towards me, received 'that ſatisfaction of the fault in ſo untimely printing 'it; and I profeſs ſtill to all the world, that I am 'ſorry for it; and ſo ſhould I have been, if I had 'publiſhed a moſt orthodox catechiſm that had 'offended; but what is that to the doctrinal con- 'ſequences of it, which the doctor talks of. Is there 'a ſyllable of it of leſs truth, becauſe I was ſorry for 'the publiſhing of it? Indeed, perhaps, by the 'doctor's Logic, there is; and juſt ſo might he prove, 'that there is more truth in his animadverſions, 'becauſe he was glad of the printing them, and be- 'cauſe he hopes, as he ſays, that my ſubmiſſion hath 'cleared my judgment, touching the right of tithes. 'What dream made him hope ſo? There is not a word 'of

(21) It was not printed 'till after his death, under the title of *God made Man: proving the Nativity of our Saviour to be on the 25th of December*. Lond. 1661, 8vo. with his picture before it.

(22) Our author in his *Vindiciæ*, &c. ſays, this book diſpleaſed all the Biſhops but Biſhop Andrews, who was well pleaſed with it, as moſt agreeable to the received uſage.

(23) P. 30.

(24) Ibid. p. 34.

(25) There is a MS. of this piece in the Aſhmolean Muſæum at Oxford; but that being imperfect, Dr Wilkins has printed it, from a correct copy, in the hands of Joſeph Moyle, of Abridge in Hampſhire, brother to Walter Moyle, Eſq; of whom an account may be ſeen in this work.

(26) It is dated May 5, 1620. and printed in the ſecond volume of our author's Works, ubi ſup.

(27) The title is, Animadverſions upon Mr Selden's Hiſtory of Tithes, and the Review.

having, in his ſpeech to the Parliament, aſſerted that their privileges were originally grants from the Crown, Mr Selden was conſulted by the Houſe of Lords on that occaſion, who gave his opinion in favour of the Parliament; which being diſſolved in June, he was committed to the cuſtody of the Sheriff of London, as a principal promoter of the famous proteſt made by the Houſe of Commons, immediately before that diſſolution (*f*). During this confinement, which laſted only five weeks [*L*], he prepared the *Hiſtory of Eadmer*

(*f*) King James was ſo much enraged at it, that he tore it out of their books with his own hands. Annals of the Reign of King James I. under this year.

'of tithes in that ſubmiſſion more than in mentioning 'the title; neither was my judgment at all in queſtion, 'but my publiſhing it, and this the doctor knows too, 'as I am aſſured: for the ſubmiſſion, he talks of, was 'through the favour of ſome of the Lords, (to whoſe 'noble regard towards me I owe all ſervice) given 'by me in writing in ſome ſix lines, leaſt by miſre-'ports of ſome ſuch as the doctor is, I might be 'injured, by falſe relations of what I ſhould ſpeak 'only, and copies of it I diſperſed into many hands; 'and I know the doctor hath ſeen one. In ſum, 'I was and am ſorry that I publiſhed it, and that 'I ſo gave occaſion to others to abuſe my hiſtory, 'by their falſe applications of ſome arguments; but 'there is not a paſſage in it, but that I ever did think 'and do now think to be moſt conſtant truth, as I have 'there delivered it.' An anſwer to Mr Selden, was publiſhed the ſame year by Dr Tilleſly in a ſecond edition of his Animadverſions; before which (in the title page is) *in lieu of the two firſt chapters, purpoſely pretermitted, is premiſed a catalogue of ſeventy two authors before the years 1215, maintaining the jus divinum of tithes, or more, to be paid to the prieſthood under the Goſpel*. In the preface, he remarks Selden's prevarication, in diſtinguiſhing between making a ſubmiſſion to the Court, and in the Court; and then to anſwer even that ſhift produces a copy of the very act of the Court itſelf, as above. Dr Mountagu's learned performance came out likewiſe this year, 1621, intituled, *Diatribæ upon the firſt part of the late hiſtory of tithes*, dedicated to the King. He begun his attack upon our author's ſtrongeſt fort, and that which would moſt ſenſibly touch him; namely, his ſcholarſhip. In the introduction (28), addreſſed to Mr Selden, he writes thus, 'I can tell you, you are vehemently ſuſpected to ſteal other men's children, and ſend them into the world for your own. Is all your own which your hiſtory repreſenteth? I can ſay, no: it is as your ſyntagma *δεῖνον συνηρίσμενον*, and you know what that is; if you will ſay it was not ſtolen, but borrowed, I will ſay ſo too, and confeſs it lawful ſo long as you profeſs *per quos profeceris*, in what place you had it and of whom. But to drive away, without leave, other men's cattle out of their grounds; for a man to employ or ſell them in markets as his own, to alter or embezzle the marks of them, as Siſyphus and Autolycus uſed of old, to draw them backward into dens and caves with Cacus by the tails; and laſt of all, which is worſt of all, to deny them upon enquiry and demand; this is not thrift, but theft, that is, as I take it, flat felony; is it not ſo in law? Yet well fare a little ingenuity at laſt. You profeſs yourſelf beholden to Mr Allen, of Glouceſter-Hall; you are very much; and you acknowledged it unto that worthy gentleman, Sir Robert Cotton (29); you could not but profeſs this, becauſe it was apparent, that you owed much unto his excellent library, that magazine of Antiquity; and do you not owe much alſo to his pains, as well as to his books? I do but aſk you the queſtion, who did mark out, with black lead, in his manuſcripts, all places, concerning tithes, with one mark, as other paſſages with another.' In the ſame vein, the doctor ſuggeſts his taking, at ſecond hand, paſſages from Plutarch in Lucullo, and in Camillo Diodorus Siculus, lib. v.; and Herodotus in *Clio*; of Xenophon and Pliny, from Dr Carleton's book of tithes; beſides, continues he, you are to be taxed deeply for dealing ungenteely and unthankfully with your much admired, and almoſt deified, Joſeph Scaliger, your whole diſcourſe of Jewiſh tithing is transfuſed out of his *Diatriba*, even the very inſtances and examples are the ſame. Likewiſe, in the body of the work (30), he keeps up the ſame ſtrain. 'Good 'counſel, ſays he, was given you, before you 'meddled with the hiſtory of tithes, not to begin it, 'by a friend of your's and mine, in Somerſetſhire, 'which you would not follow (31).' This laſt ſtroke is evidently in return to our author's alledging in his preface, that his book had been ſhewn to, and approved by, men of the beſt learning, and even ſuch as were (as he terms them) *Decimatiſſimi*. The other repartees are given to be even with him for reproaching the Clergy with their ignorance; as if they had nothing but beard, title, and habit; as alſo for the character which he gives of his piece, that it was drawn from originals never before ſhewn. He ſpeaks very ſlightly, without naming them, of all that had gone before him upon this ſubject. Theſe were, 1. *The anatomy of Anania's and Sapphira's Sacrilege*, by Robert Goſtwicke, 1616, 4to. 2. *The Writers of the Goſpel ſay, Tithes are due to the Miniſters of the Word by that Word*, by Foulke Roberts, B D. Camb. 1613, 4to. 3. *Tithes examined and proved to be due by Divine Right*, by George Carleton, 1611, 4to. 4. Biſhop Andrews alſo had written to prove the ſame in his tract, *de Decimis*, printed among his works (32). Biſhop Kennett, in his Parochial Antiquities, ſays, this tract leaſt deſerves Selden's name. But Dr Thomaſin (33), declares, that he was the firſt that left off trifling upon this ſubject, *primus qui hic deſipere deſiit*; and he received the following letter from Dr Langbain, in relation to it, to this purpoſe, That although the learned world differed about the divine right of tithes, yet the legal right was greatly ſtrengthened by what he had ſaid: ſome, whoſe fears led them thereto, inquired of me, what I thought of this legal right; to whom I had no better anſwer, than to ſend them to your Hiſtory of Tithes; this will ſeem ſtrange to them, but I make no doubt, but that work, which has greatly deſtroyed the divine right, will build up the legal right moſt firmly; and if that ſhould be allowed to be the principal deſign of that book, I ſhould not diſpair of it's meeting with good ſucceſs *. The three firſt chapters of this Hiſtory were turned into Latin, by Mr Le Clerc, and inſerted in his Commentaries upon the Pentateuch, with corrections.

(28) P. 23, 24.

(29) This is in the dedication of Selden's book to that gentleman.

(30) P. 227.

(31) See more of this in Dr Mountagu's article, in this Work. Mr Collier, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, has given an abſtract of Selden's Hiſtory, and Mountagu's anſwer to it.

(32) P. 106.

(33) In Diſſertat. de decimis, in additamentum obſervationum ſelectarum ad rem literariam ſpectantium, or the Supplement to the Obſervationes Hallenſes.

* Ex Lelandi Collectaneis, Append. I. p. 291.

[*L*] *Laſted only five weeks.*] After ſome time, he ſent to Biſhop Williams, then Lord-Keeper, deſiring his intereſt with the Marquis of Buckingham, with which he readily complied, and diſpatched Mr Selden's letter incloſed in one to that favourite, wherein, having firſt applied for the releaſe of the Earl of Southampton, committed to his own cuſtody, he proceeds thus: 'Now poor Mr Selden falls to the 'ſame letter of mercy, and humbly petitions your 'Lordſhip's mediation and furtherance. He and the 'world take notice of that favour your Lordſhip hath 'ever afforded my motions; and myſelf, without the 'motion of any, do ſo addreſs my language to in-'treat for him The which I do the more boldly, 'becauſe, by his letter incloſed, he hath abſolutely 'denied, that ever he gave the leaſt approbation of 'that power and judicature lately uſurped by the 'Houſe of Commons. My Lord, the man hath ex-'cellent parts, which may be diverted from an affecta-'tion of pleaſing idle people, to do ſome good and 'uſeful ſervice to his Majeſty. He is but young, and 'it is the firſt offence that ever he committed againſt 'the King. I preſume, therefore, to leave him to 'your Lordſhip's mercy and charity.' Accordingly, ſays Dr Hacket (34), he was releaſed by the next packet, that came from the Court in progreſs. Our author's own account of this matter is very agreeable to this letter; he tells us, that after five weeks impriſonment, he was ſent for to Court; where, coming before the King, he was examined by ſome of the Council, and aſked particularly, what power the Parliament had without the King? Biſhop Andrews, being preſent, ſtood his friend againſt that enſnaring queſtion, and further aſſured his Majeſty, that he had been falſly accuſed. This ſeems to be the ground of attributing his diſcharge, as ſome do (35), to this laſt Biſhop, without mentioning the former, which perhaps did not occur to thoſe writers. This letter of Biſhop Williams helps to explain Selden's meaning; where he ſuggeſts, that when he was ſent for by the Parliament, he ſpoke freely, as well in defence of the prerogative, as of their

(34) Life of Biſhop Williams, p. 69.

(35) Vindiciæ, &c. p. 1443. in the ſecond volume of his Works, by Wilkins.

Eadmer for the preſs (*g*), and it was publiſhed in 1623 [*M*], in folio, with a dedication to the Lord Keeper Williams; wherein he gratefully acknowledges that Biſhop's favour, in procuring his releaſement. He was choſen Member of Parliament for Lancaſter on the 12th of February the ſame year; but there happening no occurrence which called for his profound knowledge in the conſtitution of his country, he ſtuck cloſe to his books, not ſuffering the diviſions of the times to interrupt him in the purſuit of his darling ſtudies (*b*). In the ſame humour, he obſtinately refuſed to comply with an order of the ſociety of the Inner Temple, appointing him Reader at Lyon's-Inn in 1624 [*N*]. In the next Parliament that was called the following year, upon the acceſſion of King Charles the Firſt to the Throne, Mr Selden was returned a Burgeſs for Great-Bedwin in Wiltſhire (*i*). In this Parliament, he declared himſelf warmly againſt the Duke of Buckingham; and in the enſuing Parliament, which was called the next year, 1626, being elected again for the ſame borough, he was firſt choſen of the committee for drawing up articles of impeachment againſt that Miniſter, and afterwards appointed one of the managers for the Houſe of Commons at his tryal [*O*]. After the Parliament was diſſolved, the King being

(*g*) Vindiciæ, &c. p. 1426. in 2d vol. of his Works, by Wilkins.

(*b*) Ib. p. 1427.

(*i*) Wilkins's Life of our author, as before.

their privileges (36). Dr Wilkins tells us, he complained then, that the King's mind was alienated from his Parliament, by his courtiers; I wiſh he had given us his vouchers for it. Rapin obſerves, that this attempt of King James, to ſtretch the prerogative, increaſed the number of State-Puritans, as he calls them, greatly, which was inconſiderable before the diſſolution of this Parliament; and that, joining with the Church-Puritans, they became formidable (37). Among the former, he reckons Mr Selden as a principal one. However, that be, 'tis certain, he very much abhorred the principles of the latter. For, when Dr Tilleſly charged him with ſome Puritanical conceits, he very briſkly anſwers, he hopes that was not pointed to him; 'For, ſays he, I was never 'yet, I truſt, either mad enough or fool enough 'to deſerve that name (38).'

[*M*] *Eadmer was publiſhed in* 1623.] In the dedication, after ſpeaking of the odium raiſed againſt him on account of his *Hiſtory of Tithes*, in ſuch a manner as muſt be grounded upon a knowledge, that his patron thought with him upon that ſubject, he expreſſes his gratitude to Williams in theſe terms: *Non modo inſigni benignitate, atque ea opportuniſſime prius fere quam tibi omnino innoteſcerem, in ſummis primæ reipublicæ faſtigiis poſitus me obſtrinxiſti, ſed fronte etiam continenter exporrecto variatim, & perpetuo mibi non defuiſti, etiamnum accumulare gratuito.* The title of this piece is, *Spicilegium in Eadmeri* vi *libros hiſtoriarum*; conſiſting of explanatory notes upon that author, whoſe obſcurity had before buried him in oblivion (39). It was reprinted in 1673, at the end of the life of St Anſelm. Dr Nicolſon obſerves, that the laws of the Conqueror are here wretchedly tranſlated. But theſe were afterwards publiſhed more correctly, by Sir Henry Spelman. Then Abram Wheelock, Profeſſor of Arabic, at Cambridge, publiſhed them with Selden's Latin verſion, *in ſua Archaionomia*. The editor of the manuſcript of the Croyland Monaſtery added them to his work without a verſion, p. 88. Nath. Bacon wrote a commentary upon them, in his *Diſcourſe hiſtorical, of the uniformity of the government of England*, part i. cap. 50, 51, 52. They were publiſhed by Dr Brady, with an Engliſh verſion, in his introduction to the old Engliſh hiſtory †. Laſtly, a new edition was given of them by Dr David Wilkins, in his edition of the Anglo-Saxon laws.

[*N*] *He refuſed to read at Lyons-inn.*] This is entered in the regiſter of the Inner-Temple, under Michaelmas term, that year, as follows: 'Whereas 'an order was made at the Bench-table this term, 'ſince the laſt Parliament (40); and entered into the 'Buttery-Book in theſe words:

'Jovis 21 die Octobris, 1624.

'Memorandum, That whereas John Selden, Eſq; 'one of the Utter-Barriſters of this Houſe, was in 'Trinity term laſt choſen Reader of Lyon's-inn, by 'the Gentlemen of the ſame Houſe, according to the 'order of the houſe; which he then refuſed to take 'upon him, and perform the ſame, without ſome 'ſufficient cauſe or good reaſon, notwithſtanding 'many courteous and fair perſuaſions and admonitions 'by the Maſters of the Bench made to him; for 'which cauſe, he having been twice convented be-'fore the Maſters of the Bench, it was then ordered, 'that there ſhould be a *ne recipiatur* entered upon 'his name, which was done accordingly; and in 'reſpect the Bench was not then full, the further 'proceedings againſt him were reſpited until this term. 'Now, this day, being called again to the table, he 'doth abſolutely refuſe to read; the Maſters of the 'Bench, taking into conſideration his contempt and 'offence; and for that it is without precedent, that 'any man elected to read in Chancery has been diſ-'charged in like caſe, much leſs has with ſuch 'wilfulneſs refuſed the ſame; have ordered that he 'preſently pay to this Houſe the ſum of twenty pounds 'fine, and that he ſtand and be diſabled ever to be 'called to the Bench or to be a Reader of this Houſe. 'Now at this Parliament the ſaid order is confirmed. 'And it is further ordered, that if any of this Houſe, 'who ſhall hereafter be choſen to read in Chancery, 'ſhall refuſe to read, every ſuch offender ſhall be 'fined, and be diſabled to be called to the Bench, or 'to be a Reader of this Houſe.'

However, in Michaelmas term, 1632, it was ordered, that 'Mr Selden ſhall ſtand enabled and 'be capable of any preferment in the Houſe, in ſuch 'a manner as other Utter-Barriſters of this Houſe are, 'to all intents and purpoſes, any former act of Parlia-'ment to the contrary notwithſtanding.' Accordingly, he was called to the Bench in Michaelmas term following.

[*O*] *One of the managers againſt the Duke of Bucks.*] Six articles being brought in againſt him by Dr Samuel Turner, they were explained by our author, as well as Sir Thomas Wentworth and William Noy. At laſt, it being voted that common fame was ſufficient to ground an impeachment upon; May 8, 1626, the Commons ſent up thirteen articles to the Lords; of which Selden had the defence of the fourth and fifth. They related to the diſcharge of his office of Lord-High-Admiral; as firſt, for not guarding the ſeas. In proving this to belong to the office of Lord-High-Admiral, he takes notice, that the ſeas of England and Ireland are part of the demeſne and poſſeſſions of the Crown of England; and that thereby, the Admiral had not only juriſdiction, as in the caſe of the Admirals of France and Spain, but aſſerts, that the laws of the States of Genoa, Catalonia, and other maritime parts of Spain; as alſo the maritime towns of Germany, Zealand, Holland, Friezland, Denmark, Norway, and divers other parts of the Empire, ſhew that the kings of England, by reaſon that their ſaid realm hath uſed, time out of mind, to be in peaceable poſſeſſion of the ſeas of England and of the iſlands belonging to them; and altho', ſays he, Grotius, the Hollander, writes of purpoſe to deſtroy all dominion in the Eaſtern ocean, yet he ſpeaks nothing againſt the dominion of our Engliſh ſeas; however, he hath been miſrepreſented, but expreſsly elſewhere ſaith, *Meta Britannicis littora ſunt oris.* The utmoſt limits of the dominions of the Crown of England are the ſhores of the neighbouring countries. The whole ſeas, or the *territorium maximum* that intervenes, being a parcel of the poſſeſſions of the Crown of England. That before the title of Admiral came in, theſe were called *Cuſtodes Maris*, whoſe duty conſiſts, 1. In certifying yearly to the King's Council, the names of the King's ſhips, and alſo of thoſe of the Merchants, with the number of mariners in each. 2. To ſhew the wants for theſe ſervices, and to give in eſtimates for

(36) Dr Wilkins does ſo, and is therein followed by the General Dictionary; tho' Wood gives the honour where it is due, to Williams.

(37) Hiſtory of England, Vol. IX. p. 502. edit. 1729, 8vo.

(38) Reply to Dr Tilleſley.

(39) This author's merit is, that he was both a ſpectator and an actor in the tranſactions which he relates, from anno 1066 to ann. 1122.

† In p. 1664. of the notes upon Eadmer, Selden has given a copy of the conteſt at Pinnedene, betwixt Lanfranc Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Otho Biſhop of Bath; concern-which the reader will find more in Hale's Diſſert. Epiſc. p. 7. and a correct copy of this conference is given by Dugdale, in *Origines Juridicales*; and by Henry Wharton, in *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. I. p. 334. Again, in p. 1683. Selden makes Godwin, when he wrote *De Præſulibus*, to be Biſhop of Landaff, whereas he was only then Subdean of Exeter, and was made a Biſhop by Queen Elizabeth upon writing that book.

(40) So the meetings of the Maſters of the Bench in the Inner Temple are called.

being adviſed to impoſe a loan by virtue of his prerogotive, Mr Selden was very active in oppoſing that meaſure, prevented the printing of Dr Sibthorp's ſermon in defence of it [P], and November 22, 1627, and pleaded at the King's-Bench as Counſel for Mr Hampden [Q], who had been impriſoned for refuſing to ſubmit to it. In the third Parliament of King Charles the Firſt, our author ſat as one of the repreſentatives a ſecond time for Lancaſter (k), when he had a principal ſhare in all the leading ſteps towards preparing and eſtabliſhing the famous *Petition of Right* [R]; which being granted, and a prorogation enſuing

(k) So he ſays himſelf in his *Vindiciæ*, tho' Dr Wilkins tells us, he was returned for Ludgerſhall in Wiltſhire.

for a ſupply. 3. To go himſelf upon great occaſions to ſea. He then proceeds to eſtimate the greatneſs of the Duke's offence, by the conſequences of it; which were, 1. The loſſes ſuſtained by the Merchants. 2. The weakneſs of the naval ſtrength. 3. The neglect of chivalry not regarded nor rewarded. 4. The decay of trade. 5. The loſs of the quiet poſſeſſion of ſo large a territory as the ſeas of England and Ireland, by the free uſe of which the ancient glory and greatneſs of the Crown of England hath ſo conſtantly ſubſiſted. He concludes, with giving inſtances of the Parliament's juriſdiction in theſe matters. The conſequences he obſerves, beſides the damage of the Merchants, and the diſcouragements to thoſe that are ſubject to the marine juriſdiction, that it tends to place an abſolute authority in the Admiral, without law or legal courſe, over the ſhips and goods of all Merchants whatſoever (41); and inſtances in the Duke of Suffolk, who being adjudged in Parliament for treaſon, in Edward the Sixth's time, it was alledged, among other things, that he took to his own uſe goods piratically taken, and expreſsly againſt an order by the Lord Protector, and of the whole Council, whereunto his hand had been ſet for the reſtitution of them.

(41) The fifth article againſt the Duke was, the ſtaying the ſhip called Peter of Newhaven, and detaining part of her cargo. This he pleads to be againſt all laws marine of common merchants, and therefore againſt the law of nations.

[P] *He hindred the printing of Sibthorp's ſermon.*] This famous ſermon being preached at the aſſizes at Northampton, February 22, 1626; the author firſt offered it to Archbiſhop Abbot for a licence, and being refuſed, he applied to the Biſhop of London, whoſe chaplain, Dr Worral, a man of great learning, ſigned an *imprimatur*; but before he returned it to the party, he ſent the ſermon, with a letter, to Selden, deſiring his opinion of it. Selden having peruſed the ſermon, and not caring to give his opinion in writing, ſent for Worral, and ſaid to him, 'What 'have you done here? You have given your approbation 'to a book full of errors; which if they were true, 'there could be no *meum & tuum* in England, no 'body could have any property; and upon a change 'of the times, when the paſt tranſactions will be 'brought under examination, you will certainly be 'hanged for this *imprimatur*.' The other then aſking him, in a fright, what could be done, ſince his name was actually ſet to it; Selden adviſed him to be at the pains of erafing his name ſo perfectly that no traces of it might be diſcernible; which was done accordingly, and the ſermon was not printed 'till 1628 (42).

(42) Life, by Dr Wilkins.

[Q] *He was counſel for Mr Hampden.*] In his ſpeech on this occaſion, our author obſerves, among other things, that if Magna Charta, cap. xxix. was fully executed, as it ought to be, every man would enjoy his liberty better than he does. The law ſays expreſsly, no free man ſhall be impriſoned without due proceſs of law; the words are *ſecundum legem terræ*; by which muſt be meant, either by preſentment or indictment; for without that interpretation, the free man will have no privilege above the villain, which both the King and the Barons had, and could impriſon for it; but if I impriſon another man's villain, that villain may have an action of falſe impriſonment againſt me.

[R] *Leading ſteps to the petition of right.*] Before the meeting of this Parliament, our author made a long ſpeech or argument concerning the *Habeas Corpus* (43); and upon the aſſembling of the Parliament, March 17, 1727, when the debates upon the impriſonment of Hampden and others begun in the Houſe, March 25, 1628, he got up in great warmth, ſaying, I riſe not to make an argument in this point, the greateſt that ever was in this place or elſewhere. He then obſerves, that the liberties of the ſubject had been violated in other inſtances, but never, he was confident, had been adjudged before, that upon any commitment of the King and Council, no enlargement can be. I do deſire, ſays he, that ſome of the King's Counſel may ſpeak what they can, to ſatisfy us of the power (44). This being done by the Sollicitor General, on the twenty-ſeventh, our author, the next day, made a reply, wherein he took notice, that, in ſpeaking of the judgements given in the King's Bench, the precedents are ſaid to be miſrecited; let a ſub committee ſearch into judgments and precedents. I heard here a *quouſque*, and there is nothing but a *remittitur*. The courſe of the officer is to enter *quouſque*, &c. and that is, 'till they be delivered by law, and is all the judgment that can be. Upon this a ſub-committee was appointed, and he was choſen chairman; and upon his reporting to the Houſe, that in the precedents relating to *Habeas Corpus* they found only a *remittitur*; thoſe reſolutions were made which are printed in Ruſhworth (45). In the debate upon confinement, April 2, Selden ſpoke thus: 'For the liberties already concluded (which are the chief) let us determine how we ſhall right ourſelves in them; for confinement is different from impriſonment, and it is againſt the the law, that any ſhould be confined to his houſe or elſewhere. Every Chriſtide many are confined to their houſes by proclamation, this will be taken for a law. I know not what you call a puniſhment, but that there is ſome ground of it, or mention in acts of Parliament, law books, or records, but for this I find none. Alſo, it is a puniſhment itſelf. *Bracton*, p. 36. *lib. de corona*; ſpeaking of abjuration, ſaith that *exilium eſt triplex, certorum locorum interdictio, ſive villæ, vel comitatus*, &c. So it is with him a baniſhment. In 35 of Eliz. there was then a deſire of this Houſe to confine recuſants, and they petitioned the Queen about it; but that was not held a ſafe way, but they made a law for it. In all the queſtions ſtirred among us, we cannot better determine them, than by comparing ourſelves to *villains*. A *villain regardant* muſt not be out of his lord's manor, 22 Hen. VI. 31. but *liber homo eſt qui poteſt ire quo vult* *, ſaith the book of Domeſday. Jews were confined to certain places, as here in London to the Old Jewry. So Civilians have perpetual priſons and coërcive priſons, upon judgments in court, and *carcer domeſticus*, and that is in Engliſh confinement. Madmen may be confined. Upon which it was ordered, that no perſon ſhould be confined in his houſe or elſewhere. This was ſucceeded by another queſtion, concerning the violation of the property of goods by deputy-lieutenants. Sir Thomas Wentworth calling for the queſtion to determine this article. Selden ſaid, I am glad to hear we are ſo nigh the queſtion, but we are near a miſtake; no man doth this but as deputy-lieutenant, he is but deputy to the lord-lieutenant, and his authority is derived from him. Thoſe people who are deputy-lieutenants have orders of direction from their lords. After theſe debates it was reſolved, that neither the King, nor any of his miniſters, could impoſe a tax, or tribute, or ſubſidy, upon the people, without conſent of Parliament. Thurſday April 3, in the debate upon the employment of the ſubject in foreign ſervices (46), Selden obſerved, that there were three courſes for levying forces, (1.) By calling them together who were bound to ſerve upon tenure. (2.) By ſending to thoſe who by covenant were engaged to ſerve the King. (3.) By this new way of preſſing. Upon the firſt way he obſerves, that the Conqueror gave 6000 knights fees, at 20 *l.* a year each, to have armed men by their tenure, which he would not have done, if he could have compelled men by his prerogative. Theſe were obliged to ſerve the King upon any occaſion within the kingdom, but no man is to go out of his country but for defence of the realm. (2.) For the point of covenant with the King to ſerve him in his wars, thoſe only were obliged who held by tenure. The King's right of ſummoning them to go out of the realm, upon any other occaſion, was conteſted in Edward the Third's time. The Parliament declared againſt it. This was the way of raiſing forces from Edward II. to Henry VIII. The barons and

(43) This is the ſecond of his ſpeeches in Vol. III. of his Works, by Wilkins, and contains four leaves.

(44) On the 27th he made a ſpeech upon the ſame ſubject; 'tis the third ſpeech, ubi ſupra.

(45) Vol. V. P. 513.

* i. e. He is a free man who can go where he pleaſes.

(46) Some of the inferior ſort of perſons were preſſed for ſoldiers, for refuſing to pay the loan impoſed this year by the King.

(l) He passed the summer there. Dedication to his *Liber de Successionibus*, &c.

ensuing in June, he retired to Wreſt in Bedfordſhire, a ſeat of the Earl of Kent's (l); where, during this receſs of Parliament, he put the laſt hand to his *Commentaries upon the Arundelian*

and great men could raiſe 1000 men at any time. (3.) For preſſing one may tell whence it came. When covenants were in uſe, the great men could raiſe armed men; but when theſe great mens greatneſs ended, then their officers began to preſs. There is not a word in any ſtatute of any ſoldiers being preſſed or ſent away by compulſion, and ſo then the law knew no preſſing. Upon the votes of the Lower Houſe being ſent to the Upper Houſe, ſeveral conferences between the two Houſes enſuing, our author made a ſpeech at the firſt of theſe; and April 7, he made a long ſpeech, touching perſonal liberty, out of precedents, records, and reſolutions of Judges in former times. Upon this affair, one Kirton declared, that the Earl of Suffolk had ſaid, Selden deſerved to be hanged for erafing publick inſtruments, and promoting ſedition. To which Selden ſaid, 'As for erafing records, I hope no man believes I ever did it; I cannot gueſs what the lord means. I did deliver in whole copies of divers records, examined by myſelf and divers other gentlemen of this Houſe. Theſe I delivered into the Lords Houſe, and the Clerk of the Crown brought in the records of the office before the Lords. I deſire that it may be a meſſage from this Houſe to the Lords at the Bar, to make out a charge againſt the Lord that ſpoke this, and I hope we ſhall have juſtice.' This was done, but his Lordſhip denied the words. April 14, when the King's orders and inſtructions, about the right of arms, were publickly read in the Houſe, Selden ſaid, this matter is of the greateſt conſequence of any that we have yet meddled with. This concerns our lives. We find the Juſtices dare not meddle with the law, by reaſon of theſe commiſſions. The commiſſion concerns ſoldiers, and all diſſolute perſons that meddle with them. He made ſeveral ſpeeches upon this argument, in the debates that were held about it (47). May 14, in the debate about proſecuting Dr Mainwaring, for his ſermon, intituled *Religion and Loyalty*; it being moved in the committee, that an information ſhould be lodged againſt him, Mr Pym alledged, that this might create a diſpute between the two Houſes. Selden ſaid, we cannot fitly go otherwiſe than by the Lords; this is a temporal crime, to have Parliaments thus ſcandaled in pulpits. To go by bill I do not think fit. In ſuch caſes there was never any bill of attainder. In Henry the VIth's and Edward the IVth's time, many attainders were; but in the bills, time was given to the party to come in, or elſe to ſtand attainted. He may be fetched from the Convocation into the Lords Houſe, and there anſwer for himſelf, and then there may be a bill of attainder. Upon this queſtion, May 16, a bill was propoſed for reſtraining the tumults which might ariſe from miniſters of God's word; When Sir Henry Martyn was for maintaining the privileges of the Clergy, and quoting *Magna Charta* for them, Selden ſaid, as for *Magna Charta*, the Church has many liberties, but theſe liberties, by many acts of Parliament, are leſſened and varied. All Clergymen were not to be tried by the Laity, for any offence under treaſon; as for that, that miniſters muſt be under lay juriſdiction, they were ever in part, and, ſince the 2d of Hen. VIII. have been totally. As for the points of ſcandal, we do but the ſame as the canons, and all councils in former times, did. We have titles *de concubinatu Epiſcoporum, & de ebrietate eorum*; but I think the bill is not to paſs. May 20, an emendation being offered to the Petition of Right, concerning the oath *ex officio*, Mr Selden explained how that oath was unlawful, thus: This oath is not lawful. No new oath is lawful, that is not warranted by the common law, or by act of Parliament, the ground of this appears, by a reſolution in the Queen's time, that Under-Sheriffs did take oaths; but it was reſolved they could not, 'till the ſtatute was made of 13 Eliz 1. That Judges of Aſſize may take aſſizes and oaths in time of Lent and Advent, becauſe before that they could not. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 14. againſt hereſies, it is ſaid to be againſt juſtice and equity, that any man ſhould ſuffer without accuſation and witneſſes. It was never heard of, that at the firſt daſh a man ſhould be put to his oath, without accuſation or witneſs. May 21. upon the queſtion about the clauſe added to the Petition of Right by Biſhop Williams (48), Selden having ſhewn, by many inſtances, that ſuch a clauſe was unprecedented, and would render the whole petition fruſtrate, continues to anſwer the arguments urged in it's favour, thus: For this [ſaving of the King's ſovereignty] it was objected, that in the 28th of Edw. I. in the end of *articuli ſuper chartas*, which was a confirmation of *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foreſta*, there is a clauſe, *ſavant le droit & ſignory*. The words are extant in that roll that is now extant, but but the original roll is not extant. In the bill there was no *ſavant*, but it was put in afterwards; and to prove this, it is true there is no parliament-roll of that year, yet we have hiſtories of that kind. In the library at Oxford, there is a journal of a Parliament of that very year, which mentions as much. Alſo in the publick library of Cambridge, there is a manuſcript that belonged to an abbey, 'tis alſo of the ſame year; it mentions the parliament, and the petition, and *articulos quos petierunt, ſic confirmaverat Rex, ut in fine adderet ſalvo jure coronæ Regis*, and it came by a proclamation ſo in London. When the people heard this clauſe added in the end, they fell into execrations for that addition, and the great Earls that went away ſatisfied from the Parliament, hearing of this, went to the King, and after it was cleared at the next Parliament. Now there is no Parliament-roll of this of that time. Only in one roll, at the end of Edw. III. there is a roll that recites not the Parliament bill, but the ſtatute that was the effect of the roll that was proclaimed. June 5, a meſſage being ſent from the King, requiring them not to enter upon any new buſineſs, Selden made ſeveral warm ſpeeches againſt the Duke of Bucks, of which the following is an extract. Let a declaration be drawn under four heads. (1.) Let us expreſs our dutiful carriage towards his Majeſty. (2.) Of our liberties that are violated. (3.) To preſent what the purpoſe of the Houſe was to have dealt in. (4.) To preſerve our aſſurance, that that great perſon, fearing himſelf to be queſtioned, did interpoſe himſelf, and cauſe the diſtraction. All this time, we have caſt a mantle upon what was done laſt Parliament; but now being driven again to look on that man, let us proceed with that which was then well begun (49). Ye know the charge that was laſt Parliament, to which he made an anſwer; but the particulars were ſufficient to demand judgment on that anſwer only. This debate held to the 14th of June, when Selden put the finiſhing hand to the reſolution which was taken, of petitioning his Majeſty againſt him, in theſe words. As for the laſt clauſe, concerning our grievances, it is certain that the power of the Duke is the cauſe of all this evil. Now we offer it, whether it be fit for ſo much power to be in one hand; but all here refer it to the exceſs of his power; let us mention the abuſe of his power, and pray that this man may be removed from his Majeſty. June 18, there happened a debate, whether the goods of baſtards dying inteſtate belonged to the King. Selden having ſeconded Sir Edward Coke againſt this prerogative, alledged, among other things, It is a prerogative I know attempted, but all men may be queſtioned by it; and then having ſhewn, that the inſtances alledged in favour of it, extend only to the King's ſervants and accomptants, he concludes thus: This prerogative is fetched from beyond ſea. In France, the King hath the goods of men inteſtate that are baſtards. He obſerves on this occaſion, that baſtard was originally not a term of reproach, and that King William the Conqueror, a baſtard from a mother whoſe name was Arlot, gave riſe to the appellative word harlot, i. e. ſtrumpet. June 21, Edmund Sawyer, Knt. a member of the Houſe, being found to have exacted a rate of 12d. a pound, againſt the goods of one Dawes, Selden ſpoke thus: I find theſe two things, (1.) His offence to the commonwealth; that is, his project, as far as he could, to double the book of rates. (2.) A ſcandal of his offence to this Houſe, to plot beforehand, that we might not know the truth; let it be reported to the Houſe; let us commit him to the Tower, and turn him out of the Houſe; 'tis ſubornation; let him alſo ſtand for ever diſabled to ſit here. Our juriſdiction here extends to the members of our own Houſe, to maintain the privileges of the Houſe, we can fine as well as the lords; and as they diſable Lords from ſitting there, ſo can we diſable any member of our Houſe from ſitting here.

(47) Viz. April 15, 19, 22, 26, and May 7. They are all printed by Wilkins, ubi ſupra.

(48) See his article.

(49) The King had ſent a meſſage to that Parliament, aſſerting the Duke's innocence of his own certain knowledge; and it was diſſolved during his tryal. General Hiſtories of England, under that year.

June

Arundelian Marbles [S]. In the next ſeſſions, he continued among the warmeſt of the members in oppoſition to the Court [T], and joined vigorouſly in the remarkable proteſtation that was made by the Houſe of Commons, while the Speaker was held by force in the chair, and the doors locked [U]: ſoon after which he was committed to the Tower by an order of the Privy-Council, and his ſtudy ſealed up, March 24th, 1628. Here he was kept a cloſe priſoner for three months [W], but magnificently ſupported at the King's expence; and being afterwards allowed the uſe of ſuch books as he deſired, he proceeded in his ſtudies. On the third of October, 1629, a demand being made of ſecurity for his good behaviour, upon a propoſal of the Judges to diſcharge him (m), he ſteadily rejected that propoſition, as entirely unwarranted by Law; and continuing immovable in that reſolution, he was, in purſuance of his own ſuit at the King's Bench, in Hilary term, 1629, removed to the priſon of that Court, where he remained above a year (n), but had the liberty of going abroad in the day-time, obſerving the common rules of that priſon. It was at this time that he wrote his piece, *De Succeſſionibus in Bona Defuncti, ſecundum Leges Hebræorum* [X]; and he was now proſecuted in the Star-Chamber, for diſperſing a libel,

(m) At Serjeants-Inn in Fleet-ſtreet, Mr Selden taking notice they had been 8 months in cloſe confinement, the Chief-Juſtice told him, it might become 8 years if they did not ſubmit.

(n) The King ſent his Chaplain Morley to ſuggeſt to him, that upon a petition he might be diſcharged.

June 24, in the famous debate upon tonnage and poundage. Selden ſpoke as follows: The King's Counſel objected, that it was granted time out of mind to the King. I fear his Majeſty is told ſo, and ſome body doth aſcertain him ſo; but we may clear that, and ſhew how far it is from truth. As for 1 Eliz. it was ſo alſo in 1 Jac. but the words time out of mind are, that *whereas Henry VII. and other your progenitors, have had ſome ſubſidies for the guarding of the ſeas*; there was never a King but had ſome ſubſidies, and ſo in that ſenſe it is indeed time out of mind. This is a matter of free gift: for publick bills, the King ſaith, *Le Roy le veut*; for petitions of right, *ſoit fait comme il eſt deſiré*. For the bill of ſubſidy, it is thus; the King heartily thanks his ſubjects for their good wills. In all the bills for tonnage and poundage, it is the ſame anſwer ſave one, which was the 1ſt of Elizabeth; and, but for that only miſtake of the clerk, it hath ever had the ſame aſſent as the bill of ſubſidies *. Upon the 26th of June the Parliament was prorogued.

* All theſe extracts of our author's ſpeeches are printed from a MS. of Mr Pym, by Wilkins.

[S] *Arundelian Marbles.*] Selden was recommended to this work by his friend Sir Robert Cotton, to the Earl of Arundel, who had brought theſe excellent antique monuments from Conſtantinople the year before, and placed them in his houſe and gardens in the Strand: ſo that our author in this book gave a new treaſure to the learned world, which no doubt was the principal motive for his undertaking it. But the edition being found very faulty, after theſe monuments were removed to Oxford, another edition of them was printed by order of that Univerſity, and a third has been ſince printed by Michael Mattaire, Gent. (50). Selden's miſtakes were ſeverely cenſured by Tho. Lydiat, which, Mr Wood tells us, ſo much provoked our author, that when Lydiat was afterwards thrown into jail for a debt contracted by being bound for a relation, he refuſed to contribute any thing towards his diſcharge †.

(50) See Humphry Prideaux's article.

† Athen. Oxon. Vol II. under Lydiat's article.

[T] *He appeared warm againſt the Court.*] Feb. 12, complaining of the reſtraint put upon them, in ſelling books againſt Popery and Arminianiſm; and as the liberty of the preſs depended on a decree of the Star-Chamber only, Selden promoted the petition of the Printers, and propoſed that a law might be made about it; otherwiſe, he ſaid, the Printers and Bookſellers might, by virtue of that decree, be fined, impriſoned, and any ways ill uſed, contrary to the liberties of the ſubject. This was chiefly levelled at Archbiſhop Laud, who had the chief hand in theſe decrees (51).

(51) As appears by his article.

[U] *Proteſtation, while the Speaker was held in the chair.*] While the cauſe of Chambers, a member of the Houſe, was before the Star-Chamber, Selden furniſhed them with a precedent for impriſoning the Sheriff of London, for that ſeizure. He ſaid, indeed, he did not remember where one of the Sheriffs was impriſoned, but he did where they both were, upon Roll's complaint. Feb. 10, he ſaid, if there be any near the King, that doth miſrepreſent our actions, let the curſe light on him, not on us. I believe it is high time to vindicate ourſelves in this cauſe, elſe it is in vain for us to ſit here. Upon this ſpeech, a committee was appointed; and, on Feb 22, after a long and warm debate, a motion being made, to vote any ſuch ſeizure to be a breach of privilege, the Speaker refuſed to put the queſtion, ſaying, that it was contrary to the King's command. Mr Selden ſaid, Dare you not, Mr Speaker, put the queſtion, when we command you? If you will not put it, we muſt ſit ſtill. Thus we ſhall never be able to do any thing. They that come after, they may ſay they have the King's command not to do it. We ſit here, by the command of the King, under the Great Seal; and you are by his Majeſty, ſitting in his royal chair before both Houſes, appointed for our Speaker, now you refuſe to do your office. After which, the Speaker being held in the chair, and the doors locked, the proteſtation was read (52).

(52) For this, and more of this affair, we muſt refer to Mr Hampden's article.

[W] *Cloſe priſoner for three months.*] About a fortnight after his commitment, the Earls of Arundel, Dorſet, and Mancheſter were ſent with the Attorney to examine him more ſtrictly, and objecting to him ſome words ſpoken again the King's right to tonnage, he gave ſuch an anſwer, that the Earl of Dorſet, always his friend, told him, he hoped he would be releaſed, but was deceived; and in the Eaſter holidays, inſtead of an *Habeas Corpus*, which they pleaded for, it was hindered by a letter from his Majeſty, ordering the Lieutenant of the Tower to detain them in cloſe cuſtody, *for a notable contempt* (thoſe are the words) *againſt us and our government; and for moving ſedition againſt us.* This being ſent to the Judges, they were remanded to priſon, May 7; they remained cloſe priſoners 'till the latter end of November, when they were ſuffered to walk about the Tower; which Selden ſays he imagines was done to ſave expence, for they were, 'till this time, magnificently entertained at the King's charge *.

* Vindiciæ, p. 1430.

[X] *De ſucceſſionibus*, &c.] This piece is dedicated to Dr Laud, then Biſhop of London, whoſe library, he acknowledges, was of great help to him in it; and in the prologomena † he profeſſes his opinion againſt the Fanatics, that the only true way of interpreting ſcripture is by the Fathers; *Cordatiores Chriſtianorum qui eccleſiæ Romanæ renunciarunt, idque ob compluria in ea ſancita ſeu ſententias repertas quæ ſibi viſa ſunt divinis contraria ſine prudenti priſcarum ejuſce eccleſiæ hiſtoriarum, annalium, Patrum, Conciliorum, Canonum, ſententiarum receptarum, uſus forenſis, id genus aliorum delectu, ſuam formari noluere. Et qui moroſe hæc & delectum hujuſmodi reſpuunt, ſui duntaxat ingenii vi ſacras literas temere explicantes, ridiculis atque impiis pacem Chriſtianam novationibus perturbare ſolere paſſim videmus.* In libro de ſucceſſione in Pontificatum primo, cap. xii. he gives it as his opinion, that by the High-Prieſt mentioned in the Goſpel and the Acts of the Apoſtles, is not underſtood the High Prieſt properly, but the Prince or Ruler of the Synagogue; and that when mention is made of two High-Prieſts at the ſame time, it is to be underſtood of thoſe Rulers. This paſſage is attacked by Dr Hody, in his *Caſe of Sees vacant by unjuſt or uncanonical Deprivation, ſtated.* 'I deny, ſays he (53), Selden's conjecture 'to be true; and againſt it I offer the following con- 'ſtructions, 1. Neither Joſephus nor any of the 'Jewiſh writers any where tell us, that the High- 'Prieſts, properly ſo called, were deprived by the 'Romans of their power and authority in juridical 'matters, and confined to the offices of the temple. 'Selden does not pretend to the authority of any 'writer; and had there been any ſuch thing, Joſephus 'would certainly not have failed to have mentioned 'it; eſpecially, ſince he mentions, that in ſuch and 'ſuch parts of Judæa there were courts of judicature 'erected by the Romans. 2. Joſephus is ſo far from 'warranting any ſuch opinion, that he ſpeaks, through- 'out his whole Hiſtory, of the High-Prieſts, properly 'ſo called, as of perſons of great power and authority 'in

† P. xiv. in the 2d volume of Wilkins's edition of our author's Works in 1726.

(53) P. 34, edit. 1693.

libel, intituled, *A Propoſition for his Majeſty's Service, to bridle the Impertinence of Parliaments*, which was proved before the Court to be written by Sir Robert Dudley, in the preceding reign [*Y*]. Hereupon, the King made it one expreſſion of his joy, on the birth of Prince Charles, on the 29th of May, 1630, to diſcharge this cauſe. Our author taking this favourable opportunity, applied next day to the Earl of Portland, Lord-Treaſurer, who procured him to be removed to the Gate-Houſe in Weſtminſter, May 30 (o). By this means, he was ſo much at liberty, that he paſſed the long vacation at Wreſt [*Z*]. But when his *habeas corpus* was brought as uſual, in Michaelmas term enſuing, it was abſolutely refuſed by the Court as before; and the Judges complaining likewiſe of the illegality of this removal to the Gate-Houſe [*AA*], he was remanded by an order from them to his former priſon, where he continued, though with the ſame liberty as before, 'till May 1631; when, upon a diſpute in Law between the Earls of Arundel, Shrewſbury, Kent, and Pembroke, he was admitted to bail, to have the liberty of appearing in any of the Courts of Law, upon the buſineſs of that ſuit [*BB*]. After this, he was bailed from term to term, and never more detained in priſon; 'till at laſt, petitioning his Majeſty [*CC*] for the purpoſe, in the end of July, 1634, he was freed likewiſe from this bail, by the favour of Archbiſhop Laud, together with the Lord Treaſurer (p). During theſe troubles, he wrote his book *De Jure Naturali & Gentium, juxta Diſciplinam Hebræorum* [*DD*], as he did alſo his *Uxor Hebraica* *, and finiſhed the ſecond edition of his *Titles of Honour*. As he gave no freſh matter of provocation, the King's diſpleaſure againſt

(o) Dr Wilkins miſtook this for an abſolute diſcharge, but ſays he could not tell how Mr Selden obtained it; and he is followed herein by the General Dictionary. No doubt it was in this view that he got the removal out of the Tower.

(p) Vindiciæ, p. 1434, & ſeq.

* The whole title is, *Uxor Hebraica: ſive, de Nuptiis & Divortiis ex Jure Civili, id eſt, Divino & Thalmudico Veterum Hebræorum. Libri* III. It was publiſhed in 1646, at London, in 4to. and reprinted at Francfort in 1673, 4to.

'in civil affairs. 3. It is likewiſe confirmed by the 'frequent and continual changing of the High Prieſt 'under the Romans; for if they were not concerned 'in civil government, only in ſacred, how could 'they come under the diſpleaſure of the Romans. '4. When St Paul was told, that the perſon he had 'reviled was God's High-Prieſt, that is, High Prieſt 'properly ſo called, he ſtrait infers, that he was the 'ruler of the people. 5. Thoſe difficult places of 'ſcripture, upon which Selden's opinion is grounded, 'may fairly admit of another explication.' Againſt this opinion of our author, that there were two rulers of the ſynagogue, one ſtiled the Prince, and the other the Father of it, and that the high-prieſthood of Annas was a civil dignity; Baſnage, who oppoſes it, obſerves, that Lightfoot was once of this opinion, but retracted it afterwards, when he perceived that there was none of that name ever Prince of the ſynagogue. Baſnage thinks Annas and Caiaphas were both High-Prieſts, only held the office yearly by turns (54).

(54) Baſnage, in Exercitationibus Hiſtorico-criticis.

[*Y*] *He was proſecuted in the Star Chamber.*] Dr Wilkins tells us, that he was impriſoned, and, together with him, the Earls of Bedford and Clare, Sir Robert Cotton, and Mr [Oliver] St John. Our author mentions this proſecution (55), but ſays nothing of any impriſonment upon that account, and 'tis certain he was already a priſoner on another account. Another author tells us, this paper was induſtriouſly ſpread about by the Fanatics, to diſcover the importance of Parliaments; and how, by the peoples purſes, to keep the nation in a good defence againſt the King's enemies. And it was ſuggeſted, that the King had not only ſuch a deſign on foot, but that by him, or his means, this plot firſt took birth; whereas, if any credit may be given to Sir David Foulis, one not ignorant of State affairs, being therein ſeveral times employed by King James, it was diſcovered by him that this paper was contrived ſeveral years before; to wit, about 1613, by Sir Robert Dudley, then living at Florence, with the title of the Duke of Northumberland. The ſame author alſo informs us, that this paper was afterwards publiſhed under the title of *Strafford's Plot diſcovered*, &c. endeavouring thereby to make that Earl odious to the people, as if he had been the compoſer of it, and that only becauſe a copy of it was found in his ſtudy (56).

(55) In his Vindiciæ, &c.

(56) Foulis's Hiſt. of Fanatic Plots, p. 68. edit. 1674, folio.

[*Z*] *He paſſed the long vacation at Wreſt.*] This is the liberty which Hugo Grotius ſpeaks of, in a letter to Peireſc, dated September 3, this year, in the following terms: *Ex magna Britannia, nihil habes boni poſt marmora Arundeliana niſi hoc unum, libero cælo frui virum optimum, & civem fortiſſimum* Seldenum *faventibus bonis omnibus* (57).

(57) Grotii Epiſt. 118. inter Epiſtolas ad Gallos.

[*AA*] *The illegality of his removal to the Gate-houſe.*] When the Judges returned to their ſeats in Weſtminſter-Hall, in Michaelmas term, they ſent for the Marſhal of the King's-Bench Priſon, and demanded his priſoner, Selden; and when he produced the Treaſurer's warrant, he was reprimanded by the Court for letting his priſoner go without a *breve* from them; obſerving, that if the King's mandate had been notified to the Court in time, it might eaſily have been done in due form of that Court. The Judges added, that in this buſineſs, the Clerk of the Crown ſhould have given the writ to be ſubſcribed by the Judges, upon their return to Weſtminſter; and leaſt the like error ſhould be committed for the future, the Court ſent Whitlock to the Treaſurer, alledging, that Selden deſpiſed all Courts and forms of law, and that he had ſuggeſted to him [the Treaſurer] this new and irregular method of removing himſelf only in the ſpirit of oppoſing them; the Treaſurer profeſſed, that he would not have granted this favour to Selden, had not that gentleman aſſured him, that it was quite regular; and, therefore, as it was by no means in the King's deſire to oppoſe their proceedings in form, he delivered him up to their pleaſure; whereupon, a writ was made out for remanding him to the King's-Bench Priſon (58).

(58) Wilkins, as before, p. xxviii.

[*BB*] *Was admitted to appear in any of the Courts of Law.*] At this time, he was retained as counſel for Donald, Lord Rea, in the famous cauſe of treaſon, againſt David Ramſay; the King determined that it ſhould be decided by arms, and in duello, or ſingle combat. In order to which, the cauſe being according to form, in that way of trial, to be adjudged by the Civil Law; Selden, as a common Lawyer, was excluded. He ſpoke this year, in Hilary term, as counſel, before the Houſe of Lords (59), for Charles Longueville, in his application for the Barony of Grey and Ruthien; the claim to which, was derived from his mother, Suſanna, ſiſter to Henry, Earl of Kent, who died without iſſue; but the cauſe was given againſt him, in favour of the Earl of Kent (60).

(59) The ſpeech is printed by Wilkins, ubi ſupra, and ſaid to be ſpoken in Hilary term, 6 Charles I.

(60) Croke's Reports, Vol. III. p. 601.

[*CC*] *Upon petitioning his Majeſty*, &c.] Dr Wilkins well obſerves, that this petition was not at all inconſiſtent with his former refuſal to petition upon the firſt commitment. That would have implied an acknowledgment of the offence for which he was ſaid, in the King's letter, to be committed, which was even dangerous; but that order was ſuperſeded by the ſecond, for admitting him to go out of priſon upon bail for his ſurrendering on demand (61).

(61) The bail were Herbert and Gardiner, both of the Inner-Temple; they were bound in 150 *l.* each, and himſelf in 500 *l.* *Vindiciæ*, &c. p. 1433.

[*DD*] *His book, De Jure Naturali & Gentium*, &c.] This piece has been variouſly cenſured. Le Clerc (62) and Barbeyrac (63) condemn it, not only for that obſcurity of ſtile and perplexity of method obſerved in all our author's performances; but becauſe in it he derives not his principles from the light of reaſon; laying down as certain, the Rabbinical tradition, concerning the ſeven precepts, ſaid by them to be given by God to Noah for all mankind to obſerve. The author of a piece, intituled, *Polygamia Triumphans* (64), goes ſtill further, and obſerving, that Selden here aſſerts, polygamy not to be contrary to the law of nature (65), produces his teſtimony in defence of that practice. On the other hand, this piece is highly applauded by Puffendorf, who declares, that our author would have been equal to the beſt writers, if he had undertaken to accommodate the *jus naturale* to mankind in general, with the ſame accuracy as he has done to the traditions of the Jews.

(62) Bibl. Choiſie, Tom. IX. p. 396.

(63) In the preface to Puffendorf, *De Jure Naturæ & Gent.* in French.

(64) P. 14. edit. Stockholm, 1682.

(65) Viz. inlib. v. c. 6, 7.

[*EE*] *The*

against him gradually wore away; and the ſhare that he took, as one of the committee for managing the maſk exhibited by the gentlemen of the Inns of Court, before their Majeſties, on Candlemas-night, 1633, muſt needs have been very acceptable to them, ſince it was done expreſsly to ſhew, how greatly thoſe gentlemen diſapproved of William Prynne's *Hiſtriomaſtix* (*q*). Beſides, there was a particular reaſon againſt ſuffering ſuch a mark of the King's unkindneſs towards him, to ſtand any longer unremoved. For the diſputes with the Dutch about the herring-fiſhery, began at this time to run to an extremity, the latter having lately ſet up a claim to that fiſhery, even upon the Britiſh coaſt. Theſe pretenſions were grounded chiefly upon the arguments in a treatiſe of the celebrated Hugo Grotius, wherein this liberty was aſſerted to be a matter of common right. It was well known, that our author had compoſed a piece in defence of the King's dominion over the Britiſh ſeas, not long after the firſt riſe of this diſpute in the preceding reign (*r*); but ſome accidents having hindered the immediate publication of it [*EE*], he was eaſily prevailed on (*s*), at this juncture, to put it to the preſs, where it was finiſhed in the beginning of the year 1636 (*t*) [*FF*]; and a copy of it placed among the records of the Crown, in

(*q*) See Lord Chancellor Clarendon's article.

(*r*) This ſhips had been formerly granted by a treaty in 1495, between Henry VII. and Philip Archduke of Auſtria, who was then ſovereign of the Netherlands. Article XIV. of that treaty, long before the Dutch had erected themſelves into a ſovereign power, by the treaty of Munſter in 1654.

(*s*) Heylin ſays particularly by Biſhop Laud.

(*t*) An edition of it was printed the ſame year in Holland, with a defence of their right prefixed by Boxhornius, intituled, *Apologia pro Navigationibus Hollandorum*, &c. The importation of it into England was prohibited.

[*EE*] *The publication was hindered by ſome accidents.*] This treatiſe was written in the year 1618, as we are told by our author himſelf, as follows: That when he brought his diſcourſe on Chriſtmas-day to the King, the Lord-High-Admiral hearing that he had written a diſcourſe about the dominion of the ſea, in the ſpring of 1618, ordered him to finiſh it and preſent it to his Majeſty; and that, in the ſummer of the ſame year, he preſented a fair copy of it, at his Majeſty's own requeſt, who gave it to the Lord-High-Admiral, to be communicated to Sir Henry Martyn, Judge of the Admiralty-court; who having read it, had the pen in his hand to give an *imprimatur*, but threw it down; ſaying, it was better to be done by the King himſelf: that his Majeſty was about ſigning it when he ſtopt ſuddenly; ſaying, he remembered ſomething in the book about the northern ſea, which might perhaps diſpleaſe his brother of Denmark, which he would not willingly do, ſince he owed him a large ſum of money already, and muſt deſire him to lend more ſhortly. It was the laſt chapter of the ſecond book. 'I accordingly, ſays Selden, took it again, and filled up the method again in a ſhort time, and carried it to Court; where having waited for his Majeſtie often, and long, in the Admiralty-chamber to no purpoſe, and not being received as I thought was my due, I put the book in my ſtudy, giving over all thoughts of deſiring it to be publiſhed; neither, concludes he, did I ever, of my own accord, go to the Admiral afterwards. A little after this, William, Earl of Pembroke, a friend of mine, had the book to review it, and reſtoring it in a month or two, it lay by me in oblivion for ten years and upwards. I heard, and and believe it, that ſome creatures of the Admiral's had inſinuated, that I had in this book ſaid ſomething in diminution of the juriſdiction of the Admiralty, when he grew looſe about the publication of it, behaved himſelf unfriendly to me at Court. I was told alſo, by ſome about the King, that his Majeſtie, upon ſecond thoughts, imagined it might be of ſome diſſervice to him with the United Provinces. In the beginning of the ſpring 1619, the Marquis of Bucks ſent for me into the Parliament-chamber, and aſked me in good humour, why I had not brought my book to be licenced; I anſwered, that I had often waited in his chamber to no purpoſe, both for him and my admiſſion to his Majeſty; upon which ill uſage I had abſtained from Court. He then invited me thither, but I never had more words with him upon the ſubject afterwards (66).

(66) Vindiciæ, &c. p. 14. 5. in the 2d volume of his Works, by Dr Wilkins.

[*FF*] *It was publiſhed in* 1636.] The dedication to King Charles the Firſt, in which he gives the following account of the hiſtory of the publication, is wrote, not only in elegant Latin, but in a courtly and polite addreſs: *Divi parentis tui juſſu tentata olim adumbrataque, inter ſebedas ſive neglectas ſive dijectas per annos amplius ſedecim mecum latuit, ut imperfecta nimis, ſic etiam ceu intermortua. Poſtquam autem recognitioni ejus inſtaurationique totus, idque ea intentiſſimi ſtudii alacritate, qua, clementiſſimis utpote Majeſtatis tuæ auſpiciis excitus, carere nequibam, per menſes aliquot vacaveram, non tam ut evocata revixit, quam plane renata eſt. Tot ſcilicet in ea ſunt emendata, tot diſpuncta, recocta, limata, immutata, tanta inſuper acceſſio ubique facta eſt, ut priſtino, quantum erat, lineamento plerumque diſparente, exeat omnino nova; tam nimirum ex iterata origine, quam ex natura ſui, tua.* Archdeacon Nicholſon thinks, that the Engliſh right, excluſive both of French and Dutch, from fiſhing in the four ſeas, is clearly made out, from the records againſt the objections of Hugo Grotius, in his *Mare liberum*. But we muſt obſerve, that Grotius's book had been of ſo much ſervice to our author, as to bring the queſtion to this point, that if an occupancy could be proved it would conſtitute a right; that point, therefore, was laboured by Selden from the records. 'Tis in this view, that Selden denies that he oppoſes Hugo Grotius in this diſpute. He ſpeaks highly of that great man's abilities, *Virum ingentis eruditionis, & rerum divinarum humanarumque (id eſt juris) ſcientiſſimum* *; and again, ſpeaking of the ſpeech made in defence of the Engliſh right to the fiſhery, by Sir Dudley Carleton, againſt Grotius; and of this latter's complaint, of an inſinuation in that ſpeech, as if he was impriſoned to deter other from defending his opinion, our author has theſe words: *Dicta hæc ſhere non tam in* Hugonem Grotium, *quam in ipſum (quod perperam oſtenditur) communionis marinæ jus naturale: cui expreſſius & ſimplicius multi quam ipſe patrocinantur, tam docte & ingenioſe nemo* †. Grotius too ſpeaks in the like handſome manner of Selden's work, in a letter from Paris this year (67). *Ex Magna Britannia nihil habes boni, poſt marmora Arundeliana, niſi quod* Johannes Seldenus, *ſpectatum jam multis operibus ingenium, mare clauſum addidit mari libero oppoſitum, ſi forte legeris. Eo in libro multa ſane eruditione aſperſo, totum id mare quod ab* Anglia *ad littora uſque* Hiſpaniæ, Galliæ, Belgicæ, Germaniæ, Daniæ, *patet*, Anglico *regno jure proprietatis vindicat. At nequis oſtentamentum tantum ingenii putet, Extraordinario Batavorum Legato, qui nunc Londini eſt, facta eſt per Regis Britannici Miniſtros, ejus juris denunciatio; edictoque cautum eſt, ne quis eum* Seldeni *librum, alibi editum, in regnum importaret* ‖. In another letter alſo from Paris, May 7, 1636, he writes thus to his brother William Grotius: Seldenus *ſumpſerit egregium libri ſui epiphonema, in quo locutiones meas figuratas oppoſuit feriis. Ego vero illi & humano & erudito, quod me & humane & erudite tractaverit, multum debeo. Epigrammate tamen hoc puto me non læſiſſe jus amicitiæ, quæ inter nos eſt:*

* Mare Clauſum, Lib. I. c. xxvi.

† Ibid.

(67) Letter to Peireſc, dated Sept. 1630.

‖ See note (*t*) in the text.

Ipſum compedibus qui vinxerat Enneſigæum,
Eſt Græca Xerxes multus in hiſtoria,
Lucullum, Latii, Xerxem dixere togatum,
Seldenus Xerxes vere Britannus erit.

In the ſecond book of this treatiſe, cap. vii. our author endeavours to prove, that the words *litus Saxonicum*, in the *Notitia*, which was under the dominion of the *comes littoris Saxonici per Britanniam*, comprehends, not only the Britiſh, but the oppoſite ſhore of France and Holland. The words *littoris Saxonici* being equivalent to *limitis tranſmarini*. This Mr Somner thinks is a miſtake of our author's, in not underſtanding rightly the words in the *Notitia*. 'Indeed, ſays he, admitting *limes* for *litus*, *Britannicus* had been enough; nay, it had been proper, 'and only proper, without any further paraphraſe ſuch 'as that of *per Britanniam*. But if we grant that 'the *litus tranſmarinum* was the *limes*, or limit, or 'frontier, of the Britiſh maritime court's dominion; 'then of neceſſary conſequence, the ports, havens, 'creeks, harbours, &c. on the oppoſite coaſt one

'and

in the Council-cheſt in the Exchequer, and in the Court of Admiralty; the Engliſh ſovereignty in the ſeas being acknowledged by the Dutch, who payed the King thirty thouſand pounds for their permiſſion to fiſh in thoſe ſeas this year, and agreed to give an annual tribute for the future (*u*) [*GG*]. In the mean time, how hearty ſoever Mr Selden ſhewed himſelf, by this performance, in maintaining the prerogative of the Britiſh ſceptre, againſt the encroachment of foreigners, yet he was by no means well affected to the Court doctrine of the King's power, to levy money for this purpoſe upon the ſubject, without their own conſent. He had been a confeſſor in that cauſe, and continued ſtill as much out of humour as ever with the oppoſers of it. Therefore, in the two enſuing Parliaments, of 1640 and 1641, being returned for the Univerſity of Oxford, he both ſpoke and acted with the ſame ſpirit, not only in procuring ſatisfaction for himſelf and his fellow-ſufferers, from the Court, but joined with the moſt violent, in proſecuting the Earl of Strafford and Archbiſhop Laud (*w*) [*HH*]. He was likewiſe very inſtrumental in depriving the Biſhops of

(*u*) General Hiſtory of England.

(*w*) Several of his ſpeeches are printed in the laſt edition of his Works, by Dr Wilkins.

'and all were appertaining to the Britons; nor might 'the Dutch, French, or thoſe of Britain Armoric, 'then, or at any time ſince, juſtly challenge or uſe 'them as their own, nor of right ſtir or put out 'to ſea by them, much leſs claim or have any toll, 'fallage, tax, tribute, impoſt, wreck, or any other 'cuſtoms or rights in any part of the maritime tracts 'there; nor yet might they or any other nations, 'without a treſpaſs, or as invaders of the Britiſh 'empire and dominions, paſs or repaſs by the channel 'though never ſo near the tranſmarine ſhore; nor, 'but by curteſy of the Britons, make any other 'uſe of it, which for all that I have ſeen or read, 'I cannot believe to have been obſerved or practiſed 'in thoſe times (68).' Dr Wilkins well obſerves, that this matter has been ſettled by treaties between the two nations, which are much more firm than the arguments of theſe learned men. However, a Stateſman muſt not be unacquainted with them, in the view of being prepared in caſe of future diſputes. Archdeacon Nicolſon tells us, that when our author penned this book, he was not ſuch an inveterate enemy to the prerogative doctrine of ſhip-money as afterwards; for he profeſſedly aſſerts, that in defence of their ſovereignty at ſea, our Kings conſtantly practiſed the levying great ſums of money on their ſubjects, without the concurrence of their Parliaments. And he inſinuates, that it was upon this account that the book was commanded by the King's council to be laid up as an ineſtimable jewel among the choice records which concerned the Crown. In anſwer to this, Dr Wilkins obſerves, that the levies for the ſupport of the navy, 'till the end of Henry the Second's reign, are mentioned by our author, from the laws and ſtatutes of the times when he mentions them, and 'tis well known were not paſſed without conſent of the people; ſo that there was no occaſion for taking expreſs notice of the matter, and had it been otherwiſe underſtood at that time, when our author oppoſed the ſhip money without an act of Parliament, can it be imagined that his antagoniſts would have been ſilent on this head, and yet we do not find that this was ever done or that this book was then ever objected to him. It was afterwards † tranſlated into Engliſh by Merchmont Nedham, the ſcurrilous news writer, as Mr Wood calls him, who ſuppreſſed the Epiſtle Dedicatory, interlarding it with ſeveral treaſonable comments and falſe gloſſes of his own; beſides which, he added a few old evidences, ſuppoſed to be communicated to him by John Bradſhaw, of infamous memory. After the Reſtoration it was reviſed and corrected by James Howel, Hiſtoriographer Royal. The book was attacked by Theodorus Graſwinckell, Knight of the order of St Mark, and Advocate of the Finances in Holland, *in Vindiciis Maris Liberi, &c.* (69); in which the author having taxed Selden with proſtituting his pen to the ſervice of the Court-party in order to obtain his liberty, cites the following words, as from Petrus Burgus: Seldenus *nuperrime integrum opus ſcripſit* *; and then adds, ſays Selden, moſt inſolently, *Non mirum: virorum enim ille inter ſæculi noſtri primicerios numerandus, & meliori fortuna dignus, fati ſui infelicitate, carceris ſe non digni colonus erat. Hinc ut exiret, ſeque libertati amiſſæ redonandum ſperare daretur, animum ad ſcribendum appulit, &*

Id ſibi negotii credidit ſolum dari,
Domino ut placerent quos feciſſet fabulas;

Neque talia agitantem ſucceſſus deſtituit ‖. And the following year Selden publiſhed, in his own defence, his *Vindiciæ, &c.* which we have often quoted in the courſe of this memoir, and of which ſomething more will be remarked above at the end of the text.

(68) Wilkins's preface to our author's Works, p. xxviii, & ſeqq. from Somner's MS. in the Canterbury Library.

† Upon the breaking out of the Dutch war in 1652.

(69) The whole title runs thus: Theodori J. F. Graſwinckelii J. C. Hagæ Comitum, 1652. Maris liberi Vindiciæ adverſus Petrum Baptiſtam Burgum Ligoſtici maritimi dominii aſſertorem. 1652.

* Burgus writes, with more truth, *edidit.*

‖ Ad Burg. c. vi. p. 118.

[*GG*] *They agreed to pay an annual tribute for the future.*] It would be a great miſtake to aſcribe this ſubmiſſion to the force of Mr Selden's arguments. They ſtood out 'till the *ultima ratio regum* convinced them of their folly in oppoſing the claim; and did not conſent to it, 'till their whole fiſhing fleet had been deſtroyed by ſixty of our men of war, under the command of the Earl of Northumberland; an obſervation which no doubt had been made by Sommelſidyke, when he adviſed the States to ſuppreſs Graſwinckell's anſwer to Selden; ſaying, that this affair muſt be decided by the ſword, and not by the pen *Ea res non eſſet calami, ſed gladii* (70).

(70) Hubero's in Hiſt. Civili, P. 3. §. 6. l. 1.

[*HH*] *Archbiſhop Laud.*] When the Canons, which had paſſed in Convocation after the [Short] Parliament was diſſolved in 1640, were called in queſtion by the enſuing [Long] Parliament in the Houſe of Commons, the Archbiſhop thinking, poſſibly he might have ſome intereſt in Mr Selden, wrote to him the following letter:

'To mye much honored friend, Mr John Selden,
'Theſe. *Sal. in Chriſto.*

'Worthy Sir,

'I underſtand that the buſineſs about the late 'cannons will be handled againe in your Houſe to 'morrowe. I ſhall never aſke any unworthye thinge 'of you; but give me leave to ſaye as followes. If 'wee have erred in anye point of legalitye unknowne 'unto us, wee ſhall be hartelye ſorye for it, and hope 'that error ſhall not be made a cryme; we heare, 'that ſhip-monye is layd aſyde as a thinge will dye 'of it ſelfe; and I am glad it will have ſoe quiett 'a death. Maye not theſe unfortunate cannons be 'ſuffered to dye as quietlye, without blemiſhinge 'the Church, which hath to manye enemyes both 'at home and abroad? If thiſs maye be, I heare 'promiſe you, I will preſentlye humblye beſeech his 'Majeſtye, for a licence to reviewe the cannons, and 'abrogat them; aſſuringe myſelfe, that all mye 'brethren will joyne with me to preſerve the pub'licke peace, rather then that anye act of ours ſhall 'be thought a publicke grievance. And upon mye 'credit with you, I had moved for thiſs licence at 'the verye firſt ſittinge of thiſs Parliament, but that 'both myſelfe and others did feare the Houſe of 'Commons would take offence at it, (as they did at 'the laſt) and ſayde we did it on purpoſe to prevent 'them. I underſtand you meane to ſpeake of thiſs 'buſynes in the Houſe to morrowe, and that hath 'made me wright theſe lynes to you to lett you 'knowe our meaninge and deſyers. And I ſhall take 'it for a great kindnes to me, and a great ſervice 'to the Church, if by your means the Houſe will 'be ſatiſfied with thiſs, which is heare offered of 'abrogatinge the cannons. To God's bleſſed pro'tection I leave you, and reſt,

'Your lovinge poor friend,

Lambeth, November 29, 1640. W. Cant.

'I mean to move the Kinge thiſs daye for a licence, 'as is within mentioned (71).'

(71) From a MS. in the poſſeſſion of the late Nicolas Harding, Eſq; printed in the General Dictionary.

[*II*] *A piece*

of their votes in Parliament, and incapacitating the Clergy in general to exercise any temporal jurisdiction. He likewise printed a piece, in 1642, in favour of the Presbyterian parity [*II*], and others upon the power and privileges of Parliaments [*KK*]. But though he opposed the King's commission of array [*LL*] this year, yet he asserted his prerogative over

[*II*] *A piece in defence of the Presbyterian parity.*] This was a passage in the annals of Eutychius, concerning the government of the Church of Alexandria. Our author printed it with this pompous title, *Eutychii Egyptii Patriarchæ Orthodoxorum Alexandrini, Scriptoris ut in Oriente admodum vetusti ac illustris ita in Occidente tum pauciſſimis visi, tum perraro auditi, Ecclesiæ suæ origines, ex ejusdem Arabico nunc primum typis edidit, ac versione & commentario auxit* Johannes Seldenus;

——*Non si quid* TURBIDA ROMA,
Elevet, accedas; examenve improba in ILLA
Castiges trutina.—— PERS.

In the preface he observes, that the disputes about the order of Bishops, turn greatly upon the authenticity of a passage in the eighty-fifth epistle of St Jerom, relating to the Patriarchate of the Church of Alexandria; in which, any superiority of order is expressly denied. He obtrudes this author as an Egyptian Bede, and makes no doubt but these annals were, for the most part, taken out of the archives of the Church of Alexandria; whereas it appears, from the history of *Abul Farajus*, published by Dr Pococke, that in the tenth century, when Eutyches wrote, there were no archives of that Church. For when the city was taken by the Saracens, many years before, in the reign of Sultan Omar; his General, Annas Elmal, as by a particular order from his master, commanded all the books and writings in it to be sent to the baths as fuel for heating them, where they were all consumed. Eutyches was extremely ignorant in the ecclesiastical affairs of that time, to which Selden's passage relates; as is evident from the instance of Origen, than whom no person was more famous in the Church at that time, the latter part of the third century, when he flourished; yet Eutyches has thrust him down to the middle of the sixth century, makes a Bishop of him, and brings him to the Council of Constantinople, called by the Emperor Justinian, to be there condemned. Selden had imbibed a great opinion of this author from Erpenius, who, as he says, gave him a copy of it at London; to whom it was recommended by Isaac Casaubon as a very useful work. Selden, therefore, in the year 1652, prevailed with Dr Pococke to undertake a translation of it, and put that, with the original Arabic, to press at Oxford, engaging to be at the whole expence of the edition himself. Dr Langbaine, Provost of Queen's college, was also desired by him to assist in the business. This appears from several letters of this last to Selden, (72) Epist. 732. in one of which (72), upon Pococke's disliking one of the characters of the Arabic font at Oxford, and desiring him to procure a new puncheon and matrice, with five or six pounds of letters, the request was preferred to Selden, by Dr Langbaine, in the words of the Friars in Chaucer, who begged money for completing their cloyster;

Now help Thomas, for him that harrow'd hell,
Or else mote we all our books sell.

In another, wrote to Dr Pococke, presently after Selden's death, Langbaine acquaints him, that he saw Selden the day before he died, 'who told me, says he, in the hearing of one of his executors, Mr Hayward, how he had disposed of his impression of Eutychius to you and myself; and so he did, by a codicil made to his will in June 1653. I mentioned to him, continues the doctor, that he had often spoken of intended notes; upon that, he gave orders, that all letters or notes concerning that author should be delivered to us.' The codicil here mentioned runs thus: 'Whereas 'there is in the press, at Oxford, Eutychius, Patri-'arch of Alexandria, his annals, in Arabic and Latin, 'under the care of my loving friends Dr Gerard 'Langbaine and Dr Edward Pococke, Professor of 'Hebrew and Arabic; if at the time of my decease 'there should not be left by me, in the hands of 'Dr Langbaine, money enough to pay for the 'finishing of the work at the press, my mind and 'will is, that so much shall be given into his hands 'to finish it, as he and Dr Pococke shall direct. 'And further, that when the impression is finished, 'all and every the copies of the said impression be 'left wholly to the said Langbaine and Pococke; 'to whom I hereby give and bequeath them, 'which I think will be five hundred in number. 'There are indentures in my behalf, between the said 'Dr Langbaine and the Printer, which direct the 'business for the charge of the press (73).' Accordingly, Dr Pococke published the work in 1658, in two volumes folio; in the preface to which, he declares, that it was not undertaken by him from his own choice and inclination, but upon the persuasion and importunity of Selden. That there are many fabulous things in these annals relating to Ancient History, and that the author gives as absurd accounts of the transactions in the western parts of the world, as our Western writers do commonly in those of the Eastern. As to the paragraph of these annals, that had been printed and published by Selden, who had done it very incorrectly; Dr Pococke sets it in a true light (74). In justice to Selden, his picture was put before this edition, and underneath *Illustrissimo* Johanne Seldeno ☞ μαγάσιλε *Chorago*. Whence the compiler of the Bodleian catalogue of printed books, in 1674, imagined, that Selden began this translation, which was only finished by Pococke, whereas the word *choragus* (75) expresses in a beautiful figure, that it was printed at Selden's charge.

(73) Dr Langbaine died in 1654.

(74) It had been censured before by Abraham Echellensis, Part I. c. ix. p. 29. and Morinus de Ordinationibus, P. iii. c. 7. and Renaudot.

(75) It denotes originally the person who was at the charge of exhibiting the scenes in a play, and is taken from Plautus in Perf. Act I. scene 3. where Saturn asks, τοῦτον ornamenta, Tom. answers, *Ab: Chorago*. Du Pin has made the same mistake in Bibl. Eccles. Tom. VIII.

[*KK*] *And further upon the power and privileges of Parliaments.*] These are, 1. *A discourse concerning the rights and privileges of the Subjects, in a conference desired by the Lords, and had by a Committee of both Houses, in the Year* 1628. 2. *The privileges of the Baronage of England when they sit in Parliament.* 3. *A brief discourse concerning the power of Peers and Commoners in Parliament, in point of Judicature.*

[*LL*] *The King's commission of array.*] Lord Clarendon assures us, that our author 'declared himself very positively with much sharpness against it, as a thing expressly without any authority of law; the statute upon which, being, as he said, repealed; and discoursed very much of the ill consequence which might result by submitting to it. He answered the arguments which had been used to support it, and easily prevailed with the House not to like a proceeding, which they knew was intended to do them hurt, and to lessen their authority. But his authority and reputation prevailed much further than in the House, and begot a prejudice against it in many well-affected without doors. When the King was informed of it, he was much troubled, having looked upon Mr Selden as well disposed to his service (76). We have in the General Dictionary a letter of Selden's to Lord Falkland, wrote, after the vote against this commission had passed the House, as follows:

(76) Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 667. edit. 1707.

June 29, 1642.

'That of the vote your Lordship speaks of is true, 'as I presume you by this time see in print. But in 'what degree it was grounded on my authority (which 'doubtless goes here for little or nothing), you may 'ghesse by this, that I was not in the House at that 'voteing, or any other time when any agitation or 'mention of it was there, 'till yesterday, being 'Tuesday, when there was a declaration voted 'there to shew the reasons of that vote. But it 'is true, that I was of the committee of Lords 'and Commons, to whom some ten days since it was 'referred. And among the rest, my opinion (and 'that upon the best consideration I could make) was, 'that it is against law; and so is my opinion still, 'which shall, as in all other things, change, when 'I shall be taught the contrary. Your Lordship had 'sooner received answere, if I could sooner have 'put my reasons together, and have them transcribed: 'As they are, I humbly thus offer them to you, and 'am most devotely,

'Your Lordship's most humble
'and most affectionate Servant,
'J. S. (77).'

(77) Copied from some papers in the hands of the late Nicholas Harding, Esqs

over the militia [*MM*]; and, about the ſame time, the Lord Keeper Littleton having voted for that ordinance of the Parliament, for the aſſuming this power to themſelves, his Majeſty took the Great Seal from him, intending it for Mr Selden; but he declined the firſt overture that he received of that intention [*NN*]: yet ſome of the leading men in Parliament obſerving his conduct, took up a ſuſpicion of his being concerned, the following year, with Mr Waller the poet, in the deſign of delivering the city of London to the King. But that jealouſy appearing upon examination not to be well grounded [*OO*], and our author having, moreover, purged himſelf by his oath, on the ſixth of June; when the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter was erected on the 12th of that month, he was appointed one of the lay-members, and frequently ſat in it [*PP*]. Soon after this he took

[*MM*] *Yet he aſſerted the King's prerogative over the militia.*] The laſt mentioned Noble Hiſtorian informs us, that 'Lord Falkland, with his Majeſty's 'leave, wrote a friendly letter to Mr Selden, to 'know his reaſon, why, in ſuch a conjuncture, whate- 'ver his opinions were, he would oppoſe the ſubmiſſion 'to the commiſſion of array, which no body could 'deny to have had it's original from law, and which 'many learned men ſtill believed to be very legal, to 'make way for the eſtabliſhment of an ordinance 'concerning the militia, which had no manner of 'pretence to right. He anſwered this letter very 'frankly, as a man who had believed himſelf in the 'right upon the commiſſion of array, and that the 'arguments he had uſed againſt it could not be 'anſwered, ſumming up ſome of thoſe arguments in 'as few words as they could be comprehended in. 'But then he did as frankly inveigh at the ordinance 'for the militia, which he ſaid was without any 'ſhadow of law or pretence of precedent, and moſt 'deſtructive to the government of the kingdom; and 'he did acknowledge, that he had been the more 'inclined to make that diſcourſe in the Houſe againſt 'the commiſſion, that he might the more freely argue 'againſt the ordinance, which was to be conſidered 'upon a day then appointed; and was moſt confident 'that he ſhould likewiſe overthrow the ordinance, 'which he confeſſed could be leſs ſupported; and 'he did believe, that it would be much better, if 'both were rejected, than if either of them ſhould 'ſtand and remain uncontrolled. But his confidence 'deceived him, and he quickly found, that they who 'ſuffered themſelves to be intirely governed by his 'reaſon, when thoſe concluſions reſulted from it, 'which contributed to their own deſigns, would not 'at all be guided by it, or ſubmit to it, when it 'perſuaded that which contradicted, and would diſ- 'appoint thoſe deſigns. And ſo upon the day ap- 'pointed for the debate of their ordinance, when 'he applied all his faculties to the convincing them 'of the illegality and monſtrouſneſs of it, by arguments 'at leaſt as clear and demonſtrable as his former had been, 'they made no impreſſion upon them, but were eaſily 'anſwered by thoſe who with moſt paſſion inſiſted 'on their own ſenſe; he had ſatisfied them very well 'when he concurred with them in judgment, but his 'reaſons were weak, when he croſſed their reſolu- 'tions. So moſt men, concludes his Lordſhip, are 'deceived in being too reaſonable; concluding, that 'reaſon will prevail upon thoſe men to ſubmit to 'what is right and juſt, who have no other conſidera- 'tion of right or juſt, but as it advances their intereſt, 'or complies with their humour and paſſion (78).'

(78) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, ubi ſupra.

[*NN*] *He declined the firſt overture of that intention.*] This is grounded upon the following letter, to the Marquis of Hertford, concerning that affair, copied by the ſame hand as the former to Lord Falkland, from Mr Harding's papers.

'My Lord,

'I received from his moſt excellent Majeſtie a 'command for my waiting on him at York; and he is 'moſt graciouſly pleaſed to ſay, that I ſhould make as 'much haſte as my health will permit. I have been 'for many weeks, my Lord, very ill, and am ſtill 'ſo infirme, that I have not ſo much as any hope of 'being able to endure any kind of travell, much leſs 'ſuch a journey. Yet if that were all, I ſhould 'willingly venture any loſs of myſelf rather than not 'perform my duty to his Majeſtie. But if I were 'able to come, I call God to witneſſe, I have no 'apprehenſion of any poſſibilitie of doing his Majeſtie 'ſervice there. On the other ſide, it is moſt probable 'or rather apparent, that a member of the Houſe 'of Commons, and of my condition, by coming 'thither, might thereby ſoon be a cauſe of ſome 'very unſeaſonable diſturbance; by this name, I call 'whatſoever will, at this time, (as this would) doubt- 'leſſe, occaſion ſome further or other differences 'twixt 'his Majeſtie and that Houſe. My legal and humble 'affections to his Majeſtie and his ſervice are, and ſhall 'be, as great and as hearty as any man's; and, there- 'fore, when I am able, I ſhall really expreſſe them. 'But I beſeech your Lordſhip, be pleaſed, upon what 'I have here repreſented, to preſerve me from his 'Majeſtie's diſpleaſure, which I hope too, from his moſt 'excellent goodneſs towards me; your Lordſhip's great 'and continual favours to me, imboldned me to make 'this ſuit; which granted, will be a ſingular happineſs 'to,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble ſervant,

J. S.

This letter is very agreeable to, and even confirms, Lord Clarendon's account of this affair; which is, that 'the Lord Falkland and himſelf, to whom his Majeſty referred the conſideration of a proper perſon for it, did not doubt of Mr Selden's affection to the King; but withal, they knew him ſo well, that they concluded he would abſolutely refuſe the place if it were offered him. He was, continues his Lordſhip, in years, and of a tender conſtitution; he had for many years enjoyed his eaſe, which he loved; he was rich, and would not have made a journey to York, or have lain out of his own bed for any preferment which he had never affected (79).'

(79) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, as before.

[*OO*] *The ſuſpicion appeared not to be well grounded.*] Mr Waller was examined about it; and 'being aſked, whether Selden, Pierpoint, White- 'locke, and others by name, were acquainted with 'that deſign; he anſwered, that they were not; but 'that he came one evening to Selden's ſtudy, where 'Pierpoint and Whitelocke then were with Selden, 'on purpoſe to impart it to them all; and ſpeaking 'of ſuch a thing in general terms, thoſe gentlemen 'did ſo inveigh againſt any ſuch thing as treachery 'and baſeneſs, and that which might be the occaſion 'of ſhedding much blood, that he ſaid, he durſt not, 'for the awe and reſpect which he had for Selden 'and the reſt, communicate any of the particulars 'to them, but was almoſt diſheartned himſelf to 'proceed in it (80).'

(80) Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 70. Lond. 1732, fol.

[*PP*] *Sat in the Aſſembly of Divines.*] Mr Whitelocke, who was himſelf a member, tells us, that in the debates of that aſſembly, Mr Selden ſpoke admirably, and confuted divers of them in their own learning; and ſometimes, when they had cited a text of ſcripture to prove their aſſertion, he would tell them, perhaps, in your little pocket bible with gilt leaves, which they would often pull out and read, the tranſlation may be thus, but the Greek or the Hebrew ſignifies thus or thus; and ſo would often totally ſilence them (81). Of this there are ſome inſtances: as when Gilaſſius Scotus, from Deuteronomy xvii. 12. endeavoured to prove there were two courts of Prieſts and Judges, and that there lay an appeal from one to the other; Selden denied that two courts were intended by thoſe words. The Vulgate, 'till forty years ago, read the place in queſtion ſo, *Qui non obediverit ſacerdoti, ex decreto Judicum morietur*; if this be the true reading, there is not the leaſt ſhadow of two courts, as included there. If the Judges, in any inferior courts, were doubtful in their opinions and went to Jeruſalem for a ſolution therein, and brought back a ſolution of their doubt, and yet did not give judgment accordingly, they were put

(81) Ibid. p. 71.

to

took the Covenant, and, on the eighth of November, he entered upon the poſt of Keeper of the Records in the Tower, at the appointment of the Parliament. However, upon the attainder of Archbiſhop Laud (*x*), in 1644, when the Commiſſioners ſeized his endowment of the Arabick lecture at Oxford, Mr Selden, always a friend to learning, defended the Profeſſor's right againſt that ſeizure, and procured a reſtitution [*QQ*]. He publiſhed his treatiſe *De Anno Civili & Calendario Judaico* the ſame year. In 1645, he was appointed a Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, but that commiſſion determined in a few days (*y*); and, upon the death of Dr Eden in July following, being elected unanimouſly Maſter of Trinity-hall in Cambridge [*RR*], with the direction and approbation of

(*x*) He had been one of the managers for the Houſe of Commons in the Archbiſhop's tryal.

(*y*) It was only a committee of ſix Lords and twelve Commoners, 'till this affair could be ſettled; they were appointed April 15, and on the 18th the Parliament made three commiſſioners, the Earl of Warwick, B, and Pelham.

to death. Thoſe Judges were called rebels by the law of the Hebrews—Upon the point of the Chriſtians aſſembling immediately after the Aſcenſion, Acts xi. 46. he gave this explication, that they were περιτκαρλεραῦντες ἐν ἱερῷ, not as Chriſtians, but as Judaizing Gentiles. For the Jews, who were divided into Scribes and Phariſees, did not acknowledge the Chriſtians to belong to their nation; 'tis ſaid they were called Eſſenes. Now the Jews of Jeruſalem, converted to the Chriſtian faith there, held themſelves obliged to obſerve the law of Moſes; and what wonder, if in this opinion they were conſtantly in the temple. Whence as there is ſaid to be four hundred and eighty ſynagogues in Jeruſalem, in Megillan, folio 73; ſeventy of which conſiſted at leaſt of ten families, as appears from Maimonides, חפלה; ſo the ſame cuſtom was obſerved by the Chriſtians; and they divided themſelves into different ſynagogues or aſſemblies. After the manner of Jews, they feaſted at the temple; after the manner of Chriſtians, they broke bread, κατ' οἶκον; בית כנסת the houſe of the ſynagogue was ſome houſe ſet apart for this uſe; as to preſerve the Chriſtians in Jeruſalem, κτήματα καὶ ὑπάρχεις, ſo no houſe could be called his own by any Chriſtian; but in this place κατ' οἶκον means the houſe where all had public prayer.—When the diſcourſe turned upon Acts ii. about the different languages heard at Pentecoſt, ſome aſſerted that it was only different dialects of the ſame language, which yet was underſtood by all: Selden contradicted them, and ſaid, that variety of languages was not neceſſary in the miniſtry of holy things; and that, except in the words of the woman taken in adultery, and of the ſacerdotal benediction, which are pronounced in Hebrew, the benedictions in the temple were made in any language that was underſtood by the people. That the Helleniſtic Jews, wherever they were diſperſed, ſpoke in the Greek language; and Phœbe is affirmed by Druſius to be ignorant of the Hebrew; that when a Judge, to be admitted into the Sanhedrim, was required to be inſtructed in the knowledge of LXX languages, it was to be underſtood that he muſt underſtand various languages. Synagogues of the freedmen, Grecians, &c. manifeſt a diverſity of nations, and why not therefore a diverſity of languages. That in Acts vi. a plain and evident diſtinction is made between the Helleniſts and the Hebrews living ſeparately at that time, when all things were common.

Here we ſee how good a reaſon Cleveland, the Poet, had for the following words in his mixt aſſembly:

> And Selden is a galliard by himſelf,
> And well may be, there's more Divines in him
> Then in all this their Jewiſh Sanhedrim (82).

(82) Lightfoot's Genuine Remains.

[*QQ*] *He procured a reſtitution*, &c.] This was an eſtate of about forty pounds a year, called Budd's paſtures, in the pariſh of Bray, in Berkſhire. John Greaves acquainted Selden with the injury done by this ſeizure to his friend Dr Pococke, then Arabic Profeſſor, appointed by the Archbiſhop himſelf; and begged his intereſt in the matter. No body could be more ready than Selden was, to grant the requeſt; he told Mr Greaves, that he had a due ſenſe both of the injuſtice and ſcandal of the proceeding, and that the perſons concerned in it could have no countenance for it, from the order of Parliament, by which they pretended to act; for the ſequeſtration appointed by that order could only relate to particular perſons, as Tetius and Sempronius, (that was his expreſſion) and not to corporations, which was the caſe of theſe lands. He alſo promiſed, that he would himſelf ſearch the rolls, where this donation was recorded, and make the beſt uſe of it he could when he had found it. Accordingly, he afterwards commended the matter to ſome of the leading men of that time, with much earneſtneſs, with whom he had a conſiderable intereſt, and by their means this donation was at length reſtored to Dr Pococke, about the middle of the year 1647, after it had been detained from him about three years (83).

(83) See Pococke's article.

[*RR*] *He was elected Maſter of Trinity-Hall in Cambridge.*] Some time after the election, Selden, deferring his anſwer, not being, as it ſeems, determined in his mind about the acceptance, to which he was ſollicited by ſeveral of his friends; the Fellows of the ſociety ſent him the following Latin letter:

'Clariſſime Vir,

'Cum primum te in præfecturam aulæ Trinitatis 'cooptavimus, illud nobis ſolum incubuiſſe arbitrati 'ſumus, ut uno eodemque negotio collegio magiſtrum, 'rei literariæ ornamentum, & academiæ patronum, '& præſidium proſpiceremus. Qua quidem in re 'poſtquam ſummis utriuſque ordinis viris viſum ſit 'electionis noſtræ album calculum adjicere, nihil 'denique reſtare ſperavimus, niſi ut deſideriis noſtris 'graviſſima, jam Pan-Anglii hujus authoritate munitis 'ſuccumbes, & voluntatem tuam, adhuc fluctuantem 'in utilitatem, atque commodum noſtrum dirigi ac 'defigi patiaris. Te igitur repetitis denuo votis 'ambimus, ut & nos tanti ſenatus judicio fruamur, '& tu ſuffragiis tandem noſtris ſupremam manum 'imponas: in cujus omnino poteſtate eſt, ne orbi-'tatem noſtram importune lugeamus. Fruſtra ſtatu-'torum interpretamentum ſollicitamus, cum am-'pliſſimus ille conventus (niſi ipſe nobis teipſum 'invideas) ſocietatem noſtram ditioni tuæ addixerit. 'Satis cum modeſtia tua certatum eſt, ad humani-'tatem tuam provocamus, quam ſi expugnari demum 'ſiveres curatum erit, ne aut noſtris nos obſequii 'aut tuæ te facilitatis pœniteat. Fac quod te factu-'rum & ſperamus & ardemus, vir exoptatiſſime, ut 'te præſentem cominus ſalutemus, quem eminus mirati 'ſumus; ut qui in Edeno ſecuri fuimus, in Seldeno 'felices eſſe poſſimus.

'Humillimi tui clientes.'

And to leave nothing undone, that might be done, to teſtify their ardent deſires to have this honour, they denounced the election to the Chancellor of the univerſity, the Earl of Holland, in form, for his ratification, to this effect, That the Maſterſhip of the ſaid Hall being vacant by the death of Thomas Eden, the late Maſter, on the eighteenth of July; they, the Fellows, or at leaſt the major part of them, aſſembled for the choice of a new Maſter, and due regard being had for a fit perſon for the ſame, did, on the twenty-third of the ſame month, direct their votes upon John Selden, Eſq; Therefore, ſay they, and becauſe it did and doth belong to your office, we have ordered Robert Wiſeman, LLD. William Forth, and John Begs, LLB. jointly and ſeverally to appear before you, and preſent our election and this inſtrument of it to you. In witneſs whereof, we have ſet our common college ſeal to theſe preſents, dated 19 Auguſt, 1645.

Dr Wilkins obſerves, it does not appear what moved Selden to make this refuſal; and is of opinion, that it was not, however, out of any ſecret hatred to the Clergy, ſince, though he denied the Clergy's divine right to their poſſeſſions, he was very zealous for maintaining them in their rights eſtabliſhed by the laws of England. One would be apt to think, from this reaſon of the doctor's, that he miſtakes Trinity-hall for Trinity-college, which indeed is a ſociety chiefly of Clergy, and the Maſter alſo obliged to be in Orders; a reaſon ſufficient for Selden's refuſal; whereas,

of ſome of the principal members in both Houſes of Parliament (z), he renounced the election: yet, in 1646, he ſecured a donation of Archbiſhop Bancroft's to that univerſity [*SS*]. In 1647, he publiſhed *Fleta, ſeu Commentarius Juris Anglicani ſic nuncupatus* *; and being appointed one of the ſtanding Committee for hearing and receiving reports from the viſitors of the two univerſities (*aa*), he was very ſerviceable to that of Oxford, upon many occaſions, both this and the following year [*TT*]. He was greatly diſpleaſed with the

(z) Wilkins ſays, it was by a mandate of the Parliament. Life of our author, p. 37.

* In this piece, among other things, he diſcovered the author, viz. Rich. de Winchedon, of the Year-book in the time of Edward II. which was printed in 1638, fol. in purſuance of a particular recommendation of Judge Hale, from a manuſcript authenticated by Mr Selden. Preface to that Year-book.

(*aa*) This committee conſiſted of 20 Lords and 49 Commoners, ſix of whom were Lawyers.

whereas, Trinity-hall is a foundation appropriated to the ſtudy of Civil and Canon Law, and entirely conſiſting of ſuch Fellows; and, therefore, Selden's obſtinacy muſt be attributed to the cauſes aſſigned by Lord Clarendon, for his opinion, that he would have refuſed the Great-Seal, which was deſigned for him; otherwiſe ſeveral particular motives concurred to incline him to make this acceptance of the Maſterſhip; beſides it's being a ſociety dedicated to his ſtudy, he muſt have been well acquainted, and probably have had ſome degree of friendſhip with Dr Eden, not ſo much on account of his eminence in his profeſſion, as that the doctor had ſat in the Houſe of Commons with him in every Parliament, notwithſtanding he he was Chancellor to Dr Matthew Wren, Biſhop of Ely, from the firſt year of King Charles's reign, and lately had been joined with him in the committee for examining into the complaints againſt the Lord Marſhal's court, or Court of Honour, October 4, 1640; and in 1643, in that for managing the affairs of the Admiralty. The doctor had likewiſe taken the Covenant as well as Selden, had been a ſingular benefactor to his college, and effectually ſaved them from thoſe injuries which had been voted to other colleges, and which is well hinted in the concluſion of the Fellows letter above cited, as an inducement for Selden to take them under his protection; *Ut qui in Edeno ſecuri fuimus, in Seldeno felices eſſe poſſimus.*

(84) See a further account of this worthy perſon, in Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-college, p. 240, & ſeq. of which he was ſome time Law Profeſſor.

[*SS*] *He ſecured a donation of Archbiſhop Bancroft's to Cambridge.*] The Archbiſhop, by his Will (85), bequeathed all the books in his ſtudy to the Archbiſhops his ſucceſſors, upon this condition, that his immediate ſucceſſor ſhould give his bond, or other ſecurity, that he would leave them entire, and without embezzlement, to his ſucceſſor, and ſo on, from one to another, for ever; but if his ſucceſſor ſhould refuſe to give ſuch ſecurity, then he bequeathed them to his Majeſty's new-erected college at Chelſey, but conditionally again, that the ſaid college was finiſhed in ſix years after his deceaſe; and, if that did not take effect, then to the univerſity of Cambridge. Whether his ſucceſſors, Abbot and Laud, gave the ſecurity demanded, or no, is uncertain; however, the books continued at Lambeth 'till this time, when the firſt deſign of building Chelſey-college having been ſet aſide, and the order of Biſhops being voted down, Mr Selden, of his own mere motion, and without any application at all, ſuggeſted to the univerſity their right to the ſaid books; and, by his direction and aſſiſtance, not only Archbiſhop Bancroft's books, but likewiſe his ſucceſſor Abbot's, were delivered into the poſſeſſion of the univerſity. However, after the Reſtoration, when Archbiſhop Juxon demanded them back, and he dying in a ſhort time, his ſucceſſor Sheldon purſued the demand, as founded upon Bancroft's Will, they were reſtored to the Archbiſhop, and remain ſtill in the library at Lambeth (86). The univerſity of Cambridge wrote ſome letters of thanks to Selden on this occaſion, in one of which they expreſs themſelves thus: *Illud propenſiſſimum in nos animum non parum commendare poſſit, quod præter ſpem expectationemque omnem quaſi Deo quopiam procurante dormientibus fere hæc evenerint, idemque dies & conſilium tuum, & feliciſſimum eventum obtulerit.* And in another letter they write as follows: *Tua primum ſolertia hunc theſaurum nobis detexit, tua animi benevolentia academiæ vovit, tuis auſpiciis & diligentiæ ſuffragia omnium adjudicarunt* (87).

(85) He died Nov 2, 1610; and his Will is dated Oct. 28, preceding.

(86) Wilkins.

(87) Dr Hill, Maſter of Trinity-college, and Vicechancellor, was alſo inſtrumental in procuring this diſpoſition in favour of the Univerſity. Funeral Sermon, by Dr Tuckney.

[*TT*] *He was very ſerviceable to Oxford on many occaſions.*] The committee was appointed May 1, this year; and on the 15th a citation was fixed by the viſitors upon the doors of the Convocation-houſe, appointing both the Proctors, and all the Heads of colleges, to appear before them in that place, on the 19th of the next month, between the hours of nine and eleven in the morning; when it happened, that Harris, one of the Viſitors, preaching before them at St Mary's, held them 'till paſt eleven. Upon which, the Vicechancellor, Dr Samuel Fell, having gotten a teſtimonial of the attendance of thoſe that had been ſummoned, atteſted on the place in due form by a publick notary, immediately diſmiſſed the aſſembly. However, the citation being renewed, both Dr Fell and the reſt were ejected; among theſe was Dr Payne, Hebrew Profeſſor, and Canon of Chriſt-Church. Selden, upon the death of Dr Morris, the Hebrew Profeſſor, next year, procured an order from the committee, appointing Dr Pococke to ſucceed him in that Profeſſorſhip, and to Dr Payne's Canonry. There are ſeveral letters expreſſing Selden's protection to the univerſity, in his Life by Dr Wilkins; and a long one upon this occaſion, in which they applied to him as their only hope and refuge In one of theſe letters, Dr Gerard Langbaine, dated March 20, 1648, writes thus: Notwithſtanding thoſe common endearments, by which you have purchaſed ſo great an intereſt in their diſconſolate univerſity.——However, the condition of this place be now ſo deſperate, that *ſalus ipſa ſervare non poteſt*; yet we are all abundantly ſatisfied in your unwearied care and paſſionate endeavours for our preſervation. We know and confeſs,

——Si Pergama dextra
Defendi poterant etiam hac defenſa fuiſſent.

Of this we are confident, next under God's, it muſt be imputed to your extraordinary providence, that we have ſtood thus long. You have been the only *belli mora*, and

Quicquid apud noſtræ ceſſatum eſt mœnia Trojæ
Hectoris (I cannot add *Æneæque*, for he had no ſecond) *——manu victoria Graium*
Hæſit.

By your good acts and prudent manage, our ſix months have been ſpun out into two years, and it has been thus far verified upon us by your means,

Nec capti potuere capi.

In another letter, after this, it appears, they did not abſolutely deſpair of his being able to ſerve them. *Noluit deſperatiſſimam valetudinem medicinæ præripue quam Deus & φυσεως ιατρος, Te aſſiſtante & ſalvere jubente, adhuc denuo non diffidimus inſtauraturi ſunt clienti, ſimul ac matri tuæ,*

Academiæ Oxonienſi *.

* Wilkins's Life, p. xliii.

Pococke was ſummoned, it is ſaid, by the Viſitors, to take the Covenant; upon which, his friend Greaves wrote to Selden, who adviſed neither to provoke them, nor to give them any advantage by appearing before them, but to keep out of the reach of their quarter-ſtaff, which would ſtrike down all before it, and againſt which there was no ward, but ſuffering or complying. Pococke's name being returned to the committee, as one that contemned their authority, Mr Greaves found the ſame continuance of affection from Selden as formerly; but he complained greatly of ſuch injuſtice and wilful baſeneſs, as made him weary of ſtriving againſt the ſtream, tho' he ſaid he deſpaired not entirely of doing Pococke ſome good. As Pococke, it is certain, was never before the Viſitors upon this occaſion, and yet kept his place, Dr Timothy Halton being aſked about it, ſaid, the Viſitors never had the opportunity of preſſing the Covenant upon any members of that univerſity, nor was any removed for not taking it. That though, in their commiſſion in 1647, the clauſe of tendering the Covenant was inſerted, yet that commiſſion

the violent measures that were then pursued against the King, and when the Εικων Βασιλικη came out, presently after his Majesty's death, our author could by no means be prevailed upon to draw his pen against it, notwithstanding Cromwell employed his utmost interest to engage him thereto. After this, the management of publick affairs fell into hands, upon whom our author had no influence; he therefore spent his time altogether in his study, where he was sure both to gratify his own private humour, and at the same time to do eminent service to the publick. In 1650, he printed his first book *De Synedriis & Præfecturis Hebræorum* [*UU*]. He prosecuted this subject as long as he lived afterwards; to which he added a second book in 1653, and in the interim published, in 1652, a preface to the *Decem Scriptores Anglicanæ*, containing an account of those writers, with some remarks upon their several histories in folio (*bb*). In 1653, he published his *Vindiciæ secundum integritatem existimationis suæ*, &c. and made his Will the same year. In the beginning of 1654, being near seventy years old, he began to decline very sensibly, and in some months grew apprehensive of his approaching dissolution; when, sending for Dr Usher and Dr Gerard Langbaine, he discoursed with them upon the vanity of learning, and declared, that all his hopes of salvation was upon the promises in Scripture. Not long after, having a mind to make some alterations in his Will, he wrote a letter to his friend Bulstrode Whitelocke, Esq; in these terms:

(*bb*) Dr Wilkins, in his preface, has given us a dissertation of Rudd, keeper of the Durham library, asserting the History of the Church of Durham to Simon Dunelmensis, Monk and Precentor of that monastery, against Selden, who ascribes it to Turgotus Prior of the same monastery.

'My Lord,
'I am a most humble suitor to your Lordship, that you would be pleased that I might 'have your presence for a little time tomorrow or next day. Thus much wearies the 'most weak hand and body of your Lordship's most humble servant,
'J. SELDEN (*cc*).'

(*cc*) Whitelocke's Memoriais.

This letter is dated November 10, 1654, from White-Friars. He had resided for some years in the Friary-house there, being possessed of it in the right of Elizabeth, Countess-dowager of Kent, who had appointed him executor of her Will, having before, from the first of her widowhood, committed the management of her affairs to him *. Mr Whitelocke came according to his request, but found his weakness so much increased, that he was not able to perform his intentions. He died the last day of November, 1654, and was buried, according to his own request †, in the Temple-church, Archbishop Usher preaching his funeral sermon. He wrote an inscription for his monument [*WW*], which was found in the same box with his Will (*dd*). By this last it appeared that he died very rich [*XX*], as well in other effects, as in books and monuments of literature. These he bequeathed

* He lived in a conjugal way with her, unmarried. Wood and Wilkins.

† Mentioned in his Will. Mr Wood has given a very particular description of the vault in which he was buried.

(*dd*) Langbaine's Letter to Dr Pococke, in the Life of the latter, prefixed to his English Works, by Leonard Twells.

mission was vacated; and in the next, granted November 28, 1648, the clause was omitted by the interest of Mr Selden (88). Mr Wood, who says this clause was inserted likewise in the second commission, tells us, that this commission was clandestinely obtained, only six or seven of the committee being present. It is not unlikely, that Mr Selden was one of the absent members; and, upon hearing what had been done, might procure either a revocation, or an order for this clause, which required the taking of the Covenant not to be put in execution (89). Dr Pococke was not the only person who felt the good effect of Mr Selden's friendship in these times; for, when Mr Greaves was ejected, this friend rescued the chest of his papers and mathematical instruments from the hands of the soldiers, and procured them for the owner (90).

(88) Pococke's Life, by Twells.

(89) Wood's History and Antiquities of Oxford.

(90) See Greaves's article.

[*UU*] *De Synedriis & Præfecturis Hebræorum.*] Among many other singular notions started in this treatise, he speaks of these Courts assembling before Moses; to which Sir John Marsham (91) remarks, that it does not appear that any of the Patriarchs before Moses, exercised any forensic jurisdiction, and much less that Courts of Law were constituted in the cities and villages: that the family of Heber, from Sem to Abraham, lived in Mesopotamia, and that it was not sufficiently clear that they were *sui juris*; that the posterity of Abram were in continual peregrination, 'till they were settled in Egypt, where they were far from having their own laws; that there was no republick of the Hebrews, no courts of Judicature, nor forensic practice, before they came out of Egypt; that the laws concerning the Judges were given at *Marah*, where God *gave them statutes and judgments*. Exod. xv. 25.

(91) In Canone Chronico, p. 182.

[*WW*] *He wrote an inscription for his monument.*] It was drawn up in these terms: 'Natus est 16 Dec. 'Salvingtoniæ, qui viculus est Terring, oppidi in Sus'sexia maritimi, in ædibus LACIES ibi dictum, parenti'bus honestis, Johanne Seldeno Thomæ filio (qui anno 'natus, septuagenarius obiit) & Margarita Ba'kera, Thomæ cognominis à Rushington, ex equestri 'in Cantia Bakerorum familia oriundi filia unica & hæ'rede, quibus primogenitus erat & hæres. Fratres ha'buit ex hisce binos, Georgium & Henricum, in cunis 'mortuos; sororem unicam Mariam, Johanni Ber'nardo è Goring enuptam. Literis puerilibus in 'scholâ Cicestrensi publica Oxonium amandatus est; 'ubi, in Aula Cervina, disciplinis academicis per ali'quot annos incubuit. Jus illic Anglicanum ultro af'fectans, primo Hospitii Cliffordensis Londini, deinde 'Interioris Templi, Maii 1604, Socius admissus est: 'non indiligenter loci studiis, nec infeliciter, operam 'navavit; sed genio suo indulgentior, nec molestiis fo'rensibus satis idoneus, ad alia, ut explorator, se contulit. 'Amicitiis cujusque ordinis, optimis, doctissimis, am'plissimis, etiam & illustrissimis, nec paucis beatus frue'batur †, nec sine summis procacium aliquot veritatis '& libertatis justæ osorum inimicitiis, quas gravissimè 'sed viriliter perpessus est. Comitiis Parliamentariis 'ut Burgensis sæpius intererat, etiam & in illis quæ & 'Regem habuere & nullum. Denatus ' anno 'hic prope situs est (92).'

† Among these was Grotius, Peiresk, Salmasius, Bochart Pricæus, Petit, Gerard Vossius, Imperiali, Holstenius, Rivet, Golius, Gronovius, Dan. Heinsius, Bæclerus, Spizelius, and other foreigners; besides Usher, Langbaine, Pococke, Sir Rob. Cotton, Joh. Greaves, &c. at home.

(92) Wilkins.

[*XX*] *He died very rich.*] It appears by his Will, dated July 11, 1653, that his estate in land consisted of the manor, lordship, or Grange, of Cheadle in Staffordshire, and of diverse lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in Cheadle; and also of one third part of certain lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in the county of Lincoln. The whole of these, as well as all his personal estate and sums of money belonging to him, either in his own right, or as executor of the last Will and Testament of the Lady Elizabeth, late Countess-dowager of Kent, he bequeathed, after discharging his funeral expences, debts, and legacies, to his executors, Edward Heyward, of Reysham in Norfolk, Esq; John Vaughan, of Troescoed in the county of Cardigan, Esq; Rowland Jewks the elder, Esq; all of the Inner-Temple; and Matthew Hale, of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq; to be divided equally among them. Bishop Burnet having observed, that Judge Hale raised his fortune from a hundred a year, to near nine hundred, assures us, that a considerable part of this increase was the share he had in Selden's estate. Besides the legacies mentioned in remark [*A*], and those taken notice of in remark [*YY*], he bequeathed to the College of Physicians in London, Hippocrates's Aphorisms in Arabic, and such pieces of Galen as he had in Arabic,

bequeathed to his executors, deſiring them rather to part them among themſelves, or otherwiſe diſpoſe of them, or the choiceſt of them for ſome publick uſe, than to put them in any common ſale; 'it may do well,' theſe are his words, 'in ſome convenient pub-'lick library, or of ſome college in one of the univerſities.' The executors, reſolving, in honour to Mr Selden's memory, to keep the collection entire, firſt intended it for the ſociety of the Inner-Temple, of which he was ſo many years a member; and it was removed to ſome chambers in the King's-Bench-walks there, for that purpoſe: but this ſociety neglecting, for the ſpace of five years, to provide a proper room to receive it, they gave it to the univerſity of Oxford [YY], where a noble room was added to the Bodleian Library for it's reception (ee), and all due reſpect was ſhewn by that learned body to their worthy benefactor [ZZ]. As to Mr Selden's character, his profound learning,

(ee) Mr Wood ſays, the Univerſity received it in the year 1659. Hiſtory and Antiquities of Oxford, under the account of the Bodleian Library.

and the firſt book of Avicen in Arabic, and alſo all and every other books, among his manuſcripts, of the oriental tongues, written upon Phyſick or Surgery. Theſe legacies are left in a codicil annexed to his Will, and of the ſame date with it; after which he proceeds in theſe words: 'Item, Whereas the Right Honou-'rable the Lady Elizabeth, late Counteſs dowager of 'Kent, did put to ſchool in Holland, under the care 'of Mr Francis Junius, William Lyddell, a young 'boy, to be brought up there, and made fit for ſome 'courſe of life; being now paſt the age of twelve 'years, I give and bequeath to him, for his mainte-'nance and education yearly, to begin at the firſt half 'year after my deceaſe, the ſum of 50 *l.* until he be 18 'years old, if he ſhall ſo long live, and no longer: or 'otherwiſe, and if he the ſaid William Lyddell, ſhall live 'until he be of the ſaid age of 18 years, then I give and 'bequeath to him the ſum of 500 *l.* for a ſtock to ſet 'up with for himſelf, or otherwiſe to enjoy it for his beſt 'advantage. Item, And whereas Jane Lyddell, ſiſter 'to the ſaid William Lyddell, was put to be an ap-'prentice with , in St Martin's; if 'ſhe ſhall live to be out of her apprenticeſhip, I give 'and bequeath unto her, the ſaid Jane, the ſum of '300 *l.* for a portion to marry her with. Item, My 'will and deſire is, that my ſervants of my family be 'competently maintained with diet together in my 'houſe, for ſome ſpace after my deceaſe, under the 'direction of my ſervant William Richardſon; and 'that every one of them have the whole half-year's 'wages, for that half-year current wherein I ſhall 'happen to die. Item, I give and bequeath to my 'ſervant, Thomas Gill, 300 *l.* and to my ſervants, 'James Gill, William Richardſon, and Clement La-'vander, 100 *l.* a piece, to every of them. Item, 'To Philip Rumball, of Sileſko in Bedfordſhire, 100 *l.* 'Item, to Snead, my porter, 50 *l.* All theſe, 'and the aforeſaid ſums, to be paid within three 'months after my deceaſe. Item, I give and be-'queath to Mrs Rachel Caſewell, widow, ſince 'Mrs Williamſon, the ſum of 500 *l.* Item, To 'Mrs Lucy Longueville, the ſum of 100 *l.* to Mark 'Lemon, 100 *l.* to Anne Jenkins, 100 *l.* All theſe 'ſums I deſire may be raiſed and paid within three 'months after my deceaſe. Item, I give unto Wil-'liam, Lord Marquis and Earl of Hertford, my cry-'ſtal cabinet, with the two caſes thereto belonging, 'together with all the agate ſtones, and the reſt that 'are in it. Item, I give and bequeath to the Right 'Hon. Algernoon Earl of Northumberland, a baſon and 'ewer of ſilver gilt in yellow caſes, the one marked A, 'the other B. Item, to the Right Hon. Jocelyn 'Lord Piercy, my cryſtal ſhip, a galley, with all it's 'tackling, and the caſe belonging to it; together 'with my ſquare nicomy marble table, ſet in ebony 'and ivory. Item, To Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart. a 'dozen of ſilver plates, parcel gilt, of Hercules's la-'bours, in a yellow caſe, marked G; and a cryſtal 'kind of flagon, ſet in ſilver gilt, marked H, in a 'yellow caſe; and a cup of pearl ſhell, ſet in ſilver 'gilt, in a black caſe, Marked I; and my cabinet, 'covered with crimſon velvet, which is in perſpective 'the repreſentation of the entrance into Hampton-'court. Item, To Mr Grey Longueville, a baſon 'and ewer, and two dozen plates, all parcel gilt, in 'ſeveral red caſes, marked C, D, E, F, which were 'his great-uncle's, Henry Earl of Kent, and after-'wards continued to Charles Earl of Kent, his grand-'father, and then to Henry Earl of Kent, his uncle, 'the brother of Earl Charles, a fit heir-loom for his 'family; together with a hat-band ſet round with 'diamonds, which his ſaid uncle uſually wore, and is 'increaſed by me about the buckle with a broad dia-'mond, and ſome other beſides (93).'

(93) Wilkins, from a copy in the muſæum of Longueville.

[YY] *They gave it to the univerſity of Oxford.*] Dr Gerard Langbaine, in a letter to Pococke, written ſoon after Selden's death, ſaith,

SIR,

I came here only time enough to ſee and ſpeak with our good friend Mr Selden, who died on Thurſday night, about 8 o'clock.—Yeſterday I had the ſight of ſo much of his Will as concerns the univerſity. He has given to our publick library all his manuſcripts of the oriental tongues, and Greek, not otherwiſe particularly diſpoſed of; and all his Rabbinical and Talmudical books, which are not there already, or not of the ſame edition. Theſe to be taken out of his library by you and myſelf. Item, All his marble ſtatues, heads, and Greek pieces, to be conveyed to Oxford at the charge of his executors, and there placed on the walls of the library (94). The executors are, Juſtice Hales, Mr Vaughan, Mr Heyward, and Mr Jewx, who deſire that you would ſpeedily repair hither, to view and ſelect what belongs to the univerſity, before his library be otherwiſe meddled with. And to that purpoſe, I have written to the Vicechancellor and Mr Barlow, to ſend up the moſt perfect catalogue of the publick library, for our direction, and the executors ſatisfaction. To their diſcretion he hath left all the remainder of his books, not otherwiſe particularly bequeathed, either to be divided among themſelves, or to be ſent to the univerſity, or ſome college or colleges, as they ſhall think fit. Biſhop Burnet tells us, 'The executors were a little put to it, 'in making this donation to the univerſity, without 'croſſing the Will of their deceaſed friend. Mr Sel-'den, continues he, had once intended to give his li-'brary to that univerſity, and had left it ſo by his 'Will; but having occaſion for a manuſcript which 'belonged to their library, they aſked of him a bond 'of 1000 *l.* for it's reſtitution. This he took ſo ill 'at their hands, that he ſtruck out that part of his 'Will, by which he had given them his library, and 'with ſome paſſion declared they ſhould never have it. 'The executors ſtuck at this a little; but having con-'ſidered better of it, came to this reſolution: That 'they were to be the executors of Mr Selden's Will, 'and not of his Paſſion.' There was the more room for ſuch a conſtruction in favour of the univerſity, if it be true what we find in the *Hiſtory of the Bodleian Library*, prefixed to the manuſcripts of England and Ireland, the writer of which declares, he knew nothing of ſuch a ſtory as is told by Biſhop Burnet, there being no publick evidence of it; but that it appeared from the univerſity regiſter, that Mr Selden had the liberty granted him in 1654, of borrowing any book out of the library, upon condition that he ſhould take no more than three at a time, and give a bond of 100 *l.* to reſtore them within a year.

(94) He gave them alſo a map of China, made there, fairly done in colours, together with a ſea-compaſs of their making, and deviſions, which were both taken by an Engliſh commander, who being preſſed exceedingly at a great ranſom, and would not part with it.

[ZZ] *Reſpect ſhewn to their benefactor.*] In the room where his books were repoſited, they put the following inſcription at the entrance:

Auctuarium
Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ
Ex Muſæo Johannis Seldeni
Juriſconſulti.

Likewiſe on the right hand of the weſt window:

Bibliothecam
Johannis Seldeni

(95) Burnet's Life of Sir Matthew Hale. p. 93. Lond. 1682.

Nitore

learning, it is well known, was the diſcouſe of all the Literati in his time; but he ſeems to have been chiefly pleaſed with the atteſtation given of it by the famous Hugo Grotius, who intituled him, in this reſpect, *the Honour of the Engliſh nation*. Yet he is allowed to have ſome very ſingular opinions [*AAA*]. Beſides the manuſcripts which he left, that have been already mentioned, there were ſome others found among his papers [*BBB*]; and, in 1671, came out his *Diſcourſe of the Office of Lord Chancellor of England*, in folio. To which was added, Dugdale's Catalogue of Lord Chancellors and Lord Keepers of England, from the Norman Conqueſt. In 1675, there was printed at London in 4to. *Johannis Seldeni Angli Liber de Nummis; in quo antiqua pecunia Romana & Græca metitur pretio ejus quæ nunc eſt in uſu. Huic accedit Bibliotheca Nummaria.* But our Antiquary's name was abuſed, by ſetting it to that ſuperficial tract, which was not written by him, and had been publiſhed before he was born (*ff*). In 1683, Dr Adam Littleman, together with his Engliſh tranſlation of *Jani Anglorum facies altera*, publiſhed the two following pieces of our author; one, *Of the Original of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of Teſtaments*; and the other, *Of the Diſpoſition or Adminiſtration of Inteſtates Goods*. In 1689, his amanuenſis, Richard Milward, publiſhed a piece in 4to. intituled, *Mr Selden's Table-talk, being diſcourſes of his ſenſe of various matters of weight and high conſequence, relating eſpecially to Religion and State*. Yet many of theſe have been thought not genuine, as containing inconſiſtencies in the ſeveral parts, and ſome remarks not worthy of our author's learning and judgment (*gg*). In 1725, Dr David Wilkins publiſhed an edition of Mr Selden's Works, in three volumes in folio, containing ſeveral ſpeeches, arguments, debates, and letters, never before printed. To which is prefixed, an Account of the Author's Life [*CCC*]; where among other things he tells us, that Selden, notwithſtanding his opinions concerning the power of the Church, yet was a friend to the Church of England. Mr Baxter aſſures us, that Sir Matthew Hale told him, Selden was *a reſolved ſerious Chriſtian, and a great adverſary to Hobbes's errors*; and that Sir Matthew Hale affirmed, he had ſeen Selden openly oppoſe Hobbes ſo earneſtly, as either to depart from him, or drive him out of the room (*hh*). Mr Whitelocke ſays, *his mind was as great as his learning, being very generous and hoſpitable, and a good companion, eſpecially where he liked*. Dr Wilkins obſerves (*ii*), that *he was charitable, eſpecially to ſcholars*; and Mr Wood gives a remarkable inſtance of this, in the caſe of Henry Jacob, a man of more learning than prudence (*kk*). Dr Wilkins produces ſome others, but obſerves that he was naturally of a ſevere temper, which was ſoured by his ſufferings; ſo that he was free only with

(*ff*) The true author was Alexander Sardo of Ferrara. It was publiſhed in 1575 at Mentz, in 4to. with the *Bibliotheca Nummaria* ſubjoined to it, by Father Labbé the Jeſuit.

(*gg*) Dr Wilkins, as before; and the publiſher of the *Acta Eruditorum Lipſiæ*, anno 1684.

(*hh*) Notes on the Life of Sir Matthew Hale, p. 40. edit. 1682.

(*ii*) In the Life of our author.

(*kk*) He was bred under Erpenius, and inſtructed Selden in Hebrew, aſſiſted him in writing the *Mare Clauſum*, and on ſome of his other pieces made ſeveral remarks, which are printed in Wilkins's preface to his Works. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 159. Selden's Vindiciæ, &c. p. 53. edit. 1653.

Nitore ingenii, candore morum, præcellentia doctrinæ,
Imparilis viri heic repoſitam
Johannes Vaughan, Matthæus Hale, Rolandus Jewks,
Armigeri
(Quibus teſtamenti ſui fidem mandavit) in
Duraturam tanti Viri memoriam & rei literariæ
Bonum, ampliſſimæ huic Academiæ ſacratam voluere.

And in honour of their legacy of the marbles, which were placed according to the direction of his Will, mentioned by Dr Langbaine, as above, about the walls of the library, the univerſity ſet up a ſtone, incloſed in an iron paliſado, in the præſcholium of the Divinity-ſchool, with this inſcription:

Univerſitas Oxonienſis
Johanni Vaughan ſupremo Tribunalis Regii Juſtitiario
Matthæo Hale
Fiſci Regii Baroni Primario
Rolando Juks Armigero
Viris ex recondita Juris peritia
Et virtute magis ſua
Illuſtribus
Ob antiqua marmora & bibliothecam inſtructiſſimam
Diligentia & ſumptu ingenti comparatam
Johannis Seldeni
Academiæ olim Alumni, Patroni
Et Burgenſis Parliamentarii
Juriſconſultorum Doctiſſimi
Antiquariorum Coryphæi
Munificentia inſolita & merito ſuſpicienda
Ab ipſis dono datum
Monumentum hoc honoris ergo
Et gratitudinis
L. M. L.
Poſuit
XII cal. Jan. ann. MDCLXIX.

[*AAA*] *He had ſome ſingular opinions.*] Many ſuch have been already mentioned in the courſe of theſe memoirs, and another will be the ſubject of the enſuing remark. To theſe may be added, his opinion concerning Excommunication, which was animadverted on in a piece written expreſsly for that purpoſe, by Dr Henry Hammond, and printed under the title *Of the Power of the Keys*.

[*BBB*] *Some others were found among his papers.*] Mr Selden ordered all the papers and notes that were in his own hand-writing, except thoſe relating to *Eutychius's Annals*, to be burnt. Thoſe that were ſaved, muſt have been wrote by his amanuenſis. Theſe were, (1.) *The Life of Friar Bacon*, written in Latin. Selden had been at ſome expence in procuring the materials, and gave the copy to Sir Kenelm Digby, in order to have it printed at Paris; but Mr Wood, who tells us this (96), tells us alſo, that all the papers were embezzled and loſt. (2.) *Collections out of many Records and Antiquities.* (3.) *Collection of Votes and Records of various Subjects, marked M.* (4.) *Extracts of the Leger Books of Battle, Eveſham, Winton* *.

[*CCC*] *His Works were publiſhed by Dr Wilkins.*] The two firſt volumes of this collection contain his Latin Works, and in the third are inſerted the Engliſh ones; among which, beſides thoſe that have been mentioned in the courſe of the preſent memoir, there are ſeveral other ſmall pieces, as follow: 1. *Of the Privileges of the Baronage of England, in reſpect to their Judicature in Parliament.* 2. *A letter to Auguſtyne Vincent Rouge-Croix, concerning his Diſcovery of Errors.* 3. *An Argument concerning the Baronies of Grey and Ruthen.* 4. *Notes on Sir John Forteſcue*, de Laudibus Legum Angliæ. 5. *Several Speeches and Arguments.* 6. *Letters and Poems* (97). To which muſt be added, two letters of our author to Mr Thomas Greaves, inſerted in the account of Mr John Greaves's Life, prefixed to his Miſcellaneous Works, by Dr Thomas Birch (98). Mr Wood likewiſe tells us, our author 'had a conſiderable hand, and gave directions and 'advice, towards the edition of *Plutarch's Lives*, 'printed in 1657, with an addition of the year of the 'world, and the year of our Lord, together with ma-'ny chronological notes and explications, out of di-'vers authors (99)'

(96) Ath. Oxon. under Selden's article, Vol. II.

* N. Bacon's Hiſtorical and Political Diſcourſes on the Laws and Government of England, are ſaid in the title-page to be collected from ſome manuſcript papers of Selden. Lond. edit. 5. 1760, 4to.

(97) Theſe are inſerted at the end of the ſecond volume.

(98) Printed at London, 1737, in 2 vols, 8vo.

(99) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

with a few. As to his writings, his ſtyle is univerſally condemned. Budd has well obſerved, that it is a melange of all that is bad, as well as all that is good, in the Latin language (*ll*). Le Clerc complains of the trouble cauſed to the reader, by his obſcurity, as well as the perplexity of his method (*mm*), of which he has given a remarkable inſtance. We have given another in the article of Sir Henry Spelman, and a third is ſuperadded by a miſtake in the General Dictionary, the writer of which, in the concluſion of his account of the *Mare Clauſum*, tells us, that this book of our author was attacked by Peter Baptiſta Burgus, which occaſioned him to publiſh at London, in 1653, *Vindiciæ ſecundum integritatem exiſtimationis ſuæ per convitium de ſcriptione* Maris Clauſi *petulantiſſimum & mendaciſſimum inſolentius læſæ in* Vindiciis (*nn*) Maris Liberi, *adverſus* Petrum Baptiſtam Burgum, *Liguſtici maritimi Dominii adſertorem*, Hagæ Comitum *jam nunc emiſſis*. Whereas we have already obſerved (*oo*), that Selden's *Vindiciæ*, &c. *Maris Clauſi*, was wrote againſt Graſwinckel's *Vindiciæ Maris Liberi*, which was levelled againſt Peter Burk's book adverſus Petrum Baptiſtam Burgum, who agreed with our author in general, that the ſea, as well as the earth, is ſubject to ſome ſtates, but maintained, that the dominion of the former belonged to the Genoeſe. Nor, indeed, to do Selden juſtice, is his meaning ſo obſcurely expreſſed, as to lead a reader of common attention into any miſtake, which too the firſt words of the piece would have diſcovered. Notwithſtanding this cenſure of his ſtyle and method, his writings are allowed, by the ſeveral cenſurers, to be full of various and uncommon erudition, and uſeful obſervations; and, in juſtice to him, we muſt not conclude, without ballancing their animadverſions with the following elogium, made alſo by a foreigner (*pp*), who, ſpeaking of our author, writes thus: '*Felix tunc erat atque beata Terra Angliæ*, &c. England was then bleſſed and happy, when ſhe brought forth that inexhauſtible treaſure of Hebrew antiquities and various erudition, in the 44th year * of the laſt century, at Salvington. Nor did he keep it to himſelf alone, but communicated it to the whole learned world; for Nature had given this man that force of ſagacity and quickneſs of wit, that whatever ſubject he turned his thoughts upon, he ſeemed not then to learn it, but to have learned it before, and with Plato to remember it. She had endued him alſo with a firmneſs and conſtancy of mind, equal to his wit, in undertaking and executing the moſt conſummately arduous labours; and, whatever he had once reſolved upon, for the benefit and advantage of letters, he never ſuffered it to ſlip out of his hands, either by a laſſitude or liſtleſneſs (with which learned men are ſometimes ſeized), and much leſs by any lazineſs or languor. Hence ſprung that profound knowledge in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Rabbinical, Syriac, and Arabic, tongues (*qq*); as alſo his perfect acquaintance with all parts of Philoſophy, and of the laws both divine and human: ſo that, whatever was any where extant, concerning the opinions of Philoſophers, or the commentaries of the Lawyers, this Hercules daringly attempted all the difficulties, and, by turning the books over with incredible care, did not fail, as it were, to diſpatch them; after which, tempering them with the laws, maxims, and opinions, of the Hebrews, he converted every thing to his own uſe, that is, to the illuſtration of ſacred and venerable antiquity.' After all, the moſt endearing part of Mr Selden's character is elegantly touched by himſelf, in the choice of his motto, Περὶ παντὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. *i. e.* LIBERTY ABOVE ALL THINGS. P

(*ll*) Biblioth. Selecta, Tom. VII. p. 117. apud Wilkins in Præfat. p. 11.

(*mm*) Ars Critica, Vol. I. p. 142. and Bibl. Choiſie, Tom. III. p. 140. and Tom. VII. p. 82. apud Wilkins in Præfat. p. 11.

(*nn*) The words *inſolentius læſæ in vindiciis* are omitted in the General Dictionary, which might perhaps lead that author into his miſtake, ſince, without theſe words, the title is not ſo properly obſcure, as clear nonſenſe.

(*oo*) In remark [*FF*].

(*pp*) Theophilus Spizelius in literato Commonefactione xxx. p. 908, & ſeqq. apud Wilkins in Præfat. p. 11.

* It ſhould be 84th year.

(*qq*) But Dr Hickes obſerves, that he was not maſter of the Anglo Saxon language. Præfat. to *Theſaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium*.

SHADWELL [THOMAS], Poet-Laureat to King William the Third and Queen Mary, was deſcended from a younger branch of an ancient family in Staffordſhire (*a*), and was born about the year 1640, at Lanton-Hall in Norfolk, a ſeat of his father, who was bred at Caius-college in Cambridge, and thence removed to the Middle-Temple, to ſtudy the Law; but having an ample fortune left him by an uncle, did not trouble himſelf with the practice, chuſing rather to ſerve his country as a Juſtice of Peace. He was in that commiſſion for three counties, Middleſex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, and diſcharged the office with diſtinguiſhed ability and exact integrity. In the Civil Wars he ſided with the King, and was a great ſufferer for the Royal Cauſe; ſo that, having a numerous family (*b*), he was reduced to the neceſſity of ſelling and ſpending a conſiderable part of his eſtate, to ſupport it (*c*). In theſe circumſtances, he reſolved to breed this ſon to his own profeſſion; and for that purpoſe, he ſent him firſt to the ſame college, and then to the ſame ſeminary of Law, in which he had compleated his own education: but the ſon, after ſpending ſome time in both, took a reſolution to travel abroad, having, as it ſhould ſeem, no diſpoſition to plod in the drudgery of the Law. He had a taſte, and ſome genius, for polite literature; and, upon his return home, falling into the acquaintance of ſome of the moſt celebrated perſons for wit and diſtinguiſhed quality in the age, he thought no more of the Law, but applied himſelf wholly to cultivate thoſe elegant ſtudies, which were the faſhionable amuſements of the times: and it was not long before he became eminent in dramatick poetry, a ſpecimen of which appeared in a play called *The Sullen Lovers; or the Impertinents. A Comedy*, which was acted at the Duke of York's theatre, and printed in 1668. In this piece, our author repreſented variety of humours, according to the practice of Ben Jonſon, whom he ſays all dramatick poets ought to imitate, though none are like to come near, he being the only perſon that appears to have made perfect

(*a*) The eldeſt branch were poſſeſſed of an eſtate of above 500*l.* per ann. for more than three centuries, and that without any honours or publick employs. Some Account of Mr Shadwell and his Writings, prefixed to his Works, edit. 1720.

(*b*) He had eleven children. Ibid.

(*c*) He was afterwards Recorder of Galway in Ireland, and Receiver there to the Duke of York. He was ſome time alſo Attorney-General at Tangier, under the Earl of Inchiquin. Ibid.

perfect representations of human life [*A*]. As the play was well received, he puſhed his genius on in the ſame road, and wrote a great many more comedies, which met with good ſucceſs.

[*A*] *All the dramatic Poets ought to imitate Ben Jonſon*] Shadwell certainly did not judge amiſs of the turn of his own genius, when he ſets Father Ben for his pattern in humourous characters; in which reſpect, Jonſon will always ſtand a monument of honour to the Poetic Tribe. 'Tis true, Shadwell followed his leader at an humble diſtance, as he ſucceeded him, after many intermediate ſteps, as Poet-Laureat; to which title Ben too was the occaſion of procuring a remarkable honour from his friend Mr Selden; who, at his requeſt, drew up the following account of it's antiquity; it is in his *Treatiſe of the Titles of Honour*; where, in ſpeaking of the Counts Palatine, he gives an inſtance of the form made uſe of by that Count in creating a Poet-Laureat; the awful ſolemnity of which is not a little entertaining, as follows.

The courſe alſo uſed by Counts Palatine, in giving the crown of Laurel to Poets, is ſeen eſpecially in that of Johannes Cruſius, who received it at Straſburg in anno 1616, from the hands of Thomas Obrechtus, a Profeſſor of Law and Count Palatine. Firſt, the time and place were ſolemnly appointed by a public inſtrument from the Count; where he ſhews, how much degrees in learning conduce to the advancement of it; and then, that Paulus Cruſius, having firſt received the dignity of Maſter of Arts, now out of his happy vein in verſe, deſerved alſo the laurel of Poetry; and, therefore, by virtue of the power and licence that he had from the Emperor, he appointed the twenty-third of December* for the ſolemnity of giving it him. Quamobrem, ſays he, omnes literarum ſtudiorumque amantes, ac inprimis illuſtres & generoſos Dominos, Comites, atque Barones, Patres Academicos omnes, omnium ordinum Doctores, Licentiatos, Profeſſores, Magiſtros; auditores nobiliſſimos, præſtantiſſimos, doctiſſimos, ea quæ decet animi veneratione, invitamus, ut felicitatem hujus actus literarii, illuſtri ac honorifica ſua præſentia, non ſolum illuſtrare atque exornare, verum pia etiam vota, hac præſertim conclamata tempeſtate, pro ſalute eccleſiæ ſcholæ & reipublicæ, ad Deum facere nobiſcum velint, majorem in modum rogamus ac obteſtamur.

* The inſtrument was datèd the 20th of that month.

At the day appointed, the aſſembly being full, Cruſius begins with the recital of this petitory epigram:

Cæſarei comes alme fori, clariſſime Thoma,
Si merui laurum, Phœbus adeſto mihi:
Si minus, hic reddas juſtæ argumenta repulſæ.
Parebo monitis, parte in utraque, tuis.
Fallor? an adſpicio viridem ſub veſte coronam.
O Dii! quam pulchre laurus amœna viret!
Cæſaris hoc munus, vigeat cum Cæſare laurus:
Prævaleat vulgo gratia Cæſarea
Quæ mihi contingit per te, celeberrime Conſe,
Si mihi continget laurea Cæſarea.

Then the Count Palatine made a long ſpeech in praiſe of the art of Poetry; which he concluded with—Audiviſtis hactenus ſatis ſuperque, uti ſpero, auditores nobiliſſimi, intellexiſtis artem Poëticam reipublicæ & utilem & neceſſariam eſſe, ejus cultores dignis officiendos præmiis, titulum & privilegia Poëtæ laureati, non quibuſvis promiſcue & ſine diſcretione, ſed iis tandem conferenda eſſe, in arte Poëtica ſingulares qui fecerunt progreſſus. Then directing himſelf to Cruſius, that was to be honoured with the laurel, Cum itaque, ſaith he, tu magiſter Johannes Paulus Cruſius, Poëſeos candidate, ad eundem honoris & dignitatis titulum aſpirare cupias; tui jam officii tuarumque partium erit, ut antequam petitus honoris titulus, ſolenni cum applauſu tibi conferatur, eruditionis tuæ inſigne ac nobile aliquod ſpecimen illuſtri huic auditorio edas, exhibeas te talem, qualem te commendo, ut omnibus & ſingulis liquido conſtet, te eum eſſe, quem ipſa eruditio ac doctrina commendet, & ipſa virtus & morum integritas condecoret, ipſa juſtitia honore petito condecorandum dignum judicet, nec ipſa etiam invidia, virtutis comes, idem deneget.

Then Cruſius recited a poem of above three hundred verſes; his theme (choſen by himſelf) being, Quam nihil omnis homo! And theſe verſes are called in the act of creation, Specimen pro impetranda laurea. Next the Count Palatine, (to the end, that this act of conferring the laurel might have the fuller credit and authority with all that were preſent) produces the Emperor's patent, that made him Count Palatine, and gave him this authority, and hath it recognized, upon a ſolemn obſervation of the ſeal and ſubſcription, by a public notary, and openly read by him alſo. Thence he ſums up the authority given him, and ſhews, that the courſe is, that whoſoever is to be crowned with the laurel ought firſt to take an oath to the Emperor and his ſucceſſor; which he bids the public notary read to Cruſius, and he carefully to hearken to it. The oath was,

Promittes & jurabis, quod velis eſſe invictiſſimo, potentiſſimo, & ſereniſſimo, Principi ac Domino Domino Matthiæ primo Romanorum Imperatori ſemper auguſto, & eidem ſacro Romano Imperio omnibus ſucceſſoribus ejus Romanorum Imperatoribus ac regibus legitime intrantibus, fidelis; nec unquam aſſiſtes conſilio, ubi periculum eorum tractetur, ſed bonum & ſalutem eorum defendes fideliter & promovebis; damna eorum pro tua poſſibilitata & facultate vitabis & avertes; quæ in laudem & honorem Romani Imperii ſpectabunt aliquando carminibus celebrabis, amplificabis; nec licentia data in maledicentiam & convitia prorumpes; ab omnibus famoſis libellis abſtinebis; & omnia, quæ Cæſareum verum, ſincerum, & Germanum Poëtam jure vel conſuetudine decent, modo ſint honeſta & juſta, diligenti exercitio & morum ornatu, facies & præſtabis.

By direction then of the Count, he lays his hand on the book, and ſwears, Hæc omnia prælecta ſumma, qua potero, obedientia & diligentia obſervabo & faciam, ut me Deus adjuvet & hæc ſancta Dei Evangelia. The oath thus taken; becauſe, ſays the Count, I doubt not, but that, during your whole life, you will truly obſerve what you have thus ſworn, it remains only, that I now give you the laurel appointed for you.

Te itaque Johannem Paulum Cruſium Argentinenſem, liberalium artium & diſciplinarum magiſtrum, in hac florentiſſima aſſidentium & adſtantium corona ob inſignes ingenii tui dotes, præſertim vero artis Poëticæ doctrinam ſingularem, peritiam eximiam, ut moris eſt, vigore ac tenore Cæſarei hujus noſtri diplomatis, tanquam Comes Palatinus auguſtiſſima imperatoriæ ac Cæſareæ Majeſtatis auctoritate, hac laurea Poëtica coronamus, condecoramus, donamus, ac Poëtam ac Vatem-Laureatum, pronuntiamus, proclamamus, facimus, creamus, promovemus, aureoque hoc annulo ornamus, condecoramus, & hoc ipſo laureæ Poëticæ inſignibus ac titulis inſignimus, inveſtimus, aliorumque Poëtarum numero ordini & conſortio cooptamus, adſcribimus, & aggregamus. Concedimus inſuper, plenamque facultatem authoritatem & licentiam elargimur, ut tu per nos laureæ Poëticæ titulo ſic donatus, ab hac hora iis fruiturum poſſis & valeas, omnibus in urbibus civitatibus, communitatibus, univerſitatibus, collegiis & academiis quibuſcunque univerſis ſacri Romani imperii, & ubi libet terrarum, in artis Poëticæ facultate publice legere, docere, ſcribere, interpretari, commentari, cathedram aſcendere, diſputare, ac omnes præterea eos actus Poëticos, quos cæteri Poëtæ-Laureati ſolenniter inſigniti & inveſtiti ſubire, facere, & experiri, ſoliti ſunt, ſuſcipere, & exercere. Ac omnibus denique ac ſingulis quibuſcunque Poëtæ, quocunque demum in loco, & a quibuſcunque poteſtatem facultatemque lauream conferendi habentibus promoti, ornamentis, inſignibus, privilegiis, prærogativis, exemptionibus, honoribus, præ-eminentiis, favoribus, indultis, & gratiis, uti, frui, potiri, & gaudere, quomodo libet conſuetudine vel de jure, omni dolo fraude contradictione quorumcunque ac ſiniſtra machinatione ſublata penitus ac remota.

With a laurel we ſee alſo a ring was given him; and after the Count had made another ſpeech, touching the laurel and ring, the crowned Poet recites another poem of thanks for his dignity; and ſo the act ended.

In proceeding, Mr Selden further obſerves, that this cuſtom of giving crowns of laurel to Poets, as the enſigns of a degree of maſterſhip in poetry, had continued above an hundred and fifty years † in the empire

† This was written in 1631.

ſucceſs. In the mean while, as it was impoſſible in theſe times to ſhine among the great ones, which is the poet's ambition, without ſiding with one of the parties, Whig or Tory, Mr Shadwell's lot fell among the Whigs; and, in conſequence thereof, he was ſet up as a rival to Mr Dryden. Hence there grew a mutual diſlike between them; and, upon the appearance of the Laureat's tragedy, called *The Duke of Guiſe*, in 1683, our author was charged (*d*) with having the principal hand in writing a piece, intituled, *Some Reflections on the pretended Parallel, in the Play called* The Duke of Guiſe, *in a Letter to a Friend*; which was printed the ſame year, in four ſheets, 4to. Mr Dryden wrote a vindication of the Parallel, and ſuch a ſtorm was raiſed, both againſt Shadwell, and his friend Hunt, who aſſiſted him in it, that this latter was forced to fly into Holland (*e*); and we find our author complaining, that in theſe, which he calls, the worſt of times, 'his ruin was deſigned and his life ſought; and that for near ten years he was kept from the exerciſe of that profeſſion, which had afforded him a competent ſubſiſtence (*f*).' However, he was abundantly rewarded for theſe ſufferings, whatever they were, after the Revolution, by ſeeing himſelf crowned with the laurel which was ſtripped from the brows of his antagoniſt; who thereupon, by way of revenge, wrote the bittereſt ſatire againſt him that ever was penned, under the name of *Mac Flecnoe* [*B*]. Our new Laureat had the misfortune alſo to enjoy his honour but a very few years; for, being ſeized, as was thought, with an apoplexy (*g*), he died ſuddenly in November, 1692, in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, at Chelſey; in which church he was interred on the 24th of the ſame month (*b*), when his friend Dr Nicholas Brady preached his funeral ſermon; wherein he aſſures us, that our author was 'a man of great honeſty and integrity, and had a real love of truth and ſincerity; an inviolable fidelity and ſtrictneſs to his word; an unalterable friendſhip, wherever 'he profeſſed it; and (however the world may be miſtaken in him) a much deeper ſenſe 'of religion, than many others have, who pretend to it more openly.' The Doctor proceeds with obſerving, that 'His natural and acquired abilities made him ſufficiently 'remarkable to all that he converſed with, very few being equal to him, in all the becoming qualities and accompliſhments, which adorn and ſet off a complete gentleman; 'that his very enemies, continues this preacher, if he has any left behind him, will give 'him this character, at leaſt if they knew him ſo thoroughly as I did.' By a remark which the ſame friend makes afterwards, we are led into an opinion, that he fell a ſacrifice to a habit of taking of opium to exceſs. 'His death, ſays the preacher, ſeized him 'ſuddenly; but he could not be unprepared, ſince, to my certain knowledge, he never 'took his doſe of opium, but he ſolemnly recommended himſelf to God by prayer (*i*).' After his death came out *The Volunteers, or the Stock-Jobbers, a Comedy*, acted by their Majeſties ſervants, with a dedication to the Queen by Mrs Anne Shadwell, our author's widow; and an epilogue, wherein his character as a poet is ſet in the beſt and moſt advantageous light; which, perhaps, was judged neceſſary to ballance the very different drawing, and even abuſive repreſentation, of it, by Mr Dryden [*C*], who is generally condemned for

(*d*) By Dryden, in his Vindication of the Parallel, p. 40. See his article.

(*e*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 729. and Vol. I. col. 364.

(*f*) Dedication to the Earl of Dorſet of *Bury-Fair. A Comedy*, printed in 1689, 4to.

(*g*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 414.

(*b*) Id. ibid. In the inſcription upon his monument in Weſtminſter-abbey, his death is dated Decemb. 4, by miſtake.

(*i*) Funeral Sermon, p. 40.

empire at leaſt. That in the latter empire, it proceeded from a kind of example which was under the old Roman Emperors. That ſuch crowns were made proper to the gift of Emperors, by an inſtitution of Domitian; and as from the uſe of the old empire the latter took the example of crowning Poets, ſo from that of the latter, ſome uſe of giving the laurel was anciently received in England; John Skelton had the title of Laureat * under Henry the Eighth; and in the ſame time, Robert Whittington called himſelf ‡ *Grammaticæ magiſter & Protovates Angliæ in florentiſſima Oxonienſi Academia Laureatus*: Under Edward the Fourth, one John Kay, by the title of his humble Poet-Laureat, dedicates to him *The Siege of Rhodes* in proſe † But John Gower, a famous Poet under Richard the Second, buried in St Mary Overy's church, hath his ſtatue crowned with ivy mixed with roſes ‖. *Habet ibidem ſtatuam*, ſays Bale §, *duplici nota inſignem, nempe aurea torque, & hederacea corona roſis interſerta* (1).

Bale, cent. 8. ſcript. 66.

‡ In ſome pieces then publiſhed. See Antibonſitcon. Lond. 1520.

† MS. in Bibl. Cotton.

‖ See a further account of theſe ornaments, under his article.

§ Cent. 7. Scriptor. 23.

(1) Titles of Honour, p. 457 to 466. in Vol. III. of Selden's Works, edit. 1725.

[*B*] *Dryden revenged this affront in his Mac Flecknoe.*] Dryden ſeems to have carried his reſentment even to the friends of his rival; in this ſpirit we find him expreſſing great contempt for Otway, with whom our author was a great favourite, and lived in a moſt friendly intimacy (2). 'Tis certain, this contempt for Otway was againſt his clear judgment, and he afterwards recanted it (3). To ſpeak freely, this promotion of our Poet to the laurel was apparently the effect of party, and the exigency of the times upon the Revolution, which made it prudent, in diſpoſing of all offices in the State, to have an eye chiefly to a firm attachment and warm zeal for the new eſtabliſhment. Accordingly, we are told, that when ſome perſons urged to the then Lord-Chamberlain, that there were others who had better pretenſions to the laurel; his Lordſhip replied, he would not pretend to ſay how great a Poet Shadwell might be, but was ſure he was an honeſt man (4).

(2) Rochester's Seſſion of the Poets.

(3) Some Account of Dryden, &c. prefixed to his Poems, publiſhed in 1700, in 4 vols, 8vo.

(4) Cibber's Lives of the Poet, under our author's article.

[*C*] *The advantageous character in* The Epilogue to the Volunteers *might be a ballance to the abuſe of him by Dryden*] It will be proper to lay them both before the reader, that, by contraſting them to each other, his true character may at laſt be fixed. In Mac Flecknoe, the God of Dulneſs is introduced, making this ſpeech upon the choice of a proper perſon as a ſon to ſucceed him:

Shadwell alone my perfect image bears,
Mature in dulneſs from his tender years.
Shadwell alone of all my ſons is high,
He ſtands confirm'd in full ſtupidity.
The reſt to ſome faint meaning make pretence,
But Shadwell never deviates into ſenſe.
Some beams of wit on other ſouls may fall,
Strike thro' and make a lucid interval.
But Shadwell's genuine night admits no ray,
His riſing fogs prevail upon the day.
Beſides, is goodly fabric fills the eye,
And ſeems deſign'd for thoughtleſs majeſty.

The character in the Epilogue is as follows:

Shadwell, the great ſupport 'oth' comic ſtage,
Born to expoſe the follies of the age.
To whip prevailing vices, and unite
Mirth with inſtruction, profit with delight.
For large ideas and a flowing pen,
Firſt, of our times, and ſecond, but to Ben.

Whoſe

for treating our author a little too unmercifully, his reſentment carrying him even beyond the bounds of truth; for that, though it muſt be owned he fell vaſtly ſhort of Jonſon, whom he ſet to himſelf as a model of excellence, yet it is certain there are high authorities in favour of many of his comedies, and the beſt judges of that age gave their teſtimony for them. They have in them fine ſtrokes of humour [*D*]; the characters are often original, ſtrongly marked, and well ſuſtained. Add to this, that he had the greateſt expedition imaginable in writing, and ſometimes produced a play in leſs than a month (*k*). Beſides ſeventeen plays, he wrote ſeveral other pieces of poetry [*E*], ſome of which have been commended. An edition of his Works, with ſome account of his Life and Writings prefixed, was publiſhed in 1720, in four volumes, 8vo.

(*k*) Dedication to the Earl of Dorſet, of his comedy called *The Miſer*.

Whoſe mighty genius and diſcerning mind,
Trac'd all the various humours of mankind.
Dreſſing them up with ſuch ſucceſsful care,
That every fop found his own picture there;
And bluſh'd for ſhame at the ſurprizing ſkill,
Which made his lov'd reſemblance look ſo ill.
Shadwell, who all his lines from nature drew,
Copied her out, and kept her ſtill in view:
Who never ſunk in proſe, nor ſoar'd in verſe;
So high as bombaſt, or ſo low as farce.
Who ne'er was brib'd by title or eſtate,
To fawn and flatter with the rich and great.
To let a gilded vice or folly paſs,
But always laſh'd the villain and the aſs.

[*D*] *Some of his Plays have in them fine ſtrokes of humour.*] Mr Langbaine, ſpeaking of his comedy called *The Virtuoſo*, tells us, that no body will deny this play it's due applauſe: at leaſt, I know, ſays he, that the univerſity of Oxford, who may be allowed competent judges of Comedy, eſpecially of ſuch characters as Sir Nicholas Gimcrack and Sir Formal Triſſle, applauded it. And as no man ever undertook to diſcover the frailties of ſuch pretenders to this kind of knowledge before Mr Shadwell, ſo none ſince Mr Jonſon's time ever drew ſo many different characters of humour, and with ſuch ſucceſs (5). The ſame Critic alſo obſerves, that our author's comedy called *Epſom Wells* is ſo diverting, and withal ſo true a comedy, that even foreigners, who are not generally the kindeſt to the wit of our nation, have extremely commended it; and, continues he, 'tis no ſmall credit to our author, that the Sieur de St Evremond, ſpeaking of our Engliſh comedies in his Eſſays, has ranked this play with Ben Jonſon's *Bartholomew-Fair*, as two of our moſt diverting comedies (6).

(5) Account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets, p. 451. Oxf. 1691.

(6) Ibid. p. 445, 446.

[*E*] *Plays and other poetical pieces.*] The titles of his Plays are, I. *The Sullen Lovers: or, the Impertinents.* II *The Humouriſts*, a comedy. III. *The Royal Shepherdeſs*, a tragi-comedy. IV. *The Virtuoſo*, a comedy. V. *Pſyche*, a tragedy. VI *The Libertine*, a tragedy. VII. *Epſom-Wells*, a comedy. VIII *The Hiſtory of Timon of Athens.* IX. *The Miſer*, a comedy. X. *A true Widow*, a comedy, dedicated to Sir Charles Sedley; the prologue was written by Dryden; which ſhews, that there was no open quarrel between them in the year 1679, when this play was acted. But we have ſhewn above, that it broke out not long after. XI. *The Lancaſhire Witches and Teague O Divelly, the Iriſh Prieſt*, a comedy. XII. *The Woman Captain*, a comedy. XIII. *The Squire of Alſatia*, a comedy. XIV. *Bury Fair*, a comedy. XV. *The amorous Bigots, with the ſecond part of Teague O Divelly*, a comedy. XV. *The Scowrers*, a comedy. XVI. *The Volunteers: or, The Stock-Jobbers*, a comedy. Among his poems, the principal are, *A Congratulatory Poem on the Prince of Orange's coming to England.* Another on Queen Mary. Tranſlation of the tenth Satire of Juvenal, &c.

P

SHAKESPEARE [WILLIAM] was deſcended of a gentleman's family [*A*], at Stratford upon Avon, in the county of Warwick; but his father entering into the wool-trade,

[*A*] *Deſcended of a gentleman's family.*] Mr Betterton, the player, who took a journey to Stratford, on purpoſe to get ſome informations concerning our author, found by the regiſter and public writings relating to that town, that the family of the Shakeſpeare's was of good figure and faſhion there, and mentioned as gentlemen (1). But this was put beyond diſpute by Mr Pope (2); who procured the following tranſcript from the inſtrument in the Herald's-Office:

(1) Rowe's Life of Shakeſpeare.

(2) Preface to his edition of Shakeſpeare's Works.

'To all and ſingular, noble, and gentlemen of all 'eſtates and degrees, bearing arms, to whom theſe 'preſents ſhall come. William Dethicke, Garter-'Principal King at Arms of England, and William 'Cambden, alias Clarencieux King at Arms for the 'ſouth, eaſt, and weſt parts of this realm, ſend 'greeting. Know ye, that in all nations and king-'doms the record and remembrance of worthy men 'have been made known and divulged by certain 'ſhields of arms and tokens of chivalrie; the grant 'and teſtimony whereof appertaineth unto us, by 'virtue of our offices from the Queen's Moſt Excellent 'Majeſty, and her Highneſs's moſt noble and victo-'rious progenitors: wherefore, being ſolicited, and 'by credible report informed, that John Shakeſpere, 'now of Stratford upon Avon, in the county of 'Warwick, Gentleman (3); whoſe Great Grand-'father, for his faithful and approved ſervice to the 'late moſt prudent Prince, King Henry the Seventh, 'of famous memory, was advanced and rewarded 'with lands and tenements, given to him in thoſe 'parts of Warwickſhire, where they have continued, 'by ſome deſcents, in good reputation and credit; 'and for that the ſaid John Shakeſpere having married 'the daughter and one of the heirs of Robert Arden, 'of Wellingcote, in the ſame county; and alſo pro-'duced this his ancient Coat of Arms, heretofore 'aſſigned to him, whilſt he was her Majeſty's officer 'and bayliff of that town: In conſideration of the 'premiſes, and for the encouragment of his poſterity, 'unto whom ſuch blazon of Arms and Atchievements 'of inheritance from their ſaid mother, by the ancient 'cuſtom and law of Arms, may lawfully deſcend; 'we the ſaid Garter and Clarencieux have aſſigned, 'granted, and confirmed, and by theſe preſents, ex-'emplified unto the ſaid John Shakeſpere and to his 'poſterity, that ſhield and Coat of Arms, viz. *In a 'field of gold, upon a bend, ſables; a ſpear of the 'firſt, the point upward, bended, argent*; and for 'his creſt or cognizance, *A falcon, Or; with his 'wings diſplayed, ſtanding on a wreath of his colours, 'ſupportin a ſpeare, armed, headed, or ſteeled, ſilver, 'fixed upon an helmet, with mantles and toſſils*; as 'more plainly may appear depicted in this margent. 'And we have likewiſe impaled the ſame with the 'ancient Arms of the ſaid Arden of Wellingcote; 'ſignifying, thereby, that it may and ſhall be lawful 'for the ſaid John Shakeſpere, Gent. to bear and 'uſe the ſame ſhield of Arms, ſingle or impaled 'as aforeſaid, during his natural lyfe; and that it 'ſhall be lawful for his children, iſſue, and poſterity, 'lawfully begotten, to bear, uſe, and quarter, and 'ſhew forth, the ſame, with their due differences, 'in all lawful warlike feats and civil uſe or exerciſes, 'according to the laws of Arms, and cuſtom that to 'gentlemen belongeth, without let or interruption 'of any perſon or perſons for uſe and bearing 'the ſame. In witneſs and teſtimony whereof, we 'have ſubſcribed our names, and faſtned the ſeals

(3) This John was evidently our Poet's father, and 'tis ſaid he took out this inſtrument in honour of his ſon. Theobald's preface to Shakeſpeare.

'of

trade, dealt conſiderably that way (*a*). He married the daughter and one of the heirs of Robert Arden, of Wellingcote in the ſame county (*b*). This gentlewoman brought him ten children, of whom our poet was the eldeſt, being born in April 1564. At a proper age he was put to the free-ſchool in Stratford, where he acquired the rudiments of Grammar-learning. Whether he diſcovered at this time any extraordinary genius or inclination for the Claſſics, is very uncertain; to make the beſt of any, he might be endued with, in that kind, was not the point in his father's view. He had no deſign to make a ſcholar of his ſon, but, on the contrary, took him early from ſchool into his own buſineſs. He did not continue very long in this employ, as a minor, under the immediate guidance of his father; he reſolved to write man ſooner than ordinary, and at ſeventeen years of age married a woman of twenty-five. However, in reſpect to fortune, it was no imprudent match [*B*]; and thus young Shakeſpeare not only commenced maſter of a family, but became father of two if not three children, before he was out of his minority [*C*]. So ſettled, he had no other thoughts than of purſuing the wool-trade, when happening to fall into acquaintance with ſome perſons, who followed the practice of deer-ſtealing, he was prevailed upon to engage with them in robbing Sir Thomas Lucy's park, at Cherlcot near Stratford. The injury being repeated more than once, that gentleman was provoked to enter a proſecution againſt the delinquents; and Shakeſpeare in revenge made him the ſubject of a ballad [*D*], which tradition ſays (for unluckily the piece is loſt) was pointed with ſo much bitterneſs, that it became unſafe for the author to ſtay any longer in the country. To eſcape the hands of the Law, he fled to London, where, as might be expected from a man of wit and humour in his circumſtances, he threw himſelf among the players. Thus, at length, this grand luminary was driven, by a very untoward accident, into his genuine and proper ſphere of ſhining in the univerſe. His firſt admiſſion into the play-houſe was ſuitable to his appearance; a ſtranger, unacquainted and uninformed in this art, he was glad to be taken into the company in a very mean rank. Neither did his performance recommend him to any diſtinguiſhed notice (*c*). The part of an actor neither engaged nor deſerved his attention; it was very far from filling, or being adequate to, the prodigious powers of his mind: he turned the advantage which that ſituation afforded him, to a higher and nobler uſe; and having, by practice and obſervation, acquainted himſelf with the mechanical part of the theatre [*E*], his native genius inſpired all the other moſt eſſentially ſuperior qualities of a play-wright [*F*]. But the whole view of

(*a*) Shakeſpeare's Life, by Rowe.

(*b*) See the inſtrument in remark [*A*].

(*c*) Mr Rowe tells us, that, upon the beſt enquiry, he found, the ghoſt in his own Hamlet was the top of his performances as an actor.

' of our offices. Given at the Office of Arms, London, ' the day of in the forty-ſecond ' year of the reign of our Moſt Gracious Sovereign, ' Lady Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Queen of ' England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the ' Faith, &c. 1599.'

[*B*] *He married a woman of twenty-five*, &c.] She was the daughter of one John Hatheway, a ſubſtantial yeoman, in the neighbourhood; ſo that 'tis not improbable, that Shakeſpeare had an eye to his intereſt in the match; eſpecially, if we conſider her age; however, ſhe ſurvived her huſband ſeven years, dying in 1623, at the age of ſixty-ſeven (4).

(4) See her monument in the church of Stratford.

[*C*] *Before he was out of his minority.*] He had three children by his wife, but we have an account only of two, they were both daughters. The younger was born in 1583, as appears by the inſcription on her monument (5); ſo that, by the courſe of nature, the father, who was born in 1564, could not well be full eighteen years of age on his marriage, unleſs we ſuppoſe (what ought not to be ſuppoſed, there being no evidence of it) that her firſt child was the fruits of antenuptial fornication.

(5) In the ſame church. It is there ſaid, ſhe died July 2, 1649, aged 66.

[*D*] *He made a ballad upon the Knight.*] This ballad was not the only ſhaft which he let fly againſt his proſecutor, whoſe anger drove him to the extreme end of ruin, where he was forced to a very low degree of drudgery for a ſupport. How long the Knight continued inexorable is not known; but it is certain, that Shakeſpeare owed his releaſe at laſt to the Queen's kindneſs. When he found, therefore, the character of Falſtaff, in the two parts of Henry the Fourth, had won her Majeſty's favour to that degree, that ſhe ordered him to bring it once more on the ſtage; his addreſs to her upon this occaſion is admirable, in making this favourite a deer-ſtealer; which gave him, at the ſame time, ſuch a natural opening againſt his proſecutor. The *fléche* is pointed with excellent humour, and the archer's aim hinted in ſuch an alluſion, as is not to be diſcerned but by thoſe, who were in the ſecret. Juſtice Shallow appears conſpicuouſly and ſplendidly ridiculous, whilſt the particular merit that procured him the atchievement of the dozen white *luces* (6) would be obſerved only by the knowing ones in Heraldry. By this management of the Knight's reputation, a due reſpect is paid to his quality; he is ſaved from falling into the rude and undiſtinguiſhing hands of the vulgar; ſuch a management was no leſs due to the length of twenty years, which had paſſed for the manager's reſentment to cool in. It was ſtill more due to the ſenſe he muſt have then of his abſolute ſecurity from any further harm; and, eſpecially, to the advantage he had luckily made in his fortune thereby.

(6) Theſe were the arms of the Lucies. Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickſhire.

[*E*] *The mechanical part of the theatre.*] He uſed the help of his function in forming himſelf to create and expreſs that ſublime, which other actors can only copy and throw out in action and graceful attitude. His diſregard to the two unities of time and place, are evidently owing to this ſkill, which had taught him the exact temper and diſpoſition of the ſpectators. Theſe he obſerved were ſuſceptible of a deception in both thoſe points, and he never ſuffered either of them to cramp the native force of his genius. In forming the plan of his plays, his deſign was to obſerve the unity of action only: this was ſufficient to impoſe the neglect of the other upon the audience; and Mr Upton is of opinion, that he is the beſt Poet who can impoſe upon his audience, and that he is the wiſeſt man who is eaſieſt impoſed on. The ſtory, which is the principal part, and as it were, the ſoul of the tragedy, being made a whole, with a natural dependance and connection, the ſpectator ſeldom conſiders the length of time neceſſary to produce all the incidents, and as to place, there is an artificial contrivance of the ſcenes. ' For my own part, con- ' tinues this writer, I ſee no great hurt likely to ' accrue to the underſtanding, in accompanying the ' Poet in his mechanical operations, and in helping ' on an innocent deceit, while he not only raiſes or ' ſooths the paſſions, but tranſports me from place ' to place, juſt as it pleaſes him, and carries on the ' thread of his ſtory (7).'

(7) Upton's Remarks upon Shakeſpeare.

[*F*] *The moſt eſſentially ſuperior qualities of a play-wright.*] Theſe are generally reckoned to be, manners, ſentiments, and diction; and in theſe there are four requiſites, which are all remarkably obſerved by Shakeſpeare. 1. That they be good. 2 Suitable. 3. True, with reſpect to hiſtory, or common report. 4. Uniform and conſiſtent. As to the firſt of theſe, 'tis remarked, by the laſt-mentioned critic, that they were

of this firſt attempt in ſtage-poetry [G] being to procure a ſubſiſtence, he directed his endeavours ſolely to hit the taſte and humour that then prevailed amongſt the meaner ſort of people, of whom the audience was generally compoſed; and therefore his images of life were drawn from thoſe of that rank [H]. Theſe had no notion of the rules of writing,

were the natural expreſſions of his own mind. Shakeſpeare being a good and honeſt man, as Ben Jonſon teſtifies in his Diſcoveries (8); and in another place he ſays,

——Look how the father's face
Lives in his iſſue, even ſo the race
Of Shakeſpeare's mind and manners brightly ſhines
In his well-torned and true-filled lines (9).

This is produced by Jonſon, as a proof of Shakeſpeare's art and ſkill in play-writing But however true Ben's remark undoubtedly is in general, yet a late author has pointed out a ſingular deviation from the fourth requiſite of conſiſtency, running through the whole fable in one of our author's moſt finiſhed plays, Macbeth; where the incongruity of all the paſſages, in which the Thane of Cawdor is mentioned, appears prominently conſpicuous. In the ſecond ſcene of the firſt act, the Thanes of Roſſe and Angus bringing the king an account of the battle, inform him, that Norway,

Aſſiſted by that moſt diſloyal traytor,
The Thane of Cawdor, 'gan a diſmal conflict.

It appears, that Cawdor was taken priſoner, for the king ſays, in the ſame ſcene,

——Go, pronounce his death,
And with his former title, greet Macbeth.

Yet, though Cawdor was thus taken by Macbeth in arms againſt his king, when Macbeth is ſaluted in the fourth ſcene, Thane of Cawdor, by the weird ſiſters, he aſks,

How of Cawdor? The Thane of Cawdor lives
A proſperous gentleman.——

And in the next line, conſiders the promiſes, that he ſhould be Thane of Cawdor and King, as equally unlikely to be accompliſhed. How can Macbeth be ignorant of the ſtate of the Thane of Cawdor, whom he has juſt defeated and taken priſoner; or call him a proſperous gentleman, who has forfeited his title and life by open rebellion? Or why ſhould he wonder, that the title of the rebel, whom he has overthrown, ſhould be conferred upon him? He cannot be ſuppoſed to diſſemble his knowledge of the condition of Cawdor, becauſe he inquires with all the ardour of curioſity and the vehemence of ſudden aſtoniſhment, and becauſe no body is preſent but Banquo, who had an equal part in the battle, and was equally acquainted with Cawdor's treaſon. However, in the next ſcene his ignorance ſtill continues; and when Roſſe and Angus preſent him, from the king, with this new title, he cries out,

——The Thane of Cawdor lives;
Why do you dreſs me in his borrow'd robes?

Roſſe and Angus, who were the meſſengers that, in the ſecond ſcene, informed the king of the aſſiſtance given by Cawdor to the invader; having loſt, as well as Macbeth, all memory of what they had ſo lately ſeen and related, make this anſwer,

——Whether he was
Combin'd with Norway, or did line the rebels
With hidden help and vantage, o. with both
He labour'd in his country's wreck, I know not.

Neither Roſſe knew what he had juſt reported, nor Macbeth what he had juſt done. This ſeems not to be one of the faults that are to be imputed to the tranſcribers; ſince though the inconſiſtency of Roſſe and Angus might be removed, by ſuppoſing, that their names are erroneouſly inſerted, and that only Roſſe brought the account of the battle, and only Angus was ſent to compliment Macbeth; yet the forgetfulneſs of Macbeth cannot be palliated, ſince what he ſays could not have been ſpoken by any other (10).

[G] *His firſt attempts in Poetry.*] We have no certain authority which was the firſt play he wrote; Romeo and Juliet, acted in 1597, was the higheſt date of any that Mr Pope could find, next to which was Richard the Second and Third, in 1598. The firſt part of Henry the Fifth, proves that play to be wrote while the Earl of Eſſex was General in Ireland. If Titus Andronicus were his, it would bid faireſt for this right of primogeniture; ſince Ben Jonſon, condemning it in his induction to *Bartholomew-Fair*, mentions it's being then of twenty-five or thirty years ſtanding; if we take the leſſer number, this play muſt have been wrote in 1589, when our author was twenty-five years old. But Mr Theobald takes Ben's words neceſſarily to extend to the largeſt time; and infers from it, that the play, on it's firſt appearance, could not be the work of Shakeſpeare's pen, who had not at that time left Warwickſhire; and this argument is alſo eſteemed unanſwerable by Mr Upton. Mr Pope excludes this piece from the liſt of Shakeſpeare's offspring, becauſe openly condemned by Ben Jonſon while Shakeſpeare was living; for he will have it, that theſe two great Poets were good friends, and that they lived on amicable terms with each other, notwithſtanding the warm conteſts that were carried on with leſs temper by their partizans (11). It is acknowledged, ſays he, that Ben Jonſon was firſt introduced upon the ſtage, and his firſt works encouraged by Shakeſpeare, and after his death that author writes to the memory of his *beloved* William Shakeſpeare (12), which ſhews as if the friendſhip had continued through life. He thinks likewiſe, that the commendations of Shakeſpeare in Ben's Diſcoveries proceed from a perſonal kindneſs; he tells us, he loved the man as well as honoured his memory, celebrates the honeſty, openneſs, and frankneſs of his temper, and only diſtinguiſhes, as he reaſonably ought, between the real merit of the author and the ſilly and derogatory applauſes of the players. But, however reaſonable this might be, there is a very ſtrong proof, that the players had a greater ſhare in Shakeſpeare's friendſhip than Ben had: In his Will, he bequeaths to three of them, each a gold ring, ranking them among ſome of his firſt friends (13). In reality he had no reaſon to rank Ben among theſe; the frequent ſneers which are vented in the induction to *Bartholomew Fair* againſt Shakeſpeare, while, as Mr Pope obſerves, he was ſtill living, are undeniable proofs that Jonſon's was ſuch a kind of love as made him blind to ſome of his friend's moſt diſtinguiſhing excellencies. 'If 'there be never a *ſervant monſter* 'ith fair (they are 'his words) who can help it; he ſays, nor *a neſt 'of antiques?* He is loth to make nature afraid in 'his plays, like thoſe that beget *tales, tempeſts*, and 'ſuch like drolleries, to mix his head with other men's 'heels.' Here the *ſervant monſter* is the character of *Caliban*, in the *Tempeſt*; the *neſt of antiques*, is the clowns, who dance in *The Winter's Tale*; and leſt he ſhould be thought not to ſpeak plainly enough, he expreſsly mentions thoſe plays in the next ſentence. I am afraid the reader will think but ill either of Jonſon's judgment or his candour, when he thus ridicules what has been generally admired by men of real taſte (14). This is the remark of Mr Whalley, who, however, ſo far agrees with Mr Pope, as to believe the ſneer was deſigned not ſo much, though not abſolutely without any deſign, to ridicule Shakeſpeare for his invention, as the paſſion of the mob for ſpectacles of this kind (15).

[H] *His images of life are drawn from that rank.*] There being no external proofs to give light into this point, which was the firſt play of Shakeſpeare, recourſe has been had to the internal evidence, for aſſiſtance therein, from the progreſs of his improvement by uſe and exerciſe. But all that could be diſcovered, was firſt, in regard to his comedies, that he fell into the general practice followed then, of laying his ſcene among tradeſmen and mechanics; and in the hiſtorical plays, ſtrictly copying the common old ſtories or vulgar traditions of that kind of people; and as in tragedy, nothing was ſo ſure to ſurprize and raiſe their admiration, as the moſt unnatural events and incidents, the moſt exaggerated thoughts, the moſt verboſe and bombaſt

(8) P. 91. Vol. VII. of his Works, edit. 1756, 8vo.

(9) Verſes to Shakeſpeare's Memory, among his epigrams, Vol. VI. p. 303.

(10) Miſcellaneous Obſervations on the Tragedy of Macbeth, note VI. edit. 1745, 8vo.

(11) Pope's Preface, as before.

(12) In his Epigrams, from p. 301 to 304, inclusive. Mr Pope calls it an ample and honourable panegyric to the memory of his friend; but in opinion he differs from his admired Dryden, who calls it an invidious and ſparring one.

(13) See a copy of his Will, in remark [Y].

(14) In regard to the character of Caliban, it is a remark of three of the prime wits in Jonſon's time, Hale, Vaughan, and Selden, that Shakeſpeare had not only created a new being, but invented a new language for him.

(15) Works of Shakeſpeare, Vol. III. p. 282. note (5), edit. 1756, in 7 vols, 8vo.

writing, or the model of the Ancients [*I*]. Shakeſpeare alſo ſet out without the advantage of education, and without the advice or aſſiſtance of the learned [*K*]; equally without the patronage

(16) This is evident, from the great pains Ben Jonſon took to remove their prejudices and inform their judgments, both in his prefaces and prologues, and by the mouth of his actors, grex, chorus, &c.

bombaſt expreſſion, the moſt pompous rhymes and thundering verſification. So in comedy, nothing was ſo ſure to pleaſe, as the mean buffoonry, idle ribaldry, and unmannerly jeſts of fools and clowns (16).

[*I*] *Theſe had no notion of the rules*, &c.] Not only the common audience had no notion of the rules of writing, but few, even of the better ſort, piqued themſelves upon any degree of knowledge or nicety that way. Their tragedies were only hiſtories in dialogue; and their comedies followed the thread of any novel as they found it, no leſs implicitly than if it had been true hiſtory.

[*K*] *Without the aſſiſtance of the learned.*] Notwithſtanding the remark of Ben Jonſon, who knew our author when living, that he had little Latin and leſs Greek; yet his teſtimony hath not been ſufficient to ſatisfy all his admirers. We are told, that in a converſation between Sir John Suckling, Sir William Davenant, Endymion Porter, Mr Hales of Eton, and Ben Jonſon; Sir John Suckling, who was a profeſſed admirer of Shakeſpeare, having undertaken his defence againſt Ben with ſome warmth, Mr Hales, after ſitting ſtill for ſome time, told them, that if Shakeſpeare had not read the Ancients he had likewiſe not ſtolen any thing from them; and that if Ben would produce any one topic finely treated by any of them, he would undertake to ſhew ſomething at leaſt as well written by Shakeſpeare (17). This was a very genteel turn of Ben's cenſorioufneſs into a high compliment of Shakeſpeare's genius; and Mr Rowe ventured further, peremptorily 'declaring it to be beyond all controverſy, that Shakeſpeare had no knowledge of the writings of the ancient Poets; and that, in his works, no traces could be found of any thing which looked like an imitation of the Ancients. For, ſays he, the delicacy of his taſte, and the natural bent of his own great genius (equal, if not ſuperior, to ſome of the beſt of theirs), would certainly have led him to read and ſtudy them with ſo much pleaſure, that ſome of their fine images would naturally have inſinuated into, and been mixed with, his own writings. So that his not copying ſomething from them may be an argument of his never having read them' Mr Pope afterwards preſerved the compliment of Mr Hales, but with the ſame caution that he firſt made it, in the following paraphraſe: 'There is 'certainly, ſays he, a vaſt difference between learning and languages; how far Shakeſpeare was ignorant of the latter I cannot determine, but 'tis plain 'he had much reading at leaſt, if they will not call 'that learning. Nor is it any great matter, if a man 'has knowledge, whether he has it from one language 'or another. Nothing is more evident, than that 'he had a taſte of natural Philoſophy, Mechanics, 'Ancient and Modern Hiſtory, Poetical Learning, 'and Mythology. We find him very knowing in the 'cuſtoms, rites, and manners of Antiquity. In 'Coriolanus and Julius Cæſar, not only the ſpirit, but 'manners of the Romans are exactly drawn, and ſtill 'a nicer diſtinction is ſhewn, between the manners 'of the Romans, in the time of the former and 'of the latter. His reading on the ancient hiſtorians 'is no leſs conſpicuous in many references to particular paſſages; and the ſpeches copied from Plutarch 'in Coriolanus may as well be made an inſtance of his 'learning as thoſe copied from Cicero in the Cataline 'of Ben Jonſon are of his. The manners of other 'nations in general, the Egyptians, Venetians, French, '&c. are drawn with equal propriety. Whatever 'object of nature, or branch of ſcience, he either 'ſpeaks of, or deſcribes, it is always with competent, 'if not extenſive, knowledge; his deſcriptions are 'exact; all his metaphors appropriated and remarkably 'drawn from the true nature and inherent qualities 'of each ſubject. When he treats of ethic or politic, 'we may conſtantly obſerve a wonderful juſtneſs of 'diſtinction as well as extent of comprehenſion. No 'one is more a maſter of the poetical ſtory, or has 'more frequent alluſions to the various parts of it. 'Mr Waller (who has been celebrated for this laſt 'particular) has not ſhewn more learning this way 'than Shakeſpeare. We have tranſlations from Ovid, 'publiſhed in his name, among thoſe poems which paſs 'for his, and for ſome of which, we have undoubted 'authority, being publiſhed by himſelf, and dedicated 'to his noble patron the Earl of Southampton. He 'appears alſo to have been converſant with Plautus; 'from whom he has taken the plan of one of his 'plays. He follows the Greek authors, and particularly Dares Phrygius in another, although I will 'not pretend to ſay in what language he read them. 'The modern Italian writers of novels he was manifeſtly acquainted with; and we may conclude him 'to be no leſs converſant with the Ancients of his 'own country, from the uſe he has made of Chaucer, 'in Troilus and Creſſida; and in the two Noble Kinſmen, if that play be his, which Mr Pope thinks 'was ſo (18).' He then proceeds to obviate an objection, which threatned to overſet all theſe arguments, from the perpetual blunders and illiteracies which diſgrace his writings. Theſe he imputes, either to the neglect, imprudence, or ignorance, of the firſt tranſcribers and editors of his works; and ventures to ſay, that when the nature and kinds of theſe are enumerated and conſidered, not only Shakeſpeare, but even Ariſtotle and Cicero, had their works undergone the ſame fate, might have appeared to want ſenſe as well as learning. The reader will perceive, that Mr Pope inclines, againſt Mr Rowe, to the opinion that our author's fine imitation of the Ancients is none of the leaſt of his excellencies, and ſo raiſes a monument to Shakeſpeare's glory, though ſet upon a different foundation; which being obſerved by Mr Theobald, he ſums up the whole in theſe words: 'The reſult of the controverſy moſt certainly, ſays he, 'either way terminate to our author's honour: how 'happily he could imitate the Ancients, if that point 'be allowed, or how glorioufly he could think like 'them, without owing any thing to imitation (19).' However, in purſuing this controverſy, he takes the ſide againſt Mr Pope, as follows:—'Though, ſays he, I ſhould be very unwilling to allow Shakeſpeare ſo poor a ſcholar as many have laboured to repreſent him, yet I ſhall be very cautious of declaring too poſitively on the other ſide of the queſtion; that is, with regard to my opinion of his knowledge in the dead languages; and, therefore, the paſſages, that I occaſionally quote from the claſſics, ſhall not be urged as proofs, that he knowingly imitated thoſe originals, but brought to ſhew, how happily he has expreſſed himſelf upon the ſame topics. A very learned critic, of our own nation, has declared, that a fameneſs of thought and fameneſs of expreſſion too, in two writers of a different age, can hardly happen, without a violent ſuſpicion of the latter's copying from his predeceſſor. I ſhall not, therefore, run any great riſque of a cenſure, though I ſhould venture to hint, that the reſemblance in thought and expreſſion of our author and an Ancient (which we ſhould allow to be imitation in learning, was not queſtioned) may ſometimes take it's riſe from ſtrength of memory, and thoſe impreſſions which he owed to the ſchool; and if we may allow a poſſibility of this, conſidering, that when he quitted the ſchool, he gave into his father's profeſſion and way of living; and had, 'tis likely, but a ſlender library of claſſical learning; and conſidering what a number of tranſlations, romances, and legends ſtarted about his time and a little before; (moſt of which, 'tis very evident, he read) I think it may very eaſily be reconciled, why he rather ſchemed his plots and characters from theſe later informations, than went back to thoſe fountains; for which he might entertain a ſincere veneration, but to which he could not have ſo ready a recourſe (20).' This reaſoning of Mr Theobald undoubtedly deſerved a leſs ungrammatical ſtile and a more coherent method; ſo that if he does not prove Shakeſpeare's want of ſcholarſhip, he does that of his own. As on the other hand, Mr Upton, who has entered into the liſt in this diſpute, has confeſſedly demonſtrated his own ſcholarſhip, however he may have failed in evincing that of Shakeſpeare; 'I have often wondered, ſays 'he, with what kind of reaſoning any one could be 'ſo far impoſed on, as to imagine, that Shakeſpeare 'had no learning, when it muſt, at the ſame time, 'be acknowledged, that without learning he cannot 'be read, without any degree of underſtanding or 'taſte (21).' Juſt ſo the author of Chevy Chace comes

(17) Rowe's Life of Shakeſpeare, ubi ſupra.

(18) Pope's preface to his edition of Shakeſpeare, as before.

(19) Mr Hurd obſerves, that Shakeſpeare, without deſigning or without knowing it, hath left us, in his hiſtorical plays, with all their anamolies, an exacter reſemblance of the Athenian ſtage, than is any where to be found in it's moſt profeſſed admirers and copyiſts. Notes on Horace's Art of Poetry, p. 187. edit. 1753.

(20) Theobald's preface to his laſt edition of Shakeſpeare, 1757.

(21) Critical Remarks on Shakeſpeare.

patronage of the better ſort, as without any acquaintance among them. But when his performances had merited the protection of his Prince, and the encouragement of the Court, had ſucceeded to that of the Town, the works of his riper years are manifeſtly raiſed above thoſe of his former [*L*]. The dates of his plays ſufficiently evidence, that his productions improved, in proportion to the reſpect he had for his auditors. In this way of writing he was an abſolute original [*M*], and of ſuch a peculiar caſt, as hath perpetually

comes within this conſtruction of a man of learning, ſince without the learning of Mr Addiſon's notes, he cannot be read with any kind of underſtanding or taſte; and to do this writer juſtice, it muſt be allowed too, that, like Mr Addiſon in that old ſong, his deſign was not ſo much to produce proofs of his author's learning, as to communicate the excellent uſe he made of his own. This is undeniable from a great number of inſtances, where he ſhews the cloſeſt connection between Shakeſpeare and the Greek and Latin writers, which yet he plainly ſuppoſes to be merely accidental and utterly unknown to Shakeſpeare. In the mean time, he has juſtly ridiculed all the attemptors to modernize Shakeſpeare; who, he obſerves, is ſet forth by theſe vampers as a meer mechanic, a fellow, 'tis true, of genius, who ſays now and then very good things, but wild and uncultivated; and one who is by no means proper company for Lords and Ladies and Court Pages, 'till ſome Poet or other, who knows the world better, takes him in hand, and introduces him in the modern dreſs to good company. He has ventured alſo (with what candour or ſucceſs the reader muſt judge) to aim a ſtroke of his critical wand at Lord Shafteſbury, whoſe account of Shakeſpeare is given in a few words: *Our old dramatic Poet may witneſs for one good ear and manly reliſh, [notwithſtanding his natural rudeneſs, his unpoliſhed ſtile, his antiquated phraſe and wit, his want of method and coherence, and his deficiency in almoſt all the graces and ornaments of theſe kind of writings] yet by the juſtneſs of his morals, the aptneſs of many of his deſcriptions, and the plain and natural turn of ſeveral of his characters he pleaſes his audience and even gains their ear, without a ſingle bribe from luxury or vice.* 'Thoſe lines, ſays Mr Upton, that I have placed between two 'hooks, ought certainly to be omitted, as they carry 'with them reflections falſe in every particular. 'Tis 'certain, his Lordſhip leaves us no room to doubt 'of the little opinion he had of Shakeſpeare's claſſical 'learning.' And Mr Hurd (22) inclines the ſame way ſo ſtrongly, that he does not ſcruple to ſuggeſt, the want of what is called the advantage of a learned education, to have been a particular felicity to his genius, which by that means preſerved it's natural freedom uninfluenced with the bond of claſſical ſuperſtition. However, the ſame critic, ſpeaking of the poſition of known words and an eaſy deduction of new ones, recommends the ſtudy of Shakeſpeare, who he ſays, of all the Moderns, hath moſt ſucceſsfully practiſed this ſecret (23).

(22) Notes upon Horace's Art of Poetry, where laſt cited. In another place he expreſſes it thus: 'It is poſſible there are, who think a *want of reading*, as well as a vaſt ſuperiority of genius, hath contributed to lift this aſtoniſhing man [Shakeſpeare] to the glory of being eſteemed the moſt original THINKER and SPEAKER ſince the times of Homer. Diſcourſe on Poetical Imit. p. 215.

(23) Ibid p. 46.

[*L*] *Are manifeſtly raiſed above thoſe of his former years.*] This is the aſſertion of Mr Pope, advanced, as it ſhould ſeem, to prevent any miſtake that might be occaſioned by a remark of Mr Rowe; who ſuggeſts, that we are not to look for Shakeſpeare's beginnings, like thoſe of other authors, among their leaſt perfect writings. 'Art, ſays that gentleman, had ſo little, 'and nature ſo large, a ſhare in what he did, that, 'for ought I know, the performances of his youth, 'as they were the moſt vigorous, and had the moſt 'fire and ſtrength of imagination in them, were the 'beſt (24).' Mr Pope confines this improvement to thoſe plays only which were writ for the Court. 'I make no doubt, ſays he, in this obſervation, that 'he improved in proportion to the reſpect he had 'for his auditors, would appear in every inſtance, 'were but editions extant, from whence we might 'learn the exact time when every piece was compoſed; 'and whether he wrote for the town or the Court, 'directing us to look for this improvement only in the 'latter, which are his beſt.' And, as to the fire and ſtrength of imagination, which is made by Mr Rowe, the characteriſtic of his beſt pieces, Mr Pope thinks this only a proof that his wit often buoys up and is borne above his ſubject, when that is not well choſen, as in fools and clowns. 'Shakeſpeare's genius, ſays 'he, in thoſe low parts, is like ſome prince of a 'romance, in the diſguiſe of a ſhepherd or peaſant, 'a certain greatneſs and ſpirit now and then breaks 'out, which manifeſt his higher extraction and 'qualities.' Mr Rowe, in ſupport of his opinion, ſays, that he would not be thought to mean, that Shakeſpeare's fancy was ſo looſe and extravagant as to be independent on the rule and government of judgment, but that what he thought was commonly ſo great, ſo juſtly and rightly conceived in itſelf, that it wanted little or no correction, and was immediatly approved by an impartial judgment at the firſt ſight. On the contrary, Mr Pope declares, that 'moſt of our author's errors are not ſo much defects 'as ſuperfœtations, and ariſe purely from want of 'thinking or judging, which yet was not owing ſo 'much to any real defect in the faculty or power 'of his own judgment, but from a compliance to 'the want of it in the loweſt of the people *, whom 'he was obliged to pleaſe, and depreſs his judgment; 'or elſe from being miſled, by keeping the worſt 'of company, as a player, and forming himſelf upon 'the judgment of that body of men whereof he was 'a member. As theſe men live by the majority, 'they know no rule but that of pleaſing the preſent 'humour, and complying with the wit in faſhion; 'a conſideration, which brings all their judgment to 'a ſhort point. Players are juſt ſuch judges of what 'is right, as taylors are of what is graceful. In this 'view, it will be but fair to allow, that moſt of our 'author's faults are leſs to be aſcribed to his wrong 'judgment as a Poet, than to his right judgment as 'a player (25).' However, it ought to be obſerved, that if thoſe diſadvantages were ſufficient to miſlead and depreſs the greateſt genius upon earth, yet they were recompenſed by ſome extraordinary advantages, flowing from the particular taſte and humour of the times. Thus, the univerſal belief of the power of witches, fairies, and enchantments, among the loweſt of the people eſpecially, gave full room for his boundleſs imagination to roam in. We need not take notice, that two of his beſt pieces † are formed upon this belief; to ſay nothing of his *Midſummer Night's Dream*. *The two Gentlemen of Verona*, one of the firſt, as well as one of the worſt, of Shakeſpeare's plays, cannot be ſaid to derive it's faults from any of the cauſes aſſigned by Mr Pope. Beſides, his employment as a player, gave him the advantage and habit of fancying himſelf the very character he meant to delineate.

* Theſe faults are ſuch as reſpect the choice of the ſubject, the conduct of the incidents, as well as falſe thoughts, forced expreſſions, clinches, &c.

(25) Pope's Preface, ubi ſupra.

† The Tempeſt, and Macbeth.

[*M*] *He was an abſolute original.*] This has never been conteſted; on the contrary, it has conſtantly been eſteemed no ſlender proof of the force and penetration of ſucceeding wits, to be able to convey an apt and adequate idea of his. Mr Pope has laboured this point; he tells us (26), that 'Homer himſelf drew 'not his art ſo immediately from the fountains of 'nature, it proceeded through Egyptian ſtrainers and 'channels, and came to him, not without ſome 'tincture of the learning, or ſome caſt of the models, 'of thoſe before him. But the poetry of Shake'ſpeare was inſpiration indeed. He was not ſo much 'an imitator as an inſtrument of nature. 'Tis not 'ſo juſt to ſay he ſpeaks from her as that ſhe ſpeaks 'through him.' In another place he obſerves, in diſtinction to Milton's genius, which he ſays, glows continually, and is kept up by the greateſt art, that of Shakeſpeare ſtrikes us unprepared, like an accidental ſtroke from Heaven. That he ſeems to have known the world by intuition, to have looked through human nature at a glance, and to be the only author that gives ground for a very new opinion, that the Philoſopher, and even the man of the world, may be born, as well as the Poet. Mr Upton obſerves (28), that there is no character, that of Socrates only excepted, where refined ridicule, rallery, wit, and humour were ſo mixed and united with what is moſt grave and ſerious in Morals and Philoſophy, as our author's; he obſerves, that this is the magic, with which he works ſuch wonders;

(24) Rowe's Life of Shakeſpeare.

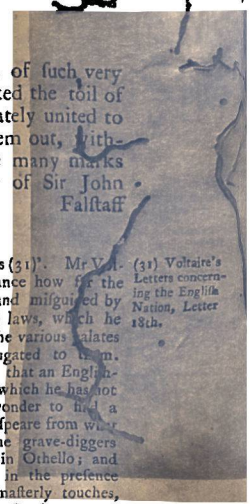
(26) In the laſt cited preface.

(27) In his preface to the tranſlation of the Iliad.

(28) Critical Remarks on Shakeſpeare.

——Pectus

petually raiſed and confounded the emulation of his ſucceſſors; a compound of ſuch very ſingular blemiſhes as well as beauties, that theſe latter have not more mocked the toil of every aſpiring undertaker to emulate them than the former, as flaws intimately united to the diamonds, have baffled every attempt of the cunningeſt artiſts to take them out, without ſpoiling the whole [*N*]. Queen Elizabeth, who ſhewed Shakeſpeare many marks of her favour [*O*], was ſo much pleaſed with the delightful character of Sir John Falſtaff



——Pectus inaniter angit,
Inritat, mulcet, falſis terroribus implet,
Ut magus; & modo me Thebis, modo ponit
Athenis ‡.

‡ Horat. Epiſt. ad Auguſtum, l. 211, 212, 213.

Another unexampled perfection of Shakeſpeare's wit, is taken notice of by Mr Maſon (29), who, ſpeaking of the ordinary advantage of the ancient chorus in dramatic performances, writes thus: 'Whatever theſe modern play-makers may have gained by rejecting the chorus, the true Poet has loſt conſiderably by it, for he has loſt a graceful and natural reſource to the embelliſhments of picturesque deſcription, ſublime allegory, and whatever elſe comes under the denomination of pure poetry. Shakeſpeare, indeed, had the power of introducing this naturally, and, what is more ſtrange, of joining it with pure paſſion.' His ſtriking out of the ordinary road, and rejecting the rules of the drama with ſucceſs, has generally been eſteemed another characteriſtic of his vaſt and original genius. Shakeſpeare, ſays Mr Hurd, firſt broke through the bond of claſſical ſuperſtition, and uninfluenced by the weight of early prepoſſeſſion, he ſtruck at once into the road of nature and common ſenſe (30).

(29) In his third letter prefixed to his Elfrida.

(30) Notes on Horace's Epiſtle ad Piſonem, p. 187. edit. 1753.

[*N*] *A compound of beauties and blemiſhes*] It is the obſervation of an elegant French writer, 'that the Engliſh as well as the Spaniards, were poſſeſſed of the theatre at a time when the French had no more than moving itinerant ſtages. Shakeſpeare, who was conſidered as the Corneille of the firſt mentioned nation, was nearly contemporary with Lopez de Vega, and he created, as it were, the Engliſh theatre. Shakeſpeare, beſides a ſtrong, fruitful, genius, was natural and ſublime, but had not ſo much as one ſingle ſpark of good taſte, or any one rule of the drama. I will now hazard a random, but at the ſame time, a true reflection; which is, that the great merit of this dramatic Poet has been the ruin of the Engliſh ſtage. There are ſuch beautiful, ſuch noble, ſuch dreadful ſcenes in this writer's monſtrous verſes, to which the name of tragedy is given, that they have always been exhibited with great ſucceſs. Time, which only gives reputation to writers, at laſt makes their very faults venerable. Moſt of the whimſical gigantic images of this Poet, have, through length of time, acquired a right of paſſing for ſublime. Moſt of the modern dramatic writers have copied him; but the touches and deſcriptions which are applauded in Shakeſpeare are hiſſed at in theſe writers, and you'll eaſily believe, that the veneration, in which this author is held, increaſes in proportion to the contempt which is ſhewn to the Moderns. Dramatic writers don't conſider, that they ſhould not imitate him; and the ill ſucceſs of Shakeſpeare's imitators, produces no other effect, than to make him be conſidered as inimitable. In Othello, a moſt tender piece, a man ſtrangles his wife on the ſtage, and though the poor woman is ſtrangling, ſhe cries out aloud, that ſhe dies very unjuſtly. In Hamlet, the two grave-diggers are drunk, ſinging ballads, and making humourous reflections on the ſkulls which they throw up; but a circumſtance that will ſurprize you is, that this ridiculous incident has been imitated. Otway, in his Venice preſerved, introduces Antonio the ſenator and Naki his courtezan in the midſt of the horrors of the Marquis of Bidmars's conſpiracy. Antonio, the Spaniard ſenator, plays in his maſter's preſence all the apiſh tricks of a lewd impotent debauchee, who is quite frantic and out of his ſenſes, he mimicks a dog, and bites his miſtreſs's legs, who kicks and whips him. However, the players have ſtruck theſe buffoonries (which were calculated merely for the dregs of the people) out of Otway's tragedy, but they have ſtill left in Shakeſpeare's Julius Cæſar, the jokes of the Roman ſhoemakers and coblers, who are introduced in the ſame ſcene with Brutus and Caſſius (31)'. Mr Voltaire has thus given a notable inſtance how far the brighteſt genius may be depreſſed and miſguided by a ſlaviſh attachment to the antique laws, which he calls being in taſte; and will have the various palates of different nations abſolutely ſubjugated to them. A proper anſwer to this impoſition is, that an Engliſhman ſcorns to ſubmit to any laws, to which he has not given his own conſent. 'Tis no wonder to find a critic, who takes his idea of Shakeſpeare from what he finds in Corneille, cenſuring the grave-diggers in Hamlet; Ophelia's dying words in Othello; and the ſuffering coblers to crack jokes in the preſence of Brutus and Caſſius. Theſe are maſterly touches, of a very tickliſh and dangerous nature *; in attempting to judge of which, the blind ſuperſtition of the ſervile critic is equally expoſed, with the impudence of the low creeping imitator. A critic of our own has obſerved, that the authority of Shakeſpeare has been ſo far from ſpoiling the Engliſh ſtage, that, on the contrary, it was ruined, by leaving his noble and manly virtue to follow the effeminate ſoftneſs of the French manners and taſte. In this depraved ſpirit we were debauched, by being too much Frenchified, by reſiding among that people. It was after the Reſtoration that lewdneſs and debauchery were publickly brought on the ſtage by Dryden and Congreve; 'twas then, that Shakeſpeare's plays were altered to the preſent taſte, and his faults endeavoured to be purged out by Sir William Davenant, Dryden, and the Duke of Bucks; the event ſhewed, that as Shakeſpeare came upon the ſtage with all his faults upon his head, ſo theſe could not be taken off without wounding the brain; by which piece of ſurgery, it became ſenſible that they were ſo vitally united to it, that in ſeparating them, the body was brought into the ſtate of a meer lifeleſs carcaſe. Originals are *ſui generis*; and it would be intirely out of nature to ſet Shakeſpeare for a model to form other wits upon. Some are ſo formed as to ſucceed beſt under the guidance of the Greeks and the common rules. This has been the caſe of Dryden, Otway, and Rowe ‡, whoſe moſt regular compoſitions are reckoned their *chef d'oeuvres*. Theſe regular beauties gain our eſteem, and ſome degree of love and admiration; but 'tis the charm that unexpectedly ariſes from what was thought to be an irregular contraſt of features and colour, that raiſes enchantment, tranſport, and rapture. Shakeſpeare puts his ſpectators and auditors into a trance, where they both ſee and feel pleaſures unutterable. In this view, Mr Hurd having obſerved, that there was a time when the art of Jonſon was ſet above the divineſt raptures of Shakeſpeare; proceeds to take notice, that the preſent age is well convinced of the miſtake, and finely remarks, that 'if Shakeſpeare's genius is now idolized, happily for the public taſte, it can ſcarcely be too much ſo (32).' Shakeſpeare alone was equal to the taſk of correcting Shakeſpeare's faults. It has been obſerved, that there is no vice of ſtyle or compoſition, but what our Poet has in one place or other ridiculed or cenſured. He has made uſe of this talent in many of his pieces. If in doing this, he lets ſome ſtill keep their places, experience has ſince demonſtrated, that his judgment in this particular was more extraorinary and ſurprizing, as the lofty flowings of his fancy and exactneſs of his judgment appear to be juſtly matched to each other (33).

(31) Voltaire's Letters concerning the Engliſh Nation, Letter 18th.

* Thus the great antique original, Plato, is obſerved to introduce the tumour of poetical compoſitions into diſcourſes of Philoſophy with ſucceſs. Dionyſ. Halicarn. Ep. ad C. Pomp. p. 205. edit. Hudſ.

‡ In All for Love, Venice preſerved, and Jane Shore.

(32) Notes upon the Art of Poetry, Line 408.

(33) Warburton's Remarks upon Shakeſpeare.

[*O*] *Queen Elizabeth ſhewed him many marks of her favour.*] As no doubt can be made, but that our author felt the firſt fruits of her Majeſty's kindneſs in the article of deer-ſtealing; ſo, in 1581, there was publiſhed under the ſame name, a treatiſe, dedicated to her Majeſty; in which the author particularly mentions that Queen's clemency to him, in theſe terms: 'Although this [*the perfection of her Majeſty's government*] be of itſelf ſo clear and manifeſt, that it cannot be denied; yet could not I forbear, moſt renowned ſoveraine, being, as it were, inforced by your Majeſtie's

Falſtaff [*P*], in the two parts of *Henry IV.* that ſhe commanded the author to continue it for one play more, and to ſhew the Knight in love, which he executed inimitably in *The Merry Wives*

Majeſtie's late and ſingular clemency, in pardoning certayne my undutifull miſdemeanours; but ſeek to acknowledge your gracious goodneſs and bounty towards me, &c. (34)' By theſe two concurring circumſtances, this piece might fairly challenge our Poet for it's author, did not his claim appear to be fully conteſted, by the date 1581; beſides that the offence for which her Majeſty's pardon had been obtained, muſt have been committed, at leaſt, a year or two before; not to mention, that Shakeſpeare, at the age of fifteen or ſixteen, muſt have been a very wiſe man, not after the common ſort of theſe clerks, which can talk of nothing but of the faculty which they profeſs; as if they be Diuines of Divinity, Lawyers of the Law, and Phiſicians of Phyſic only. This man ſpeaks very naturally of every thing, as a man univerſally ſeen; that had joined good learning with good wit. So that this book, if it could be written by our Poet, would be abſolutely deciſive in the diſpute about his learning, ſince he muſt have been ſo by intuition, for he cites Homer, Plato, Cæſar, Cicero, Pomponius Mela, Vegetius, Collumella, and ſeveral others; and is ſuggeſted expreſsly to have read them all in the original, though he might have had them in the tranſlations. Moreover, the doctor, who preſides in the dialogue, and evidently repreſents the author himſelf, has theſe words: 'I have 'ſeen a cap for 14 pence, as good as I can now get for 'two ſhillings and ſix pence. Now a payre of ſhoes coſt 'twelve pence, that in my time I have boughte a better 'for ſix pence. Now I can get ne're a horſe ſhod 'under ſixteen pence or twelve pence, whereof I have 'alſo ſeen the common price was ſix pence *.' That is in Henry the Eighth's reign, long enough before our Poet was born. Who expreſſed his gratitude to Queen Elizabeth, in his own way; and that (which is a teſtimony of the devotion of his gratitude) not only in ſtrains above all other Poets, but he even ſeems, by a peculiar ſtroke of inſpiration, to be raiſed above himſelf. In the play of *Midſummer Night's Dream*, Act ii. ſcene 3, the king of the Fairies ſays to his attendant,

(34) A Compendious or Briefe Examination of certayne ordinary Complaints of diverſe of our Countrymen, &c. by way of Dialogue, debated and diſcuſſed by Will. Shakeſpeare, Gentleman. Lond. 1581, 8vo. Reprinted in 1751, 8vo.

* Ibid. fol. 31. edit. 1751, 8vo.

——Thou remember'ſt,
Since once I ſat upon a promontory,
And heard a mermaid, on a dolphin's back,
Uttering ſuch dulcet and harmonious breath,
That the rude ſea grew civil at her ſong,
And certain ſtars ſhot madly from their ſpheres,
To hear the Mermaid's muſic.

Punk. I remember too,
At that very time, I ſaw, but thou could'ſt not,
Flying between the cold moon and the earth,
Cupid alarm'd; a certain aim he took,
At a fair veſtal throned in the weſt,
And loos'd his love-ſhafts ſmartly from his bow,
As it ſhould pierce a Queen of Hearts;
But I might ſee young Cupid's fiery ſhaft,
Quench'd in the moiſt beams of the watry moon,
And the imperial votareſs paſs'd on
In maiden meditation; fancy free.

(35) In his edition of our author's plays.

Dr Warburton (35) has changed *allum'd* for *alarm'd* becauſe it raiſes the beauty of the thought greatly; for what an addition is this to the compliment made to this virgin Queen's celibacy, that it alarmed the power of love, as if his empire were in danger, when this imperial votreſs had declared for a ſingle life; ſo powerful would her great example be in the world: Queen Elizabeth could not but be pleaſed with our author's addreſs on this occaſion The ſame critic alſo obſerves, that tho' the compliment paid in theſe laſt lines to Queen Elizabeth, is obvious enough; yet the character of Mary, Queen of Scots, in the former lines, was too allegorically delineated to be underſtood. Nothing is truer than that both a compliment and a ſatire, on that unfortunate lady, were here intended, either of which was a ſufficient reaſon to diſguiſe the matter by an allegory. Firſt, the laying of the ſcene, ſhews it to be near the Britiſh iſland; for the ſpeaker is repreſented as hearing the mermaid, *at the very time* he ſaw Cupid's attempt upon the veſtal. The mermaid on the dolphin's back, plainly deſigns Queen Mary's marriage with the Dauphin of France. The Poet deſigns her under the image of a mermaid on two accounts, becauſe ſhe was Queen of one part of the iſle, and becauſe of her miſchievous allurements:

Uttering ſuch dulcet and harmonious breath,

This alludes to her great parts of genius and learning, which rendered her the moſt accompliſhed woman of her time. The French writers tell us, that while ſhe was in the Court of France, wife to the Dauphin, ſhe pronounced a Latin oration in the great hall of the *Louvre* with ſo much grace and eloquence, that the whole aſſembly were in admiration:

That the rude ſea grew civil to her ſong,

By this is meant Scotland, long in arms againſt her; there is the greater juſtneſs and beauty in it, becauſe the common opinion is, that the mermaid ſings in ſtorms:

And certain ſtars ſhot madly from their ſpheres,
To hear the ſea-maid's muſic.

This alludes in general to the many matches propoſed to her; but more particularly to the Duke of Norfolk's famous negotiation with her, which bringing ſuch deſtruction on him, and on the Earls of Northampton and Weſtmoreland, and many other noble families, it was ſaid with the utmoſt propriety,

That certain ſtars ſhot madly from their ſpheres.

[*P*] *The character of Sir John Falſtaff.*] This is Shakeſpeare's maſter piece. In it, Shakeſpeare expreſsly figures himſelf by the deer-ſtealer; in which, we ſee the perfection of his genius It will not be foreign to our deſign to examine into the true compoſition of this character. 'Tis evident, the excellency of it lies in a juſt mixture of wit and humour. The ground-work is humour, or the repreſentation and detection of a bragging and vaunting coward in real life However, this alone would only have expoſed the Knight, as a meer Noll Bluff, to the deriſion of the company, and after they had been once gratified with his chaſtiſement, he would have ſunk into infamy and become quite odious. But here the inimitable wit of Sir John comes into his ſupport, and gives a new riſe and luſtre to his character; for the ſake of his wit you forgive his cowardice; or rather, are fond of his cowardice for the occaſion it gives to his wit. In ſhort, the humour furniſhes a ſubject and ſpur to the wit, and the wit again ſupports and embelliſhes the humour. At the firſt entrance of the Knight, your good humour and tendency to mirth are irreſiſtibly excited by his jolly appearance and corpulency. You feel and acknowledge him to be the fitteſt ſubject imaginable for yielding diverſion and merriment. But, when you ſee him immediately ſet up for enterprize and activity, with his evident weight and unweildineſs, your attention is called forth, and you are eager to watch him to the end of his adventures. Your imagination points out, with a full ſcope, his future embaraſſments. All the while as you accompany him forwards he heightens your reliſh for his further diſaſters, by his happy opinion of his own ſufficiency, and the gay vaunts which he makes of his talents and accompliſhments; ſo that at laſt, when he falls into a ſcrape, your expectation is exquiſitely gratified, and you have the full pleaſure of ſeeing all his trumpeted honour laid in the duſt; taken in the midſt of his misfortunes, inſtead of being utterly demoliſhed and ſunk, he riſes again, by the ſuperior force of his wit, and begins

Wives of Windſor [2]. Among his other patrons, the Earl of Southampton is particularly honoured

a new courſe, with freſh ſpirit and alacrity. This excites you the more to renew the chace, in full view of his ſecond defeat; out of which, he recovers again, and triumphs with new pretenſions and boaſting. After this, he immediately ſtarts upon a third race, and ſo on; continually detected and caught, and conſtantly extricating himſelf by his inimitable wit and invention; thus, yielding a perpetual round of ſport and diverſion. Again, the genteel quality of Sir John is of great uſe in ſupporting his character, it prevents his ſinking too low, after ſeveral of his misfortunes: beſides, you allow him, in conſequence of his rank and ſeniority, the privilege to dictate and take the lead, to rebuke others upon many occaſions. By this, he is ſaved from appearing too nauſeous and independent. The good ſenſe which he poſſeſſes comes alſo to his aid, and ſaves him from being deſpicable, by forcing your eſteem for his real abilities. Again, the privilege you allow him, of rebuking and cheating others, when he aſſumes it with proper firmneſs and ſuperiority helps to ſettle a new and compoſe his character, after an embaraſſment, and reduces, in ſome meaſure, the ſpirit of the company to a proper level, before he ſets out again upon a freſh adventure; without this they would be kept continually ſtrained and wound up to the higheſt pitch, without ſufficient relief and diverſity. It may alſo deſerve to be remarked of Falſtaff, that the figure of his perſon is admirably ſuited to the turn of his mind, ſo that there ariſes before you a perpetual alluſion from one to the other, which forms an inceſſant ſeries of wit, whether they be in contraſt or agreement together; when he pretends to activity, there is wit in the contraſt, between his mind and his perſon; and wit in their agreement, when he triumphs in jollity. To compleat the whole, you have, in this character of Falſtaff, not only a free courſe of humour, ſupported and embelliſhed with admirable wit, but this humour is of a ſpecies the moſt jovial and gay in all nature. Sir John Falſtaff poſſeſſes generoſity, chearfulneſs, alacrity, invention, frolic, and fancy, ſuperior to all other men. The figure of his perſon is the picture of jollity, mirth, and good nature, and baniſhes at once all other ideas from your breaſt. He is happy himſelf and makes you happy. If you examine him further, he has no fierceneſs, reſerve, malice, or peeviſhneſs lurking in his heart; his intentions are all pointed at harmleſs riot and merriment: Nor has the Knight any inveterate deſign, except againſt ſack; and that too he loves. If, beſides this, he deſires to paſs for a man of activity and valour, you can eaſily excuſe ſo harmleſs a foible, which yields you the higheſt pleaſure in it's conſtant detection. If you put all theſe together, it is impoſſible to hate honeſt Jack Falſtaff. If you obſerve them again, it is impoſſible to avoid loving him: He is the gay, the witty, the frolickſome, happy, and fat Jack Falſtaff, the moſt delightful ſwaggerer in all nature. You muſt love him for your own ſake; at the ſame time, you cannot but love him for his own talents, and when you have enjoyed them, you cannot but love him in gratitude. He has nothing to diſguſt you, and every thing to give you joy. His ſenſe and his foibles are equally directed to advance your pleaſure, and it is impoſſible to be tired or unhappy in his company. This jovial and gay humour, without any thing envious, malicious, miſchievous, or deſpicable, and continually adorned with wit, yields that peculiar delight, without any alloy, which we all feel and acknowledge in Falſtaff's company. Ben Jonſon has humour in his characters drawn with the moſt maſterly ſkill and judgment. In accuracy, depth, propriety, and truth, he has no ſuperior, or equal, among the Ancients or Moderns. But the characters he exhibits are of a ſatirical and deceitful, or elſe of a peeviſh or deſpicable, ſpecies; as Volpone, Subtle, Moroſe, and Abel Drugger; in all of which there is ſomething very juſtly to be hated or deſpiſed, and you feel the ſame ſentiments of diſlike for every other character of Jonſon's; ſo that, after you have been gratified with their detection and puniſhment, you are quite tired and diſguſted with their company. Whereas, Shakeſpeare, beſides the peculiar gaiety in the humour of Falſtaff, has guarded him from diſguſting you with his forced advances, by giving him rank and quality; from being deſpicable, by his real good ſenſe and excellent abilities; from being odious, by his harmleſs plots and deſigns; and from being tireſome, by his inimitable wit, and his new and inceſſant ſallies of higheſt fancy and frolic. This diſcovers the ſecret of carrying comedy to the higheſt pitch of delight; which lies in drawing the perſons exhibited with ſuch chearful and amiable oddities and foibles as you would chuſe in your own companions in real life; otherwiſe, though you may be diverted at firſt with the novelty of a character, and with a proper detection and ridicule of it, yet it's peeviſhneſs, meanneſs, or immorality, will begin to diſguſt you after a little reflection, and become upon tireſome and odious; it being certain, that what cannot be endured as an accidental companion in real life, will, for the very ſame reaſons, never be made a favourite comic character on the ſtage. This reſult for generous and worthy characters alone, which we all feel upon the theatre, where no biaſ of envy, malice, or perſonal reſentment, draws us aſide, ſeems to be ſome evidence of our natural and genuine diſpoſition to probity and virtue; though the minds of moſt perſons, being early and deeply tinged with vicious paſſions, it is no wonder that ſtains have been generally miſtaken for original colours. All characters that are well drawn juſtly pleaſe, but not all equally; Jonſon, in his comic ſcenes, has expoſed and ridiculed folly and vice; Shakeſpeare has uſhered in joy, frolic, and happineſs. The Alchymiſt, Volpone, and Silent Woman of Jonſon, are moſt exquiſite ſatires; the comic entertainments of Shakeſpeare are the higheſt compoſitions of rallery, wit, and humour. Jonſon conveys ſome leſſon in every character; Shakeſpeare, ſome new ſpecies of foible and oddity. The one pointed his ſatire with maſterly ſkill; the other was inimitable, in touching the ſtrings of delight. With Jonſon, you are confined and inſtructed; with Shakeſpeare, content and diſſolved in joy. It may be further remarked, that Jonſon, by purſuing the moſt uſeful intention of comedy, is obliged, in juſtice, to hunt down and demoliſh his own characters; upon this plan, he muſt neceſſarily expoſe them to your hatred, and of courſe will never bring out an amiable perſon. But, Shakeſpeare, with happier inſight, always ſupports his characters in your favour; His Juſtice Shallow withdraws before he is tedious; The French doctor and Welſh parſon go off in full vigour and ſpirits. Ancient Piſtol, indeed, is ſcurvily treated; however, he keeps up his ſpirits, and continues to threaten ſo well, that you are ſtill deſirous of his company: And it is impoſſible to be tired or dull with the gay, unfading, ever green Falſtaff. Abel Drugger bids faireſt of any of Jonſon's characters for being a favourite of the theatre; he has no hatred, malice, or immorality, nor any aſſuming arrogance, pertneſs, or peeviſhneſs; and his eager deſire of getting and ſaving money, by methods he thinks lawful, are excuſable in a perſon of his buſineſs. He is, therefore, not odious or deteſtable, but harmleſs and inoffenſive in private life: However, this character, in the whole, is mean and deſpicable, without any of that free, ſpirituous, jocund, humour abounding in Shakeſpeare. It appears, that in imagination, invention, jollity, and gay humour, Jonſon had little power; Shakeſpeare unlimited dominion. The firſt was cautious and ſtrict, not daring to ſally beyond the bounds of regularity; the other bold and impetuous, rejoicing like a giant, to run his courſe, through all the mountains and wilds of nature and fancy. It requires an almoſt painful attention, to mark the propriety and accuracy of Jonſon; and your ſatisfaction ariſes from reflection and compariſon; but the fire and invention of Shakeſpeare are ſhot inſtantaneouſly into your ſoul, and enlighten and chear the moſt indolent mind with their own ſpirit and luſtre (36).

The reader, who examines into this matter, will obſerve, that the character, here explained, of Sir John Falſtaff, is chiefly taken from the firſt part of Henry the Fourth. For, ſo far as Sir John, upon any occaſion, ſinks into a cheat or a ſcoundrel, he is different from the Falſtaff here deſcribed, which is entirely an amiable character.

[2] *The Merry Wives of Windſor.*] If this ſtory be true, it is evident, the latter part of Henry the Fourth, muſt have been added afterwards, ſince there we

(36) Eſſay upon the true Standard of Wit, Humour, &c. by Corbyn Morris.

honoured by him, in the dedications of two poems, *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*; in the latter eſpecially he expreſſes himſelf in ſuch terms, as gives countenance to what is related of that patron's diſtinguiſhed generoſity to him [*R*]. In the beginning of King James the firſt's reign (if not ſooner) he was one of the principal managers of the play-houſe [*S*], and continued in it ſeveral years afterwards [*T*]; 'till having acquired ſuch a fortune as ſatisfied his moderate wiſhes and views in life (*d*), he quitted the ſtage, and all other buſineſs, and paſſed the remainder of his time in an honourable eaſe, among the converſation of his friends, at his native town of Stratford, with the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, to whom his pleaſurable and good nature rendered him very agreeable [*U*]. He

(*d*) Shakeſpeare's chief ambition was to ſettle himſelf as a country gentleman; the inſtrument for his arms was taken out of the Heralds office by his father with this view, and in the ſame view he called his houſe New-Place.

we have an account of Sir John's impriſonment and death, which might perhaps be done by the author, in compliance with decorum, to avoid the imputation of encouraging idleneſs and riot, by too amiable and happy an example. However that be, 'tis certain, that though Falſtaff is here a fardle of low vices, a liar, coward, and a thief, yet his good humour makes him a pleaſant companion, and what not a little ſhews the genius of our Poet, he has kept up the ſpirit of his humour, after having wrote two plays before, in this third, though it was put upon him by another. For this reaſon, if it be true, what Mr Dryden tells us, ſpeaking of Mercutio's character in Romeo and Juliet, that Shakeſpeare ſaid himſelf, he was forced to kill him in the third act, to prevent being killed by him. It muſt be his diffidence and modeſty that made him ſay this; for it never could be through barrenneſs of invention, ſays Mr Upton, that Mercutio's ſprightly wit was ended in the third act, but becauſe there was no need of him or his wit any longer (37).

(37) Upton's Critical Remarks, as before.

[*R*] *The Earl of Southampton's generoſity.*] Mr Rowe tells us, upon the authority of Sir William Davenant, that this nobleman, at one time, gave him a thouſand pounds, to enable him to go through with a purchaſe, which he had heard our Poet had a mind to. The dedication of Lucrece runs thus:

'The love I dedicate to your Lordſhip, is without end; whereof, this imperfect poem, without a beginning, is but a ſpiritleſs ſurety. The warrant I have of your honorable diſpoſition, not the worth of my awkard lines, makes the body of it. Hence, what I have done, is your's; what I have to do, is your's; being part in all I have devoted your's. Were my worth greater, my duty would ſhew greateſt; mean time, as it is, it is bound to your Lordſhip, to whom I wiſh long life, ſtill lengthened with all happineſs.

Your Lordſhip's, in all duty,

W. Shakeſpeare.'

It is worth notice, that how much ſoever he neglected to take due care in printing his plays, yet this poem is printed very elegantly, by the famous Field, in 1694.

[*S*] *A manager of the play-houſe in the beginning of King James's reign.*] Soon after his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne, he granted the following licence:

'Pro Laurentio Fletcher, & Willielmo Shakeſpeare, & aliis.

'James, by the Grace of God, &c. To all Juſtices, Maiors, Sheriffs, Conſtables, Hedboroughs, and other our Officers and lovinge Subjects, Greetinge.

'Knowe ye, that wee of our eſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and mere motion, have licenſed and authorized, and, by theſe preſents, do licence and authorize theiſe our ſervaunts, Laurence Fletcher, William Shakeſpeare, Richard Burbage, Auguſtyne Philippes, John Henings, Henrie Condell, William Sly, Robert Armyn, Richard Cowly, and the reſt of their aſſociates,

'Freely to uſe and excerciſe the arte and faculty of playing comedies, tragedies, hiſtories, enterludes, morals, paſtoralls, ſtage-plaies, and ſuch others, like as theie have alredie ſtudied, or hereafter ſhall uſe or ſtudie, as well for the recreation of our lovinge ſubjects, as for our ſolace and pleaſure, when wee ſhall thincke good to ſee them, duringe our pleaſure; and the ſaid comedies, tragedies, hiſtories, enterludes, moralls, paſtoralls, ſtage-playes, and ſuch like, to ſhewe and exerciſe publiquely to theire beſt commoditie, when the infection of the plague ſhall decreaſe, as well within theire nowe uſuall hoame, called the Globe, within our countie of Surrey, as alſoe within anie towne-halls, or moate-halls, or other convenient place, within the liberties and freedom of anie other citie, univerſitie, toun, or boroughe whatſoever, within our ſaid realms and dominions.

'Willing and comanding you, and everie of you, as you tender our pleaſure, not onelie to permit and ſuffer them herein, without anie your letts, hindrances, or moleſtations, during our ſaid pleaſure, but alſoe to be aiding and aſſiſtinge to them, if anie wrong be to them offered, and to allow them ſuch former curteſies as hath been given to men of their place and qualitie; and alſo, what further favour you ſhall ſhewe to theiſe our ſervaunts four our ſake we ſhall take kindlie at your hande.

'In witneſs whereof, &c.

'Witneſſe ourſelf at Weſtminſter, the nynteenth day of Maye.

'Per breve de privato Sigillo (38).'

(38) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XVI. p. 505.

[*T*] *He continued in the houſe ſeveral years afterwards.*] The time when Shakeſpeare came upon the ſtage is not more uncertain than that of his quitting it. However, the opinion, that Spenſer's *Thalia, in the Tears of the Muſes*, where ſhe laments the loſs of her Willy, in the comic ſcene, relates to our author's abandoning the ſtage, is groundleſs, ſince Spenſer, 'tis known, died in the year 1598; and five years after this, we find Shakeſpeare's name among the actors in Ben Jonſon's *Sejanus*, which made it's firſt appearance in 1603 (39). If it relates to him at all, it muſt hint at ſome occaſional receſs he made for a time, upon a diſguſt taken; but it is moſt likely, that Willy, there mentioned, relates to ſome other favourite Poet of the ſame Chriſtian name. 'Tis evident, that Shakeſpeare did not exhibit his Macbeth 'till after the two kingdoms of England and Scotland were united under one monarch, nor 'till after King James had begun to touch for the King's evil; for he has complimented his royal maſter on both thoſe accounts in that tragedy. It is not probable, that he had quitted the ſtage before 1610; ſince, in his *Tempeſt*, he makes mention of the Bermuda iſlands, which were unknown to the Engliſh 'till 1609, when Sir John Summers, in his voyage to North America, diſcovered them, and invited afterwards ſome of his countrymen to ſettle a plantation there (40).

(39) See Ben Jonſon's article.

(40) Theobald, ubi ſupra.

[*U*] *Very agreeable*] Mr Rowe informs us, that 'there was a ſtory almoſt ſtill remembered among 'them, that he had a particular intimacy with 'Mr Combe, who is ſaid to be an old gentleman, 'noted for his wealth and uſury. It happened once, 'in a pleaſant converſation among their friends, that 'this Mr Combe told Shakeſpeare, in a laughing 'manner, that he fancied he intended to write his 'epitaph, if he happened to outlive him; and ſince 'he could not know what might be ſaid of him when 'he was dead, he deſired it might be done immediately. 'Upon which Shakeſpeare gave him theſe four verſes:

'Ten in the hundred lies here engraved,
'Tis a hundred to ten his ſoul is not ſaved;
If any man aſk who lies in this tomb,
'Oh! Oh! quoth the Devil, 'tis my John a Combe.'

The

He lived in a very handſome houſe of his own purchaſing, to which he gave the name of New Place; and he had the good fortune to ſave it from the flames, in the dreadful fire that conſumed the greateſt part of the town, in 1614 [*W*]. It is very probable, he did not much exerciſe his talent in poetry, after his retirement [*X*]. In the beginning of the year 1616 he made his Will [*Y*], wherein he teſtified his reſpect to his quondam partners in

The ſharpneſs of the ſatire is ſaid to have ſtung the old gentleman ſo ſeverely, that he never forgave it. One of this name is mentioned by Dryden to have died in 1614, for whom, at the choir of the guild of the Holy Croſs at Stratford, a fair monument is erected, having a ſtatue thereon cut in alabaſter, and in a gown, with this epitaph: 'Here lieth interred the body of 'John Combe, Eſq; who died the 10th of July, '1614; who bequeathed ſeveral annual charities to the 'pariſh of Stratford, and 100 *l.* to be lent to 15 poor 'tradeſmen, from three years to three years, changing 'the parties every third year, at the rate of fifty ſhil-'lings per annum, the increaſe to be diſtributed to the 'alms-poor there (41).' As this is a very well judged charity, it ſhould ſeem to argue, that Shakeſpeare indulged too great a ſeverity againſt this gentleman, unleſs it be ſuppoſed, that his verſes gave occaſion to the charity; which is not impoſſible. It ſeems to have made no breach in his eſteem or friendſhip for that family, ſince, in his Will, Shakeſpeare bequeaths his ſword to Mr Thomas Combe (42).

(41) Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickſhire.

(42) See his Will in remark [*Y*].

[*W*] *He ſaved his houſe in the fire, which happened in* 1614.] Mr Theobald (43), upon the information of Mr Biſhop, tells us, that this houſe was firſt built by Sir Hugh Clopton, a younger brother of an ancient family in that neighbourhood, who took their name from the manor of Clopton. Sir Hugh Clopton was Sheriff of London in the reign of Richard the Third, and Lord Mayor in the reign of Henry the Seventh. That the eſtate had now been ſold out of the family for above a century, at the time when Shakeſpeare became the purchaſer; who having repaired and modelled it to his own mind, changed it's former name of Great-Houſe into that of New-Place, which the manſion, ſince erected upon the ſame ſpot, ſtill retains. The houſe and lands which attended it, continued in Shakeſpeare's deſcendants to the time of the Reſtoration, when they were repurchaſed by the Clopton family; and the manſion now belongs to Sir Hugh Clopton, Knt. who informed Mr Theobald, that during the civil wars, King Charles the Firſt's Queen, being driven by the neceſſity of affairs to make a retirement in Warwickſhire, ſhe kept her Court for three weeks in New-Place. Whence we may reaſonably ſuppoſe it to be then the beſt private houſe in the town, and her Majeſty preferred it to the college, which was in the poſſeſſion of the Combe family, who did not ſo ſtrongly favour the King's party.

(43) Ubi ſupra.

[*X*] *Whether he employed his poetical talents after his retirement is uncertain.*] The author of an anſwer to Mr Pope's preface to Shakeſpeare (44), tells us, that two large cheſts, filled with Shakeſpeare's looſe papers and manuſcripts, were in the hands of an ignorant Baker of Warwick, who married one of our Poet's deſcendants; and that, to the particular knowledge of the late Sir William Biſhop, they were carelefsly ſcattered and thrown about, as garret-lumber and litter, 'till they were all conſumed in the general fire and deſtruction of that town. But this authority is rejected by Mr Theobald (45); who obſerving, that as Shakeſpeare's wife ſurvived him ſeven years, and his favourite daughter Suſannah ſurvived her twenty-ſix years, it is very improbable, that they ſhould ſuffer ſuch a treaſure to be removed and tranſlated into a remoter branch of the family, without a ſcrutiny firſt made into the value of it. To this it may be added, that this daughter was his executor, and reſiduary legatee, which would ſtill prompt and diſpoſe her the more, in point of intereſt, to ſearch and examine his papers. But, indeed, it muſt be owned, that the ſtrolling player's account is very conſiſtent with ſuch a prior ſearch; for he expreſsly declares, the papers were thrown about as garret-litter, of no value.

(44) By a ſtrolling player, p. 45, 46. edit. 1729, 8vo.

(45) Ubi ſupra.

[*Y*] *In the beginning of* 1616 *he made his Will*] The following is a copy of it from the regiſter in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury:

Viceſimo quinto die Martii anno regni Domini noſtri Jacobi nunc Regis Angliæ, &c. decimo quarto, & Scotiæ quadrageſimo nono, anno Domini 1616.

In the name of God, Amen. I William Shakeſpeare of Stratford upon Avon in the county of Warwick, Gent. in perfect health and memory, God be praiſed, do make and ordain this my laſt Will and Teſtament in manner and form following; that is to ſay:

Firſt, I commend my ſoul into the hands of God my creator, hoping, and aſſuredly believing, through the only merits of Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour, to be made partaker of life everlaſting; and my body to the earth whereof that is made.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Judith one hundred and fifty pounds of lawful Engliſh money, to be paid unto her in manner and form following; that is to ſay, one hundred pounds in diſcharge of her marriage portion within one year after my deceaſe, with conſiderations after the rate of two ſhillings in the pound for ſo long time as the ſame ſhall be unpaid unto her after my deceaſe; and the fifty pounds reſidue thereof, upon her ſurrendring of, or giving of ſuch ſufficient ſecurity as the overſeers of this my Will ſhall like of, to ſurrender or grant all her eſtate and right that ſhall deſcend or come unto her after my deceaſe, or that ſhe now hath of, in, or to, one copyhold tenement, with the appurtenances lying and being in Stratford upon Avon aforeſaid, in the ſaid county of Warwick, being parcel or holden of the manor of Rowington, unto my daughter Suſannah Hall, and her heirs for ever.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my ſaid daughter Judith one hundred and fifty pounds more, if ſhe, or any iſſue of her body, be living at the end of three years next enſuing the day of the date of this my Will, during which time my executors to pay her conſideration from my deceaſe according to the rate aforeſaid: and if ſhe die within the ſaid term without iſſue of her body, then my will is, and I do give and bequeath one hundred pounds thereof to my niece Elizabeth Hall, and the fifty pounds to be ſet forth by my executors during the life of my ſiſter Joan Hart, and the uſe and profit thereof coming, ſhall be paid to my ſaid ſiſter Joan, and after her deceaſe the fifty pounds ſhall remain amongſt the children of my ſaid ſiſter, equally to be divided amongſt them; but if my ſaid daughter Judith be living at the end of the ſaid three years, or any iſſue of her body, then my will is, and ſo I deviſe and bequeath the ſaid hundred and fifty pounds to be ſet out by my executors and overſeers for the beſt benefit of her and her iſſue, and the ſtock not to be paid unto her ſo long as ſhe ſhall be married and covert baron; but my will is, that ſhe ſhall have the conſideration yearly paid unto her during her life, and after her deceaſe the ſaid ſtock and conſideration to be paid to her children, if ſhe have any, and if not, to her executors and aſſigns, ſhe living the ſaid term after my deceaſe; provided that if ſuch huſband as ſhe ſhall at the end of the ſaid three years be married unto, or at and after, do ſufficiently aſſure unto her, and the iſſue of her body, land anſwerable to the portion by this my Will given unto her, and to be adjudged ſo by my executors and overſeers, then my will is, that the ſaid hundred and fifty pounds ſhall be paid to ſuch huſband as ſhall make ſuch aſſurance, to his own uſe.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my ſaid ſiſter Joan twenty pounds, and all my wearing apparel, to be paid and delivered within one year after my deceaſe; and I do will and deviſe unto her the houſe with the appurtenances in Stratford, wherein ſhe dwelleth, for her natural life, under the yearly rent of twelve pence.

Item, I give and bequeath unto her three ſons, William Hart, —— Hart, and Michael Hart, five pounds apiece, to be paid within one year after my deceaſe.

Item, I give and bequeath unto the ſaid Elizabeth Hall all my plate that I now have, except my broad ſilver and gilt boxes, at the date of this my Will.

Item, I give and bequeath unto the poor of Stratford aforeſaid ten pounds, to Mr Thomas Combe my ſword, to Thomas Ruſſell, Eſq; five pounds, and to Francis Collins of the borough of Warwick, in the county of Warwick, Gent. thirteen pounds ſix ſhillings and

in the theatre; he appointed his youngeſt daughter, jointly with her huſband, his executors, and bequeathed to them the beſt part of his eſtate, which they came into the poſſeſſion of not long after. He died on the 23d of April following, being the fifty-third year of his age, and was interred among his anceſtors, on the north ſide of the chancel, in the great church of Stratford, where there is a handſome monument erected for him, inſcribed with a ſingle elegiac diſtich in Latin [Z]. In the year 1740, another very noble and moſt beautiful one was raiſed to his memory, at the publick expence, in Weſtminſter-abbey; an ample contribution for this purpoſe being made, upon exhibiting his tragedy of Julius Cæſar, at the theatre-royal in Drury-Lane, April the 28th, 1738 [AA]. Seven

and eight pence, to be paid within one year after my deceaſe.

Item, I give and bequeath to Hamlett Sadler twenty-ſix ſhillings, eight pence, to buy him a ring; to William Reynolds, Gent. twenty-ſix ſhillings, eight-pence to buy him a ring; to my godſon William Walker twenty ſhillings in gold; to Anthony Naſh, Gent. twenty-ſix ſhillings, eight pence; and to Mr John Naſh, twenty ſix ſhillings, eight pence; and to my fellows, John Hemynge, Richard Burbage; and Henry Cundell, twenty-ſix ſhillings, eight pence apiece, to buy them rings.

Item, I give, will, bequeath, and deviſe, unto my daughter Suſannah Hall, for the better enabling of her to perform this my Will, and towards the performance thereof, all that capital meſſuage or tenement, with the appurtenances in Stratford aforeſaid, called the New Place, wherein I now dwell, and two meſſuages or tenements, with the appurtenances, ſituate, lying, and being, in Henley-ſtreet within the borough of Stratford aforeſaid; and all my barns, ſtables, orchards, gardens, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, whatſoever, ſituate, lying, and being, or to be had, reſerved, preſerved, or taken, within the towns, hamlets, villages, fields, and grounds, of Stratford upon Avon, Old Stratford, Buſhaxton, and Welcombe, or in any of them, in the ſaid county of Warwick; and alſo all that meſſuage or tenement, with the appurtenances, wherein one John Robinſon dwelleth, ſituate, lying, and being, in the Black-Friers in London, near the Wardrobe; and all other my lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatſoever; to have and to hold all and ſingular the ſaid premiſes, with their appurtenances, unto the ſaid Suſanna Hall, for and during the term of her natural life; and after her deceaſe to the firſt ſon of her body lawfully iſſuing, and to the heirs males of the body of the ſaid firſt ſon lawfully iſſuing; and for default of ſuch iſſue, to the ſecond ſon of her body lawfully iſſuing, and to the heirs males of the body of the ſaid ſecond ſon lawfully iſſuing; and for default of ſuch heirs, to the third ſon of the body of the ſaid Suſanna lawfully iſſuing, and of the heirs males of the body of the ſaid third ſon lawfully iſſuing; and for default of ſuch iſſue, the ſame to be and remain to the fourth, fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh ſons of her body, lawfully iſſuing one after another, and to the heirs males of the bodies of the ſaid fourth, fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh ſons lawfully iſſuing, in ſuch manner as it is before limited to be and remain to the firſt, ſecond, and third ſons of her body, and to their heirs males; and for default of ſuch iſſue, the ſaid premiſes to be and remain to my ſaid niece Hall, and the heirs males of her body lawfully iſſuing; and for default of ſuch iſſue, to my daughter Judith, and the heirs males of her body lawfully iſſuing; and for default of ſuch iſſue, to the right heirs of me the ſaid William Shakeſpeare for ever.

Item, I give unto my wife my brown beſt bed, with the furniture.

Item, I give and bequeath to my ſaid daughter Judith, my broad ſilver gilt bole. All the reſt of my goods, chattels, leaſes, plate, jewels, and houſhold-ſtuff, whatſoever, after my debts and legacies paid, and my funeral expences diſcharged, I give, deviſe, and bequeath, to my ſon-in-law John Hall, Gent. and my daughter Suſanna his wife, who I ordain and make executors of this my laſt Will and Teſtament. And I do intreat and appoint the ſaid Thomas Ruſſell, Eſq; and Francis Collins, Gent. to be overſeers hereof. And do revoke all former Wills, and publiſh this to be my laſt Will and Teſtament. In witneſs whereof I have hereunto put my hand, the day and year firſt above written, by me

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

Witneſs to the publiſhing hereof,

Fra Collins,
Julius Shaw,
John Robinſon,
Hamlet Sadler,
Robert Whatcott.

Probatum coram Magiſtro William Byrde, Legum Doctore Commiſſario, &c. viceſimo ſecundo die menſis Junii, anno Domini 1616. *Juramento Johannis Hall unius ex. et cui, &c. de bene et jurat reſervata poteſtate et Suſannæ Hall alt. ex. &c. cui vendit, &c. petitur.*

[Z] *His monument and inſcription.*] He is repreſented under an arch in a ſitting poſture, a cuſhion ſpread before him, with a pen in his right hand, and his left reſting on a ſcrole of papers; under the cuſhion is this Latin diſtich:

Judicio Pylium, genio Socratem, arte Maronem,
Terra tegit, populus mœret, Olympus habet.

On the grave-ſtone, in the pavement, underneath, are theſe lines:

Good friend, for Jeſus' ſake, forbear
To dig the duſt incloſed here.
Bleſt be the man that ſpares theſe ſtones,
And curſt be he that moves my bones.

[AA] *Contributions at the acting of Julius Cæſar.*] The truſtees for the public on this occaſion, were the Earl of Burlington, Dr Richard Mead, M. D. Mr Pope, and Charles Fleetwood, Eſq; patentee of the playhouſe; the monument was finiſhed in 1740, and ſtands near the ſouth door of the abbey, in what is called Poets-Corner. Shakeſpeare is repreſented, in the dreſs of his time, in white marble, at full length, leaning a little on his right arm, which is ſupported by a pedeſtal; at the bottom of this there hangs a ſcrole, inſcribed with the following words, from his play called *The Tempeſt*, to which his left hand appears pointing:

The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The ſolemn temples, the great globe itſelf,
Yea, all which it inhabit ſhall diſſolve,
And, like the baſeleſs fabrick of a viſion,
Leave not a wreck behind.

Above his head behind there is fixt a plate of very curious granate marble, on which is the following inſcription, in raiſed letters of braſs, richly gilt.

Gulielmo Shakeſpeare, anno poſt mortem cxxiv.
amor publicus poſuit.

The inſcription was compoſed by Mr Pope. The whole monument was deſigned by Kent, and executed by Ryſbrack, admirably well. A new prologue and epilogue were ſpoken on the occaſion, which are as follows:

The prologue written by Benjamin Martyn, Eſq;

Whilſt in the venerable dome we view,
The ſculptor's art, Britannia's bards renew;
Behold, their names, on ſpeaking marble, live,
Their forms in animated ſtone revive.

Seven years after his death, his plays were collected and publiſhed in 1623, in folio [*B B*], by two of his principal friends in the company of comedians, Heninge and Condale; who likewiſe corrected a ſecond edition in folio, in 1632. Though both theſe editions were extremely faulty, yet no other was attempted 'till 1714, when a third edition was publiſhed in 8vo. by Mr Nicholas Rowe [*C C*], but with few if any corrections; only he prefixed ſome account of our author's life and writings, the materials of the firſt of which were communicated to him by Mr Betterton, the celebrated Comedian, who made a journey to Stratford, purpoſely to learn ſomething further concerning a man, to whom both

Shakeſpeare obſcurely lies, his laurel'd buſt
Neglected, moulders, like his bones, to duſt.
No ſingle hand durſt claim to rear this ſtone,
And fix in Shakeſpeare's monument his own.
To you 'twas left to dignify the bard,
And grace your Shakeſpeare with his late reward;
Shakeſpeare! the Father of the Britiſh ſtage,
Shakeſpeare, the wonder of each riſing age.
Whoſe glowing fancy and whoſe various art,
With every paſſion governs every heart.
Whoſe genius opens nature to our view,
Whoſe charms, tho' ſtill repeated, ſtill are new.
Tho' Shakeſpeare wants no ſtone to ſpeak his praiſe,
Your gratitude's the monument you raiſe.
Think, when you fix a baſis for his name,
You fix one likewiſe for your country's fame.
Rome, by her ſtatues, rais'd the Roman blood,
And form'd new heroes by the old ſhe ſhew'd.
Let then this chief of our dramatic band,
As firſt in rank, the firſt in honours ſtand.
Let every breaſt, that feels his ſacred fire,
Glow with the virtues which his lines inſpire.
While Brutus bleeds for liberty and Rome,
Let Britons crowd to deck his Poet's tomb.
To future times, recorded, let it ſtand,
This head was laurell'd by the public hand.
To future times, with pride, tranſmit it down,
Such public merit ſhould the public own.

The epilogue written by The Honourable James Noel, Eſq; and ſpoken by Mrs Porter.

Theſe ſmiles beſtow'd, theſe generous honours paid,
To a dead bard, to long loſt Shakeſpeare's ſhade;
To public worth ſuch public favours ſhewn,
Confirm this merit and proclaim your own.
Ev'n here a noble monument you raiſe;
The tomb of glory is a people's praiſe.
Perhaps, ſome will.—Perhaps, no none will ſay,
No dance, no ſong, to decorate the play.
No; Shakeſpeare ſcorns ſuch common arts to uſe,
Senſe gave it birth, let ſenſe preſerve the muſe.
If comic ſcenes divert, or tragic move,
With both delighted, you by both improve;
Fir'd by the muſe, you raiſe each paſſion higher,
And pant to reach the virtues you admire.
When Portia weeps, all gentle breaſts muſt mourn,
When Brutus arms, all generous boſoms burn.
When Rome's firm patriots on the ſtage were ſhewn,
With pride we trace the patriots of our own.
From bondage ſav'd, when that bold ſtate we ſee,
We glow to think, that Britain is as free.
We mount, by bright example, glory's throne,
And make the cauſe of virtue all our own.
Such was the bard, firſt grac'd the Britiſh ſtage,
Firſt charm'd and ſtill ſhall charm thro' every age.
Whoſe verſe is muſic, not at wit's expence,
But joins the charms of harmony with ſenſe.

He wakes the paſſions, governs and inſpires,
Charms while he pleaſes, while he teaches fires.
But here what humble thanks, what praiſe is due
Ow'd to ſuch generous virtue, ow'd to you.
With grief, you ſaw a bard neglected lie,
Whom tow'ring genius living rais'd ſo high;
With grief you ſaw your Shakeſpeare's ſlighted ſtate,
And call'd forth merit from the grave of fate.
Let others boaſt, they ſmile on living worth,
You give a buried bard a brighter birth.

[*B B*] *The firſt edition of his plays*] In the preface to this edition it is declared, that Shakeſpeare never blotted out a line in all his writings; and Ben Jonſon tells us, he had often heard the players mention this as an honour to Shakeſpeare's memory; my anſwer, ſays Ben, was, I would he had blotted out a thouſand, which they thought a malevolent ſpeech; I had not told poſterity this but for their ignorance, who choſe that circumſtance to commend their friend by, wherein he moſt failed; and to juſtify mine own candour (for I loved the man and do honour his memory, on this ſide idolatry, as much as any). He was indeed honeſt and of an open and free nature; had an excellent phantaſie, brave notions, and gentle expreſſions; wherein he flowed with that facility, that ſometimes it was neceſſary he ſhould be ſtopped: *Sufflaminandus erat*, as Auguſtus ſaid of Haterius. His wit was in his own power; would the rule of it had been ſo too. Many times he fell into thoſe things and could not eſcape laughter, as when he ſaid in the perſon of Cæſar, one ſpeaking to him: 'Cæſar thou 'doſt me wrong;' he replied, 'Cæſar did never 'wrong, but with juſt cauſe;' and ſuch like, which were ridiculous. But he redeemed his vices with his virtues. There was ever more to be praiſed than to be pardoned (46). Mr Pope obſerves, that there is indeed in that play ſomething like this expreſſion, but not in theſe words (47). Mr Whalley takes notice alſo, that this paſſage is not to be found in that play, and to excuſe Jonſon, ſays, 'tis probable, that he quoted here by memory a line, which ſome fooliſh player might poſſibly pronounce upon the ſtage, in a manner not unlike what is here repreſented (48). In either caſe, it cannot be denied, that the cenſure has more in it to be pardoned than praiſed. In ſhort, the whole paragraph may juſtly be turned upon the writer (49). It is one inſtance, among numberleſs others, of his promptneſs to find fault, *Sufflaminandus erat*. The whole remark is grounded in a miſtake. Mr Pope informs us, 'that however it has prevailed, yet in reality, there never was a more groundleſs report, than this of Shakeſpeare's never correcting his firſt writings, or to the contrary of which there are more undeniable evidences. As the comedy of *The Merry Wives of Windſor*, which he entirely new writ; *The Hiſtory of Henry the Sixth*, which was firſt publiſhed under the title of *The Contention of York and Lancaſter*; and that of *Henry the Fifth* extremely improved; that of *Hamlet* enlarged to almoſt as much again as at firſt, and many others.' After all, the players, who could not be ignorant of theſe alterations, ſeem to mean, in what they told Jonſon, no more than that Shakeſpeare's firſt writing was without a blot, and ſo given by him to be acted. And how this may juſtly enough be reckoned as a proof of his genius and inſpiration.

(46) Jenſon's Diſcoveries. p. 91, 92. Vol. VII. edit. 1756.

(47) In the preface to his edition of Shakeſpeare.

(48) Note (3) to p. 91. of the VIIth volume of his edition in 1756.

(49) Where laſt cited.

[*C C*] *Edition by Mr Rowe*] Dr Warburton (50), the preſent Biſhop of Glouceſter, obſerves, that though Mr Rowe was a wit, yet he was ſo utterly unacquainted with the whole buſineſs of criticiſm, that he did not examine or conſult the firſt editions of the work he undertook to publiſh.

(50) In the preface to his edition of Shakeſpeare's plays.

[*D D*] *Publiſhed*

he and all the world were ſo much indebted. But the plays being in the ſame mangled condition as at firſt, Mr Pope was prevailed upon to undertake the taſk of clearing away the rubbiſh, and reducing them into a better order; and accordingly he printed a new edition of them in 1721, in 4to. Yet neither did this give ſatisfaction, and the performance only diſcovered the editor to be a better poet, than he was a critic; at leaſt of Shakeſpeare's genius. Hereupon Mr Theobald, after many years ſpent in the ſame taſk, publiſhed a piece, called *Shakeſpeare reſtored*, in 1726, 8vo. which was followed by another new edition of his plays in 1733, by the ſame author, who therein carried the deſign of his firſt piece much farther. In 1744, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart. publiſhed at Oxford a pompous edition, with emendations, in ſix volumes, 4to. To theſe Mr Warburton, now Lord Biſhop of Glouceſter, added ſtill another new edition, with a great number of corrections, in 1747. And Mr Theobald publiſhed his edition a ſecond time, with ſeveral alterations, in 1757 [*DD*]. There has appeared very lately this year, 1760, an hiſtorical play, intituled, *The Raigne of Edward the Third*, &c. (*e*), which is aſcribed to Shakeſpeare, upon theſe three concurring circumſtances, the date, the ſtile, and the plan, which is taken, as ſeveral of Shakeſpeares are, from Holingſhead, and a book of novels, called *The Palace of Pleaſure* (*f*). Thus new monuments are continually riſing to honour Shakeſpeare's genius in the learned world; and we muſt not conclude, without adding another teſtimony of the veneration paid to his manes by the publick in general; which is, that a mulberry-tree, planted upon his eſtate by the hands of this revered bard, was cut down not many years ago, and the wood being converted into ſeveral domeſtic uſes, theſe were all eagerly bought at a high price, and each ſingle one treaſured up by it's purchaſer as a precious memorial of Shakeſpeare's memory (*g*).

(*e*) Viz. As it hath bin ſundrie times plaied about the Citie of London. London printed for Cuthbert Burby, 1596, 4to. and again in 1599, 4to.

(*f*) Preluſions, or ſelect pieces of antient poetry, &c. Lond. 1760, 8vo.

(*g*) A tea-cheſt of this wood, with the mulberries carved upon it, is now in the poſſeſſion of Joſeph Smith, Eſq; Dr of Laws, of Kidlington near Oxford.

[*DD*] *Publiſhed an edition in* 1757.] Mr Pope, who firſt entered upon the taſk of criticiſm, declares, that of all our Engliſh Poets, Shakeſpeare muſt be confeſſed to be the faireſt and fitteſt ſubject for criticiſm. The firſt editions being printed from the prompter's books, or the piece-meal parts written out for the players, and very much diſfigured by their blunders and interlineations. Accordingly, after his example, Mr Theobald proceeded in this work, but with ſo little ſucceſs, that Mr Pope declared he could find very few, which ought to be retained. On the other hand, Mr Theobald has ſhewn the greateſt part of Pope's corrections not only to be groundleſs but againſt the mind of the Poet, and therefore juſtly rejected. Dr Warburton has rejected a great number of Mr Theobald's, and Mr Edwards (51) has ſhewn, that a great number of Dr Warburton's deſerve the ſame fate. Sir Thomas Hammer had made very few of his own worth notice, according to Mr Johnſon, who, in 1745, publiſhed *Miſcellaneous Obſervations on the Tragedy of Macbeth: with Remarks on Sir T. H.'s edition of Shakeſpeare*. To which was affixed, *Propoſals for a new Edition of Shakeſpeare's Plays, with a Specimen* But this deſign has not yet been executed; ſo that the laſt edition, in ten ſmall volumes, by Mr Theobald, in 1757, is generally eſteemed the beſt we have.

(51) In his Canons of Criticiſm.

P

SHARP [JAMES], Archbiſhop of St Andrews, in the laſt century; whoſe tragical death is a ſorrowful inſtance of what a furious and miſguided zeal is capable of doing. He was the ſon of Mr William Sharp, Sheriff Clerk of Banff ſhire [*A*], and Iſabel Leſley, daughter to the Laird of Kinninvy, a woman of great prudence and piety (*a*). The time of his birth was in May 1618. From the firſt, he appeared a child of very good parts; and being early ſent to ſchool, out-did all his companions in the rudiments of learning. His maſterly genius, quick apprehenſion, and tenacious memory, were early ſigns of his future greatneſs; and induced his father to deſign him for the Miniſtry. For that purpoſe, he ſent him to the univerſity of Aberdeen, where he arrived to great perfection in the Philoſophy then in vogue. Having paſt his courſes in the college with great applauſe, and being made Maſter of Arts, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity; in which he uſed the advice and direction of Dr Forbes, and Dr Baron. Theſe two learned men, with the other Doctors of Aberdeen, zealouſly appearing againſt the Scotiſh Covenant, made in 1638, became expoſed to many inſults and abuſes; as well as their friends and acquaintance, amongſt whom was Mr Sharp. Whereupon, he retired into England, and contracted an acquaintance with Dr Sanderſon, Dr Hammond, Dr Taylor, and others of our moſt eminent Divines; and was in a likely way of obtaining preferment here. But the civil wars coming on, and he being taken very ill, determined, both by advice and inclination, to return to his native country. By the way, happening into company with Sir James M'Gill of Cranſton, afterwards Viſcount of Oxenford, that generous perſon liking his converſation, carried him to his own houſe in the country. During his ſtay there,

(*a*) A true and impartial Account of the Life of the Moſt Reverend Father in God, Dr James Sharp, Archbiſhop of St Andrews, &c. Printed in 1723, 8vo. p. 25, 26.

[*A*] *He was the ſon of Mr William Sharp*, &c.] Our Prelate's *great grandfather* was a Gentleman of Perthſhire, who had a large family. One of his ſons, named *David*, and *grandfather* to the Archbiſhop, went and ſettled in the town of Aberdeen, where he became a conſiderable merchant, and by his induſtry and frugality acquired a handſome fortune. By his wife Magdalen *Haliburton*, nearly deſcended from the Laird of Pitcur, an honorable family in the ſhire of Angus, he had his ſon—*William*, the Archbiſhop's *father*; who being educated at the ſchools and univerſity of Aberdeen, was, for his extraordinary natural parts and proficiency, taken notice of by the Marquis of Huntley, and other perſons of quality in that country: But eſpecially James Ogilvy, Earl of Finlater, conceived ſuch great opinion of him, that he took him to his houſe, and committed to him the managment of all his affairs. This Earl had married Elizabeth daughter of Andrew Leſley, Earl of Rothes, who took ſuch a particular liking to Mr William Sharp, that ſhe made up a match between him and Iſabel Leſley above-mentioned. Not long after, Mr Sharp was made Sheriff Clerk of Banff ſhire, and lived and dyed in the Caſtle of Banff, in great eſteem and reputation with all that knew him. His wife Iſabel was an extraordinary woman, honoured by all for her wiſdom and piety, and dyed of a great age after King Charles the Second's Reſtoration (1).

(1) Life, &c. as above, p. 25, 26.

[*B*] *Which*

there, he became known to ſeveral of the nobility and gentry, particularly to John Leſley, Earl of Rothes; who patronized him, not only out of reſpect to his ingenuity, but alſo at the recommendation of ſome gentlemen of the name of Leſley, of the Earl's family, and Mr Sharp's relations. By that Lord's intereſt, and on account of his own merit, he was choſen one of the Profeſſors of Philoſophy in St Leonard's college in St Andrews, which was his firſt preferment (*b*). His abilities having raiſed his reputation, and introduced him into the familiarity of many great men, particularly of John Lindſay, Earl of Crawfurd and Lindſay; by that Lord's means, he quitted his Profeſſorſhip, and was appointed Miniſter in the town of Carail. Here, as we are told, he in a ſingular manner exemplified the evangelical precept, as to the wiſdom of the ſerpent, and the innocency of the dove: and here his labours were moſt acceptable, and gained on the hearts of the people by calmneſs, condeſcenſion, and affability; only ſome of the more rigid ſort profeſſed, They did not believe him ſound (*c*). And indeed he was not ſo, according to their notions; for, he had the courage to correſpond with King Charles II. in his exile, and ſpared no pains to keep life in the fainting ſpirit of Loyalty among many of his brethren (*d*). In the mean time, great diſputes having ariſen among the Covenanting Preſbyterians in Scotland, which occaſioned their ſplitting into two parties, called Publick Reſolutioners, and Proteſtors or Remonſtrators [*B*]; Mr Sharp joined the former, thinking them perſons of the greateſt moderation, religion, loyalty, and ſincerity. And all the endeavours of the Privy-Council eſtabliſhed in that country, not being ſufficient to keep them from breaking out into violent flames; in conſequence of which, they both carried their complaints to Oliver Cromwell, then Lord Protector; Mr Sharp was unanimouſly choſen by the Reſolutioners as their agent, whom they knew to be an active man, of a ſtrong head, quick wit, and equal temper. The Remonſtrators, on their ſide, ſent up Mr Guthry, Preacher at Stirling, a furious zealot. The Protector having appointed a time for hearing the two Agents, Mr Guthry ſpoke firſt, and ſo long, that, when he had ended, the Protector told Mr Sharp, he would hear him another time, for his hour for other buſineſs was approaching. But Mr Sharp begged to be heard, promiſing to be ſhort: and being permitted to ſpeak, he in a few words turned Mr Guthry's arguments againſt himſelf, and his cauſe; and gave ſuch a rational repreſentation of his conſtituents and their party, that Oliver was not only ſatisfied they had juſtice on their ſide, but alſo ſo much taken with Mr Sharp's genteel management and addreſs, that he told the by-ſtanders, 'That Gentleman, after the Scotch way, ought to be ſtyled Sharp of that ilk'

(*b*) Life, p. 26—30.

(*c*) Life, p. 31, 32.

(*d*) Life, p. 33.

[*B*] *Which occaſioned their ſplitting into two parties, called Publick Reſolutioners, and Proteſtors or Remonſtrators.*] Biſhop Burnet gives the following account of the heats raiſed in the Kirk by the Publick *Reſolutions* formed there, and the *Proteſtation* made againſt them (*a*). 'A general Aſſembly was in courſe to meet; and ſate at St Andrews. So the commiſſion of the Kirk wrote a circular letter to all the Preſbyteries, ſetting forth all the grounds of their *reſolutions*, and complaining of thoſe who had *proteſted* againſt them; upon which they deſired that they would chuſe none of thoſe who adhered to the *proteſtation*, to repreſent them in the next aſſembly. This was only an advice, and had been frequently practiſed in the former years: But now it was highly complained of, as a limitation on the freedom of elections, which inferred a nullity on all their proceedings: So the Proteſtors renewed their Proteſtation againſt the meeting upon a higher point, diſowning that authority which hitherto they had magnified as the higheſt tribunal in the Church, in which they thought Chriſt was in his throne. Upon this a great debate followed, and many books were written in a courſe of ſeveral years. The Publickmen ſaid, this was the deſtroying of Preſbytery, if the leſſer number did not ſubmit to the greater: It was a ſort of Prelacy, if it was pretended that votes ought rather to be weighed than counted: Parity was the eſſence of their conſtitution: And in this all people ſaw they had clearly the better of the argument. The Proteſtors urged for themſelves, that, ſince all Proteſtants rejected the pretence of infallibility, the major part of the Church might fall into errors, in which caſe the leſſer number could not be bound to ſubmit to them: They complained of the many corrupt Clergymen who were yet among them, who were leavened with the old leaven, and did on all occaſions ſhew what was ſtill at heart notwithſtanding all their outward compliance.'———

'As this debate grew hot, and they were ready to break out into cenſures on both ſides, ſome were ſent down from the Commonwealth of England to ſettle Scotland: Of theſe Sir Henry Vane was one. He adviſed, That, inſtead of Healing the Wound they had given themſelves;' which weakned both parties, and kept them from uniting in an oppoſition againſt the Government; they ſhould leave them to worry one another, and fight their own quarrels: which would keep them in a greater dependence on the temporal authority, when both ſides were forced to make their appeal to it. 'This advice was followed; and the diviſion went on. Both ſides ſtudied, when any Church became vacant to get a man of their own party to be choſen to ſucceed in the election: And upon theſe occaſions many tumults happened: In ſome of them ſtones were thrown, and many were wounded, to the great ſcandal of religion.———At laſt they proceeded to deprive men of both ſides, as they were the majority in the judicatories: But becauſe the poſſeſſion of the Church, and the benefice, was to depend on the orders of the temporal courts, both ſides made their application to the Privy-Council, that Cromwell had ſet up in Scotland: And they were by them referred to Cromwell himſelf. So they ſent deputies up to London. The *Proteſtors* went in great numbers: They came nearer both to the principles, and to the temper that prevailed in the army: So they were looked on as the better men, on whom, by reaſon of the firſt riſe of the difference, the government might more certainly depend: Whereas the others were conſidered as more in the King's intereſts. The *Reſolutioners*, upon this occaſion, ſent up Mr Sharp,' as is more particularly related in the Text above.———Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that 'all the methods imaginable were uſed by the Proteſtors to raiſe their credit among the people. They preached often, and very long; and ſeemed to carry their devotions to a greater ſublimity than others did.———They gave the ſacrament with a new and unuſual ſolemnity. On the Wedneſday before, they held a faſt day with prayers and ſermons for about eight or ten hours together: On the Saturday they had two or three preparation ſermons: And on the Lord's day they had ſo very many, that the action continued above twelve hours in ſome places: And all ended with three or four ſermons on Monday for Thankſgiving ———The Reſolutioners tried to imitate them in theſe practices: But they were not thought ſo ſpiritual, nor ſo ready at them: So the others had the chief following.'

(*a*) Hiſt. of his own Time, as above, Vol. I. p. 83—88.

[*C*] *At*

'ilk (e).' What induced Cromwell more particularly to favour him, was, his having an acquaintance and intereſt with the Preſbyterian Miniſters at London, whom he [the Protector] was then courting much, by reaſon of their credit in the city (f). And they greatly approved of Mr Sharp's character and conduct, as appears by the letter inſerted below [C]. Having ſucceeded in this important affair, he returned to Scotland to the exerciſe of his function; and always kept a good underſtanding with the chief of the oppoſite party of the Proteſtors, that were the moſt eminent for worth and learning (g). During his reſidence in London, having made himſelf known to all ſorts of people (h); his reputation and general eſteem gave him acceſs to, and acquaintance with, General Monk, who looked upon him as a man of probity and reach, and always after treated him with ſingular familiarity (i). Upon his advancing towards London, the General ſent him a letter, from York, in Jan. 1659-60, wherein he deſired him to undertake a winter journey, and come to him at London with all ſpeed. Mean while, the chief of the Kirk had writ to the General, ſignifying their entire confidence in him as to the affairs of Scotland, and the neceſſity of one from them to be near his perſon, to put him in mind of what was neceſſary, and acquaint them with the ſtate of things; aſking at the ſame time a paſs for Mr James Sharp: which the General immediately ſent, declaring, the ſooner he came to him, the more welcome he ſhould be (k). The inſtructions ſent him, February 6, from the Preſbyterian miniſters at Edinburgh, were, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours, that the Kirk of Scotland might, without interruption or encroachment, enjoy the freedom and privileges of her eſtabliſhed Judicatures, ratified by the laws of the land: and, whereas by the late eſtabliſhed *Toleration*, a door was opened to many groſs errors and looſe practices in their Church; he ſhould therefore uſe all lawful and prudent means to repreſent the ſinfulneſs and offenſiveneſs thereof, that it might be timouſly remedied (l). By the twenty-firſt of February, he ſeemed to be weary of his ſtation, and deſired to be recalled (m): complaining, he was ſo much engaged in buſineſs, that he was deprived of his reſt. For, people obſerving the great countenance given him by the Lord General, preſſed him ſo, that he was forced to abandon his chamber all the day, and much of the night (n). However he continued at London, and ſeemed then to be more than ordinary zealous for Preſbytery (o): endeavouring, as he ſaid, to guard againſt Sectaries upon the one hand, and Cavaliers upon the other. And expreſſing his fear that the King would come in, and that with him moderate Epiſcopacy at leaſt would take place (p). The 17th of March he deſired to be recalled home; but expreſſed his diſlike at being appointed Miniſter of Edinburgh, a favour intended him (q). In the beginning of April, the Earl of Lauderdale and he had a meeting with ten of the chief Preſbyterian Miniſters in London; who all agreed upon the neceſſity of bringing in the King upon Covenant-terms (r) [D]. In May, at the earneſt deſire of General Monk, and of the leading Preſbyterians in Scotland, Mr Sharp went over to King Charles at Breda, to acquaint him with their behaviour; and to deſire his Majeſty to write a letter to ſome of them [E], to ſhew his reſolution to own them,

(e) Life, p. 34.

(f) Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1753, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 88.

(g) Life, p. 36.

(h) Burnet, as above.

(i) Life, p. 36.

(k) Woodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. Introd. p. 6.

(l) Idem, Vol. I. Append. No. 2.

(m) Idem, Vol. I. Introd. p. 7.

(n) Ibid. p. 9.

(o) Burnet, as above, p. 88.

(p) Woodrow, as above, p. 9, 10.

(q) Ibid. p. 13, 14.

(r) Ibid. p. 15, 17.

[C] *As appears by the letter*] It was dated at London December 1657, and expreſſed in theſe words: 'Our Reverend Brother Mr Sharp hath with much prudence, courage, and laborioufneſs, unwearedly attended, and managed the Truſt committed to him; yea (as we believe) he hath ſecured your cauſe from ſundry aſperſions, which otherwiſe might probably have reproached it, and he hath gained reſpect in the opinions of ſome in higheſt place by his wiſdom and meekneſs, in vindicating it from miſrepreſentations. And although the great concernment (which he hath faithfully and zealouſly minded) be not brought to ſo good a concluſion as was deſired and prayed for, yet we ſee cauſe to bleſs God for that which is done, hoping that through your prudent improvement thereof, it will tend to future advantage.' Subſcribed by Mr Calamy and Mr Aſhe: and directed to Mr Dowglas, Mr Dickſon, &c. (3).

(3) Life, &c. p. 33.

[D] *In the beginning of April, the Earl of Lauderdale, and he, had a meeting with ten of the chief Preſbyterian Miniſters*, &c.] Mr Sharp, immediately after that meeting, namely on the fifth of April, wrote a letter to Mr Robert Douglas, Miniſter in Edinburgh; wherein, after mentioning that meeting, he goes on thus:——'There are endeavours for an accommodation between the moderate Epiſcopalian party and the Preſbyterians. But at our meeting, Lauderdale and I obtained of thoſe Miniſters, that they ſhould not give a meeting to the Epiſcopal men, 'till they firſt met among themſelves, and reſolved on the terms they would ſtick to.——The King is acquainted with all proceedings here, and wants not information of the carriage and affections of Scotland. The Parliament will addreſs him, ſome ſay in hard, others upon honorable terms. I ſee not full ground of hope, that Covenant-terms will be rigidly ſtuck to.'—— In another letter of April 7, he ſays thus:——'The Lord having opened a fair door of hope, we may look for a ſettlement upon the grounds of the Covenant, and thereby a foundation laid for ſecurity againſt the prelatick and fanatick aſſaults. But I am dubious if this ſhould be the reſult of the agitations now on foot.——We intend to publiſh ſome letters from the French Proteſtant Miniſters, vindicating the King from Popery, and giving him a large character. The ſectaries will not be able to do any thing to prevent the King's coming in. Our honeſt Preſbyterian Brethren are cordially for him. I have been dealing with ſome of them to ſend ſome teſtimony of their affection for him, and yeſterday five of them promiſed to ſend a thouſand pieces of gold to him. The Epiſcopal party are making applications to the Preſbyterians for an accommodation, but the Preſbyterians reſolve to ſtick to their principles.'——And in a letter of April 12, he hath this paſſage:—— 'To morrow I have promiſed to meet with Dr Morley who came from the King: The King is at Breda! The Parliament will at its firſt ſitting (as 'tis expected) call him in. Some ſay, the Sectarian party have made application to him to bring him in without terms.'——Alſo, in another letter of his, he thus expreſſes himſelf:—'I fear the intereſt of the Solemn League and Covenant ſhall be neglected; and I ſmell that moderate Epiſcopacy is the faireſt Accommodation which moderate Men who wiſh well to Religion expect (4).' So he began to open his mind upon the point of Epiſcopacy.

(4) Woodrow, as above, p. 17, 18.

[E] *And to deſire his Majeſty to write a letter*, &c.] This we learn from one of Mr Sharp's to Mr Douglas, dated May 1 P. S. 'General Monk has been theſe ten days preſſing me to go over to the King, to deal that he may write a letter to Mr Calamy, to be communicated to the Preſbyterian Miniſters, ſhewing his

them, who called themſelves the godly ſober party. He carried with him a long letter to the King, and another to his Prime Miniſter (s): Biſhop Burnet tells us, that one of thoſe letters was from the Earl of Glencairn to Hyde, recommending Mr Sharp as the only perſon capable to manage the deſign of ſetting up Epiſcopacy in Scotland; upon which he was received into great confidence (t). Inſtructions were alſo ſent him from the Kirk [F], with ſome particulars which he was deſired to propound to the King at fit opportunities (u). General Monk having ordered a frigate to carry him over to Holland, he arrived at Breda May the 8th, and was led to the Court by Alexander Bruce, where the Marquis of Ormond introduced him to the King, to whom he delivered his letters. The next morning he ſtaid an hour and a half with the King alone in his bed-chamber; and in the evening his Majeſty took him to walk in the garden near an hour (w). He returned to London May the 26th, and the ſame day wrote to Mr Douglas, acquainting him, that he 'found 'the ſober Preſbyterian Party had no reſerve but in his Majeſty's Clemency, of which 'they had no cauſe to doubt. That he found the King very affectionate to Scotland, and 'reſolved not to wrong the ſettled Government of their Church. But he apprehended, 'they were miſtaken who went about to ſettle the Preſbyterian government (x).' And he directed his conduct accordingly. For when he, with ſome others of his brethren, 'ſaw nothing remaining (to uſe his own words) but Prayer and waiting on God.'—When he ſaw, that 'no Good would follow from the propoſed Accommodation between the Epiſcopal party and their adverſaries; ſince thoſe who profeſſed the Preſbyterian way reſolved to admit moderate Epiſcopacy.'—When he found, 'from any obſervation he 'could make, that the Preſbyterian cauſe was wholly given up and loſt [G]: and that 'the Preſbyterians were like to be ground betwixt two mill-ſtones, viz. the Papiſts and 'Preſbyterians (y).'—In a word, when he plainly found, that King Charles's Miniſtry were reſolved to cruſh the Covenanters, and to reſtore Epiſcopacy in Scotland, he thought it as well to fiſh in thoſe troubled waters. However, he held out as long as he thought oppoſition would anſwer any purpoſe [H]. But his becoming ſoon after a zealous Member of the Church of England, and accepting of an Archbiſhoprick; made thoſe rigid members of the Kyrk who had maintained him as their Agent, and were reſolved never to conform; imagine, that he had been unfaithful to his Truſt, and all along undermined and betrayed their cauſe [I]. This notion bred in thoſe ſullen and perverſe men ſuch a thorough

(s) Ibid. p. 20, 21. That is, to Edw. Hyde, Eſq;

(t) Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. 8vo. p. 126.

(u) Woodrow, Appendix to Introd. p. 57.

(w) Idem, Introd. p. 21, 25.

(x) Ibid. p. 25.

(y) Ibid. p. 27, 40, 45.

'his reſolution to own the godly ſober Party, and 'to ſtand for the true Proteſtant Religion in the 'power of it, &c. (5).'

(5) Woodrow, p. 20, 21.

[F] *Inſtructions were alſo ſent him from the Kirk.*] But, notwithſtanding them, he ſignified his intention to one of his conſtituents in the following words:—— 'For my part, I ſhall not be acceſſary to any thing 'prejudicial to the Preſbyterian Government, but 'to appear for it in any other way than is within my 'ſphere, is inconvenient, and may do harm, and not 'good (6).'

(6) Ibid. p. 21.

[G] *When he found, from any obſervation he could make, that the Preſbyterian cauſe was wholly given up and loſt.*] In his letter of June 19, ſpeaking of 'the 'Neglect of the Covenant; I ſee no effectual way '(ſays he) to help this.——I ſee little the Preſby-'terians can, or intend to do for the promoting that 'intereſt (7).'

(7) Woodrow, Introd. p. 39.

[H] *However, he held out as long as he thought oppoſition would anſwer any purpoſe.*] So we learn from the following extracts of ſome of his letters.——In that of June 5, 1660.——'The Epiſcopalians, ſays 'he, drive ſo furiouſly, that all lovers of Religion 'are awakened to look about them, and to endeavour 'the ſtemming of that feared impetuouſneſs of theſe 'men: All that is hoped, is to bring them to ſome 'Moderation and Cloſure with an Epiſcopacy of a new 'make. You may eaſily judge how little any endea-'vour of mine can ſignify to the preventing of this 'evil; and, therefore, how deſirous I am to be taken 'off, and returned to my charge (8).'——In another of June 10, he ſpeaks thus:——'Some leading 'Preſbyterians tell me, they muſt reſolve to cloſe in 'with what they call moderate Epiſcopacy, or elſe 'open Profanity will upon the one hand over-whelm 'them, or Eraſtianiſm (which may be the deſign 'of ſome Stateſmen) on the other. I am often 'thinking of coming away; for my ſtay here I ſee 'is to little purpoſe. I clearly ſee the General will 'not ſtand by the Preſbyterians (9).'——'For my 'part, ſays he, in one of June 12, whatever con-'ſtructions may be put on my way here, I have a 'teſtimony that my endeavours have not been wanting 'for promoting the Preſbyterian intereſt according 'to the Covenant. I cannot ſay they have been 'ſignificant, &c. (10).'——And again, in another of June 15.——'I have a teſtimony that I have not been 'wanting to improve any opportunity I had during 'theſe tranſactions for the intereſt of our country 'and the Covenant. They will bear me up under the 'conſtructions my imployment at ſuch a juncture lays 'me open to. I truſt when I return to make it 'appear, I have purſued the publick ends of Religion, 'as far as the condition of affairs would bear; and 'I have been byaſſed by no ſelfiſh ends.——I profeſs 'it ſtill to be my opinion, that I know no conſiderable 'number, and no party in England, that will join 'with you for ſettling Preſbyterian Government, and 'purſuing the ends of the Covenant.——The preſent 'poſture of affairs looks like a ſhip foundered with 'the waves from all corners, ſo that 'tis not known 'what courſe will be ſteered. But diſcerning men 'ſee, that the gale is like to blow for the Prelatick 'party, and thoſe who are ſober will yield to a 'Liturgy and moderate Epiſcopacy, which they 'phraſe to be effectual Preſbytery, and by this ſalvo 'they think they guard againſt breach of the Covenant. 'I know this purpoſe is not pleaſing to you, neither 'to me, &c. (11).'——Finally, in another letter of June 23, he gives all up.——'All is wrong here as 'to Church-affairs. Epiſcopacy will be ſettled here 'to the height, their lands will be all reſtored. None 'of the Preſbyterian way here oppoſe this, or do any 'thing but mourn in ſecret. We know not the 'temper of people, to have any thing to do with 'them (12).'

(8) Woodrow, ibid. p. 32.

(9) Ibid. p. 34.

(10) Ibid. p. 36.

(11) Ibid. p. 38.

(12) Ibid. p. 40.

[I] *And all along undermined and betrayed their cauſe.*] His old friend and acquaintance Robert Douglas, in particular, charged him afterwards ſeverely with Fraud and Prevarication; as appears by the following extract from his *Account of the Introduction of Prelacy* (13).——'I profeſs I did not 'ſuſpect Mr Sharp in reference to Prelacy more than 'I did myſelf, no more than the Apoſtles did Judas 'before his Treachery was diſcovered: I did not 'ſuſpect him for that, more than I did ſuſpect him 'for taking the Tender, after he came out of the 'Tower ſo long before us. But ſince I find that he 'has been his Truckling; and when he went over 'to Holland he had a letter from a prime Nobleman 'to the King, ſignifying that he was Epiſcopal in 'his judgment. This was revealed to me after he 'was a Biſhop. The firſt thing that gave me a 'diſlike at him was, when he was in Holland he 'wrote

(13) See Woodrow's Introd. p. 24.

thorough Hatred and Prejudice, as nothing but Mr Sharp's blood could ſatisfy and appeaſe. During his abſence from Scotland, he was choſen Profeſſor of Divinity in St Mary's-college in St Andrews (z). And, before he quitted London, King Charles, as a mark of his royal favour, made him his Chaplain for Scotland, with a penſion of 200 pounds ſterling *per annum*, which he enjoyed as long as he lived (a). About the middle of Auguſt 1660, he returned to Edinburgh, carrying with him a Letter from his Majeſty, directed to Mr Robert Douglas, to be communicated to the Preſbytery of that city [K]. He then delivered up to his conſtituents his commiſſion, with a full anſwer to the ſame: and, after this, never had another commiſſion from them, nor was employed by that party (b) [L]. On the firſt of January 1660 61, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners to viſit the college of Aberdeen (c). The ſame year, an act having paſſed, for reſcinding all the Parliaments held in Scotland ſince 1633; the Earl of Glencairn Chancellor, and the Earl of Rothes Preſident of the Council, were ſent up to London, with a letter dated April 24, to give the King an account of the proceedings and ſtate of affairs of Scotland (d). Mr Sharp attended thoſe Lords; and, in a Council held at Whitehall, was nominated Archbiſhop of St Andrews, with the approbation of all preſent except the Earl of Lauderdale (e) [M]. The laſt day of Auguſt, thoſe two Noblemen and he came back to Scotland, bringing with them a letter from the King to the Privy-Council there, for reſtoring of that Church to its right Government by Biſhops (f). Upon that a reſolution was formed, to fill up all the reſt of the vacant ſees; and the nomination of proper perſons was left to Mr Sharp, who acted with great moderation (g). He, and three others, were conſecrated at London, by virtue of a commiſſion dated December 12, 1661, and directed to Biſhop Sheldon of London, and Biſhop Morley of Worceſter; for the Archbiſhop

(z) Life, p. 42.

(a) Ibid.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Life, p. 43.

(d) Life, p. 53. and Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 162—166.

(e) Life, p. 53.

(f) Woodrow, Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland. Vol. I. p. 96. and Burnet, as above, p. 181, &c.

(g) Burnet, p. 183—185.

'wrote to me in commendation of Hyde, an enemy 'to our Nation and Preſbyterial Government. I durſt 'not yet believe myſelf in this, having no more ſave 'his commendation of Hyde, but it appeared after-'wards that in Holland he was a great enemy to the 'Preſbyterian intereſt, and when we wrote a favourable 'letter for the Earl of Rothes, and with him a letter 'to the King, he diſſuaded the Earl from delivering 'the letter. When at London, he was enraged that 'we had written to the Miniſters of London. He 'dealt alſo treacherouſly with the Brethren who came 'from Ireland, in diſſuading their Addreſſes to the 'King. When he came to Scotland, he dealt 'earneſtly againſt all Addreſſes made to the Parlia-'ment againſt Prelacy. He dealt treacherouſly with 'the King, making him believe, that there were 'no conſiderable Perſons againſt Prelacy; but would 'have perſuaded the King, that all our lives were 'in his hand, and he might do what he pleaſed; and 'the man never reſted 'till he was brought himſelf 'to a chair.'——Biſhop Burnet, an accuſer of his Brethren, ſpeaks in yet ſeverer terms upon that ſubject (14).

(14) See Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 126, 127, 151.

[K] *Carrying with him a letter*, &c.] That letter was in theſe words:

'CHARLES R.

'Truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well. By 'the letter you ſent to us with the bearer Mr James 'Sharp, and by the account he gave of the ſtate 'of our Church there, We have received full infor-'mation of your ſenſe of our Sufferings, and of your 'conſtant affection and loyalty to our Perſon and 'Authority. And therefore We will detain him 'here no longer (of whoſe good ſervice we are very 'ſenſible) nor will we delay to let you know by him 'our gracious acceptance of your Addreſs, and how 'We are ſatisfied with your carriages, and with the 'generality of the Miniſters of Scotland in this time 'of tryal, whilſt ſome under ſpecious pretences 'ſwerved from that duty and allegiance they owed to 'Us. And becauſe ſuch, who by the countenance 'of Uſurpers have diſturbed the peace of that our 'Church, may alſo labour to create Jealouſies in the 'minds of well meaning people; We have thought 'fit by this to aſſure you, that by the grace of God 'We reſolve to diſcountenance Prophanity, and all 'contemners and oppoſers of the Ordinances of the 'Goſpel We do alſo reſolve to protect and preſerve the 'government of the Church of Scotland, as it is ſettled 'by Law, without violation; and to countenance in the 'due exerciſe of their functions, all ſuch Miniſters who 'ſhall behave themſelves dutifully and peaceably, as 'becomes men of their calling. We will alſo take 'care, that the Authority and Acts of the general 'Aſſembly, at St Andrews and Dundee, the year '1651, be owned and ſtand in force, until we ſhall 'call another general Aſſembly, which we purpoſe 'to do, aſſoon as our affairs will permit. And We 'do intend to ſend for Mr Robert Douglas and ſome 'other Miniſters, that we may ſpeak with them in 'what may further concern the affairs of that Church. 'And as We are very well ſatisfied with your reſo-'lution, not to meddle without your ſphere, ſo we 'do expect that Church-Judicatories in Scotland, and 'Miniſters there, will keep within the compaſs of 'their ſtation, meddling only with matters Eccleſia-'ſtick, and promoting our Authority and Intereſt 'with our ſubjects againſt all oppoſers; and that they 'will take ſpecial notice of all ſuch, who by preach-'ing, and private Conventicles, or any other way, 'trangreſs the limits of their calling, by endeavouring 'to corrupt the people, or ſow ſeeds of diſaffection 'to Us or our government. This you ſhall make 'known to the ſeveral Preſbyteries within that our 'kingdom: And as We do give aſſurance of our 'Favour and Encouragment to you, and to all honeſt 'deſerving Miniſters there, ſo We earneſtly recom-'mend it to you all, that you be earneſt in your 'prayers, publick and private, to Almighty God, 'who is our rock and our deliverer, both for Us and 'for our government, that We may have freſh and 'conſtant ſupplies of his grace, and the right 'improvement of all his mercies and deliverances, to 'the honour of his great name, and the peace, ſafety, 'and benefit of all our kingdoms. And ſo We bid 'you heartily farewell.

'Given at our Court at Whitehall, the tenth of 'Auguſt 1660, and of our reign the twelfth year.

'By his Majeſty's Command,

'Lauderdale (15).'

(15) Life, p. 39, &c.

[L] *And after this never had another commiſſion from them, nor was imployed by that party*] The author of our Archbiſhop's life adds the following obſervation.——'Which ſhews that it is a groſs 'calumny, and loading his memory unjuſtly, to 'affirm that he betrayed them, ſeeing he was under 'no truſt (16).'——But this obſervation is ill placed here. For it was not after this that they accuſed him of having betrayed them, but during his negotiations before the King's Reſtoration.

(16) Life, p. 42.

[M] *With the approbation of all preſent except the Earl of Lauderdale.*] That Lord not only entred his diſſent openly in Council; but, coming out, he met Mr Sharp walking with the Earl of Stirling, to whom, with an auſtere voice and threatning geſture, he ſpoke theſe words: 'Mr Sharp, Biſhops you are 'to have in Scotland; you are to be Archbiſhop of 'St Andrews; but whoever ſhall be the man, by 'G - -, I will ſmite him and his order below the 'fifth rib.' And he was as good as his word in many inſtances (17).

(17) Life, p. 54.

[N] *And*

Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Juxon, was unable by reaſon of his great age and infirmities, and Dr Frewen Archbiſhop of York was abſent (*b*). Before conſecration, Archbiſhop Sharp not having Epiſcopal Orders, was obliged to be re-ordained, though againſt his inclination (*i*). His firſt act was the obtaining a Proclamation, forbidding Clergymen to meet together in any Preſbytery, or other judicatory, 'till the Biſhops ſhould ſettle a method of proceeding in them. The occaſion of which was, that, upon the conſecration of the Biſhops, the Preſbyteries of Scotland that were ſtill ſitting began to declare openly againſt Epiſcopacy, and to prepare proteſtations, or other acts or inſtruments, againſt them. But this proceeding created the Archbiſhop abundance of enemies; John Maitland Earl of Lauderdale, a ſeeming friend but a private enemy, blowing the coals (*k*). In April 1662, the Archbiſhop, with the reſt of the new-conſecrated Prelates, were introduced into the Parliament that met at that time: and an act, framed by our Primate, paſſed in that ſeſſion, for reſtoring Epiſcopacy, and ſettling the government of the Church in the hands of the Biſhops (*l*) [*N*]. But, rather than comply with the terms of it, and take preſentations to their livings, many Miniſters choſe to be turned out; and above 150 were alſo deprived of their preferments, for not obeying and ſubmitting to the Biſhops ſummons to their Synods. This was tranſacted without Archbiſhop Sharp's knowledge, who did not imagine that ſo raſh a thing could have been done; and was glad he had no ſhare in it, as we are informed by Biſhop Burnet (*m*). And indeed the writer of his life aſſures us, that 'Archbiſhop Sharp's methods were Chriſtian and prudent, and 'attended with very great ſucceſs. He entertained his Clergy with much brotherly love 'and reſpect, and was a great judge and encourager of learning, wiſdom, and piety (*n*).' However, it is certain that from this time the frequenters of Conventicles were too ſeverely puniſhed [*O*]. The deprived brethren and their adherents not patiently bearing their loſſes and ſufferings, broke out at laſt into an open rebellion; which, however, was appeaſed and ſuppreſſed by their defeat at Pentland-hill, 28 November, 1666 (*o*). To return to ſome facts that happened in the mean time: In 1663, Archbiſhop Sharp came to London, to ſupport the Earl of Middletoun and his intereſt, but finding them both upon the decline, he adhered to the Earl of Lauderdale; who never acted but againſt his inclination for Epiſcopacy. In 1664, the Archbiſhop came again to London, to complain of the Lord Glencairn, and the Privy-Council, for their remiſſneſs in putting the laws againſt the Covenanters in execution. He alſo made ſtrong application to be Chancellor of Scotland (*p*); but not being able to ſucceed for himſelf, he obtained that high place for the Earl of Rothes (*q*). And, upon a difference between him and the Earl of Lauderdale, he endeavoured to ſupplant him; that Earl being the bittereſt enemy he could poſſibly have (*r*) [*P*]. During the rebellion in the weſtern parts of Scotland, he was in great diſtreſs, being then at the head of the Government in that kingdom; and, after the ſuppreſſion of it, cauſed the priſoners to be ſeverely proceeded againſt (*s*). He was the King's Commiſſioner in the Convention which met in 1665; but in the beginning of the year 1667, he was ordered to ſtay within his dioceſe, and to come no more to Edinburgh. However, before the end of the ſame year, he was brought again to the Council-board, and behaved for a while with moderation (*t*). But the rigorous proceedings againſt the Covenanters, of which the blame was chiefly laid upon our Prelate, ſo filled that ſullen, enthuſiaſtic, and ungovernable ſet of people (*u*), with violent prejudices and a bitter zeal againſt him, that they never reſted 'till they had his life. On the 9th of July, 1668,

(*b*) Kennett's Regiſter, &c. p. 577.

(*i*) Burnet, p. 193, 194.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 196, &c.

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Vol. I. p. 215.

(*n*) Life, p. 58.

(*o*) Burnet, as above, p. 326—331.

(*p*) Upon the death of the Earl of Glencairn, the Chancellor, in July 1664.

(*q*) Burnet, p. 281—294.

(*r*) Idem, p. 289, 297 300.

(*s*) Idem, p. 328, 329, 331, 332.

(*t*) Idem, p. 335—347.

(*u*) See an exact Account of their behaviour and diſpoſition, in this Volume of Biſhop Burnet, p. 384, &c. 406—416.

[*N*] *And an Act, framed by our Primate, paſſed in that ſeſſion for reſtoring Epiſcopacy.*] By this act, the whole government and juriſdiction of the Church in the ſeveral dioceſes was declared to be lodged in the Biſhops, which they were to exerciſe with the advice and aſſiſtance of ſuch of their Clergy, as were of known loyalty and prudence: All men that held any benefice in the Church were required to own and ſubmit to the government of the Church, as now by law eſtabliſhed. This, as Biſhop Burnet obſerves, 'was plainly the ſetting Epiſcopacy on another bottom, 'than it had been ever on in Scotland before that 'time (18).——The whole frame of the act, adds he, 'was liable to great cenſures. It was thought an 'inexcuſable piece of madneſs, that, when a govern-'ment was brought in upon a nation ſo averſe to it, 'the firſt ſtep ſhould carry their power ſo high. All the 'Biſhops, except Sharp, diſowned their having any 'ſhare in the penning this act; which indeed was 'paſſed in haſte, without due conſideration Nor 'did any of the Biſhops, no not Sharp himſelf, ever 'carry their authority ſo high, as by the act they 'were warranted to do (19).'——The act being ſo diſagreeable in its own nature to the majority of the Scotiſh Nation, no wonder that the execution of it ſhould bring a great diſlike to thoſe Perſons, who by their office were bound to ſee it obeyed.

(18) Burnet, as above, p. 199.

(19) Idem, p. 200, 201.

[*O*] *From this time the frequenters of Conventicles were too ſeverely puniſhed.*] An act of the ſame nature againſt Conventicles, was made in Scotland, as what had paſſed in England. By which, every perſon above ſixteen, that was preſent at a conventicle, was to lye three months in priſon, or to pay 5 *l.* for the firſt offence; ſix months for the ſecond offence, or to pay 20 *l.* fine; and for the third offence, upon conviction by a jury, to be baniſhed to any of the plantations, except New England or Virginia, or to pay 100 *l.* (20).

(20) Idem, p. 286. See alſo, p. 294, 295.

[*P*] *That Earl being the bittereſt enemy he could poſſibly have.*] Though he ſaw that the Archbiſhop was guilty of ſome indiſcretions, inſtead of ſtopping them in a friendly manner, and giving him proper advice; he 'reſolved to give him line, even when 'he was perſuaded that he would ruin all. For he 'ſaid, he had not credit enough to ſtop him; nor 'would he oppoſe any thing that he propoſed, unleſs 'it were very extravagant (21).'——The Archbiſhop complained to the King of Lauderdale's remiſſneſs; which occaſioned a bitter quarrel between them. And in the end, to compleat the Archbiſhop's diſgrace with the King, Lauderdale got many of his letters, which he had writ to the Preſbyterians, after the time in which the King knew that he was negotiating for Epiſcopacy, in which he had continued to proteſt, with what zeal he was ſoliciting their concerns, not without dreadful imprecations on himſelf, if he was prevaricating with them, and laid theſe before the King (22).

(21) Burnet, p. 289.

(22) Idem, p. 297, 300.

[*Q*] *Slot*

1668, one James Mitchel, a field or conventicle Preacher, ſhot at him, as he was getting into his coach [Q]: for which he was afterwards executed, the eighteenth of January, 1677-8 [R]. But that execution only made way for more deſperate undertakings. Conventicles

[Q] *Shot at him, as he was getting into his coach*, &c.] Of this wicked and deſperate attempt, we ſhall give the exacteſt account we can, from the moſt authentic relations publiſhed at different times. That given by the author of our Primate's life, is as follows: '——As he came down in the evening from his 'brother's lodgings, which were over againſt the 'Black-frier wynd, and being placed in his coach, 'was diſtributing charity to the poor, and bleſſing 'them, and receiving their returns, he with Dr Honyman, Biſhop of Orkney (who was entering the 'coach) were aſſaulted by a wicked ruffian (Mr James 'Mitchel by name, whoſe ſon and heir is preſent 'preacher (23) at Dunoter) who ſhot at them with 'a piſtol charged with three balls, which broke the 'Biſhop of Orkney's left arm, a little above the 'wreſt. In the confuſion, occaſioned by ſo unexpected an event, the bloody aſſaſine made his eſcape; 'but being afterwards apprehended, he owned the 'fact, and maintained ſuch principles as are deſtructive 'to ſociety, and hateſull to all ſober men; for which 'in or about the year 1676 (24) he ſuffered the 'puniſhment due to ſuch execrable crimes (25).'

(23) Namely, when that Life was written.

(24) It was in January 1677 8. See the next note.

(25) Life, p. 63, 24.

Dr Hickes, in *Ravillac redivivus*, relates the fact in the following manner —— 'Mr Mitchel joined in 'the rebellion of the Fanaticks, that broke out in 1666. 'He had the fortune to eſcape from the field of 'battle, but was afterwards proclaimed Traytor, with 'many other principal actors in that Rebellion, and 'afterwards excepted by name in his Majeſty's proclamation of Pardon, that he might receive no 'benefit thereby. Then he ſculked about, during 'which time, he took up the reſolution of Aſſaſinating 'the Lord-Primate, and languiſhed away for want 'of an opportunity to put his inhumane deſign in 'execution. At laſt, having obſerved that the Lord 'Arch-Biſhop uſed always to go about the town [of 'Edenburgh] in his coach, he determined to *piſtol* 'him in it; and accordingly on Saturday the ninth 'of July, 1668, diſcharged a piſtol loaden with three 'bullets at him, which were intercepted by the arm 'of the Lord Biſhop of Orkney, who at the ſame 'inſtant was getting into his Grace's coach: As ſoon 'as he had ſhot, he walked faſt away, and as he 'croſſed the ſtreet, the Primate got a view of his 'face He was not immediately purſued, which 'gave him opportunity to eſcape into the houſe of 'one ——— Ferguſon, an ejected Miniſter; which 'being in an obſcure place of the town, he had 'prepared for a retreat, in caſe he could get ſafe 'thither There having diſguiſed himſelf, by putting 'on a periwig, and changing his cloaths, he immediately went into the ſtreet again, and made as great 'a buſtle as any in the throng to find out the aſſaſine, 'who had ſhot at the Primate, and, as he hoped, 'had killed him in his coach. He was known by 'none in the crowd, but by three of his confederates, 'who had come to town on purpoſe to aſſiſt him in 'his bloody deſign; namely,—— Barſcob, ——— 'Mandroget, and Major Lermonth, who had been 'ringleaders in the rebellion of Pentland-hills. The 'aſſaſine joyned himſelf with theſe three; and after 'a conſultation what they ſhould do for their further 'ſecurity, they unanimouſly reſolved to retire into 'the garden of Sir Archibald Primroſe. The morning 'approaching, they thought it ſafer to quit the town; 'and the other three conducting Mr James Mitchel, 'he made a final eſcape into Holland by their aſſiſtance, 'and was never after ſeen in Scotland, 'till the latter 'end of 1673. In that interval, he rambled through 'Holland, England, and Ireland, from whence 'he returned, with a reſolution (as it ſeems) to 'aſſaſine the Primate again Not long after his 'return he married, and repaired with his wife to 'Edenburgh, preſuming that after more than five 'years abſence, he might live *incognito*; at leaſt ſo 'long, 'till he could find an opportunity to execute 'his bloody deſign. In order to which, he hired 'a ſhop within a door or two of the Primate's 'lodgings, where his wife pretended to ſell Tobacco 'and ſuch like things (26).'

(26) Ravillac Redivivus, being a Narrative of the Tryal of Mr James Mitchel, &c. 2d edit. Lond. 1682, fol.

Much to the ſame purpoſe is Biſhop Burnet's ſtory. '——A ſtrange accident happened to Sharp in July, '1668, as he was going into his coach in full day-'light, the Biſhop of Orkney being with him. A man 'came up to the coach, and diſcharged a piſtol at 'him with a brace of bullets in it, as the Biſhop of 'Orkney was going up into the coach. He intended 'to ſhoot through his cloak at Sharp, as he was 'mounting up: but the bullet ſtuck in the Biſhop of 'Orkney's arm, and ſhattered it ſo, that, though 'he lived ſome years after that, they were forced to 'open it every year for an exfoliation. Sharp was 'ſo univerſally hated, that, though this was done 'in full day-light, and on the high-ſtreet, yet no 'body offered to ſeize the aſſaſin So he walked 'off, and went home, and ſhifted himſelf of an odd 'wig, which he was not accuſtomed to wear, and 'came out, and walked on the ſtreets immediately. 'But Sharp had viewed him ſo narrowly, that he 'diſcovered him afterwards.——Proclamations were 'iſſued out with great rewards for diſcovering the 'actor; but nothing followed on them. On this 'occaſion it was thought proper, that he ſhould be 'called to Court, and have ſome marks of the King's 'favour put on him. He promiſed to make many 'good motions.——The King, as he had a particular 'talent that way, when he had a mind to it, treated 'him with ſpecial characters of favour and reſpect. But 'he made no propoſition to the King: only in general 'terms he approved of the methods of gentleneſs and 'moderation then in vogue When he came back 'to Scotland, (which was in Auguſt 1675) he moved 'in council, that an Indulgence might be granted to 'ſome *Miniſters, of the denomination of* Publick 'Reſolutioners, who did not conform, with ſome 'rules and reſtraints (27).' But they were rejected by thoſe Miniſters.

(27) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 388, 389. Life, p. 69.

[R] *For which he was afterwards executed the eighteenth of January* 1677-8.] We have ſeen, in the foregoing note, that Mitchel returned to Edenburgh in 1673, where he married, and hired a ſhop within a door or two of the Archbiſhop's lodgings. But he had not long been there, before he was 'diſcovered 'and apprehended upon ſuſpicion; and when he 'was taken (which was in the ſame place where he 'ſtood to commit the fact) there were two piſtols 'found about him, in ſize and ſhape like that which 'the Primate ſaw him hold in his hand, immediately 'after he had ſhot at his Grace; and upon ſearch, 'they were alſo found to be charged with three 'bullets each. Being apprehended by Sir William 'Sharp, he was immediately brought to his brother 'the Primate's lodgings; and though a great crowd 'had preſſed in after him, yet his Grace knew him 'at firſt ſight from all the reſt (ſuch a deep impreſſion 'the tranſient view he got of him after the ſhot, had 'made upon him) and going up to him, without 'any hæſitation he ſaid unto him, *You, Sir, are the man*; upon which the wretch trembled and grew 'pale. Not long after, he was convened before the 'Privy-Council, the Duke of Lauderdale, his Majeſty's 'High Commiſſioner, then ſitting in Council; but he 'would confeſs nothing before them, which made 'them depute a Committee for his further examination; before which he freely confeſſed the fact, 'and ſigned his Confeſſion before the King's High-'Commiſſioner ſitting in Council; which the Lord 'Halton, the Treaſurer-Deputy; the Earl of Rothes, 'Lord Chancellor; and ſome other of the Council, 'ſubſcribed as witneſſes. After this examination, 'which was in February 1674, he was put upon his 'tryal. But after his indictment was read, he denyed 'it, and retracted his Confeſſion, which (as our 'author affirms) he had freely made, without any 'promiſe of pardon, before the High-Commiſſioner 'and the Council. Upon which, Sir John Neſbit, 'his Majeſty's Advocate, deſiſted immediately from 'the proſecution, and would never proſecute the 'aſſaſine again: ſo that the Privy Council were forced 'to ſend him priſoner to the Baſs, where he continued 'till the latter end of December 1677. But then 'it being rumoured about, that the Fanaticks deſigned 'to take off our Primate, Archbiſhop Burnet, ſome of

ticles grew at length to a very unſufferable pitch; they having generally with them a troop of armed and deſperate men, that drew up, and ſent parties out to ſecure them (*w*). From ſome of theſe, the precaution which the Archbiſhop had taken to ſecure his own life, ſerved only to haſten his fatal and moſt tragical death. For, whether it was a premeditated deſign [*S*], or ſuggeſted by an accidental opportunity (*x*), nine ruffians [*T*] attacked him, May the third, 1679, on Magaſk-moor about three miles from St Andrews, and murdered him in a cruel and barbarous manner [*U*]. His body was interred, May 17, in the ſouth end of

(*w*) Burnet, Vol. II. p. 23, 25.

(*x*) So Biſhop Burnet inſinuates. Vol. II. p. 103. and Woodrow, Vol. II. p. 28.

' of the Biſhops, and other eminent perſons, by ' aſſaſination; it was reſolved to bring Mr Mitchel ' to publick juſtice (28).'——Or, as Biſhop Burnet expreſſes it in his invidious way, ' now Sharp would ' have his life.——He pretended, he was in great ' danger of his life, and that the rather becauſe ' the perſon that had made the attempt on him was ' let live ſtill.'——The ſame hiſtorian repreſents this whole affair in very black colours. And tells us, that ' Sharp got a friend of his to go to Mitchel, and ' deal with him to make a full confeſſion: And he ' made ſolemn promiſes, that he would procure his ' pardon. His friend anſwered, he hoped he did ' not intend to make uſe of him to trepan a man ' to his ruin. Upon that, with lifted up hands, ' Sharp promiſed by the living God, that no hurt ' ſhould come to him, if he made a full diſcovery. ' —— And the Duke of Lauderdale, the King's ' Commiſſioner, gave the Council power to *promiſe* ' him his life.'——But, afterwards, upon Mitchel's refuſing ' to repeat his confeſſion in a court of judi- ' cature; the Council paſt an Act mentioning the ' promiſe and his confeſſion, and adding, that ſince ' he had *retracted* his confeſſion, they likewiſe recalled ' the promiſe of pardon (29).'——Let us hear what our Archbiſhop ſaid upon that point, at the time of Mitchel's tryal. He then depoſed, ' that imme- ' diately upon the taking of the pannel [i. e. the ' priſoner] he promiſed him, that if he would *confeſs*, ' and repent himſelf of his fault, without further ' troubling a Court of Judicature, he would *intercede* ' *for his Pardon*; which he *rejected then*, and there- ' fore though he ſtill forgave him, yet he did not ' *conceive* himſelf bound to endeavour his *preſervation* ' after more than *five* years *Obſtination* (30).'——Biſhop Burnet hath given a large and circumſtantial Account of this whole affair (31), which we cannot inſert, for fear of ſwelling this note too much. But he owns himſelf, that he received his information from one who hated Sharp (32). ' Let therefore the reader coolly judge for himſelf, between the two extremes. Only we cannot but leave this obſervation with him, That Archbiſhop Sharp is by Biſhop Burnet painted in as black colours, as Biſhop Burnet himſelf has been by poſterity: And that he expreſſes through- out as bitter a prejudice againſt our Primate, as even Mitchel himſelf could do. He had alſo forgot, that one of the ancienteſt Laws of the ſupreme Governor of the univerſe, is, Whoſo ſheddeth man's blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed (33). The obvious meaning of which is, that Murder is to be puniſhed with death, which way ſoever it comes to be diſcovered.

(28) Ravillac Redivivus, as above, p. 6, 7.

(29) Burnet, Vol. II. p. 18, 19.

(30) Ravillac Redivivus, p. 24.

(31) Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 17, &c.

(32) Ibid. p. 19, 23.

(33) Gen. ix. 6.

[*S*] *Whether it was a premeditated deſign.*] The author of the Archbiſhop's Life gives ſtrong reaſons to think that it was a premeditated Deſign. For, ' towards the end of April 1679, a paper was dropt ' in the Burgh of Cowper, full of opprobrious language ' and infinuations of a *Deſign* upon Archbiſhop Sharp's ' perſon, who was then at Edinburgh, and had re- ' ſolved to go to London, to give a fair repreſenta- ' tion to his Majeſty of the ſtate of affairs, and what ' was to be done for remedying theſe evils. It is ' believed, that if the Archbiſhop had gone ſtraight ' to Court, his enemies had failed in their deſign, and ' alſo, that his wife counſels would have prevented ' much blood and enſuing confuſions (34).'——And, in another letter from one of his Grace's enemies, inſerted in the ſame life (35), and dated third of May 1679, we find this paſſage.——' I hope you ' have heard of the dreadful Death of the old Fox, ' who was clothed with the Sheep's ſkin, and coun- ' tenanced with the King's authority. The ſame ' was *intended* for others alſo; but it ſeems God hath ' not altogether forſaken them, and given them over ' to themſelves; but it may be ſuppoſed, that they ' are referred to a greater judgment, which God in ' his own appointed time will cauſe to fall upon them.' See Preface to the Archbiſhop's Life (36).

(34) Life, p. 72. and Appendix to the Preface, p. 52.

(35) Appendix to the Preface, p. 56.

(36) P. 25—35.

[*T*] *Nine ruffians attacked him.*] Their names were, John Balfour of Kinloch, David Haxton of Rathillet, George Balfour in Gilſton, James Ruſſel in Kettle, Robert Dingwal a tenant's ſon in Caddarff, Andrew Guillan, webſter in Balmerinoch, Alexander and Andrew Henderſons, ſons to John Henderſon in Kil- brachmont, and Georg Fleeming ſon to George Fleeming in Balboothie (37).

(37) Life, p. 75. and 156.

[*U*] *And murdered him in a cruel and barbarous manner.*] Of this inhuman murder the following account is given by the writer of his Life ' Upon ' Friday May the ſecond, he determined to take ' journey to St Andrews, with a deſign to return ' upon Monday to Edinburgh, and thence to begin ' his journey for Court. On Friday evening, he ' reached Kennoway, where he lodged that night. ' ——On Saturday, May 3d, he entred his coach ' with his daughter Iſabel, and went on in his journey. ' —— As he paſſed by the Struthers, he ſent his ' ſervant with an excuſe to the Earl of Crawford, ' that he could not wait upon him at that occaſion. ' And, as he was going on, the coachman perceiving ' ſome armed men making hard after them, who ' looked not like friends, calls to the poſtilion to drive ' on. The Arch-biſhop finding the coach run ſo hard, ' look't out to ſee what the matter was, and perceiving ' armed men purſuing him, he turned to his daughter, ' and ſaid *Lord have mercy upon me, my poor child,* ' *for I am gone.* In the mean time, the coach-man ' put faſter on, and out-run the moſt part of theſe ' ruffians, while at laſt one of the beſt mounted of ' them got before the poſtilion, and, by wounding ' him in the face, ſhooting the horſe which he led, ' in the back, and cutting him in the hams, turned ' the coach out of the way, and gave time to the ' reſt to come up, who immediately ſtopt the coach, ' by cutting the harneſſing with their ſwords. One ' wounded him with the ſhot of a piſtol, another with ' a ſmall ſword: thereafter they called to him to ' come out. Upon which he compoſedly opened ' the coach-door, and ſtept forth: And while his ' daughter was crying, and all in tears, he beſought ' them to ſpare his life, and obteſted them not to ' bring innocent blood upon their own heads. But all ' in vain. Then he entreated them through the ' bowels and mercies of Chriſt, that they would at ' leaſt ſuffer him to die patiently, and have ſome time ' to recommend his ſoul unto God. Which being ' denied him, (but would have been granted by the ' moſt barbarous of all Heathens) he fell upon his ' knees, and while he was holding up his eyes and ' hands to Heaven, and, powring out his ſoul before ' God, and after the example of his bleſſed Lord, ' praying for his murderers, he was firſt deeply ' wounded in the wreſts, and backs of theſe up-lifted ' hands, which they did beat down, and then by ' theſe bloody Canibals maſſacred upon the place, ' having received in his head, and other parts of his ' body, twenty two wounds (38).'

(38) Life, p. 73. 74. 75. and 140, &c.

To this, it will not be amiſs to ſubjoin the declara- tion of the Phyſician and Surgeons, who viſited the Archbiſhop's body. ' We under-ſubſcribers, being ' called to viſit the corps of the late Lord Archbiſhop ' of St Andrews, do find, that he had received a ' wound by a ſword over the left eye, extending ' two inches above, and one below, making a great ' ſuffuſion of blood upon the cheek, and upper and ' lower eye-lid. Next, we found many wounds upon ' the poſterior part of his head, inſomuch, that the ' whole occipital bone was ſhattered all in pieces, and ' a part of the brain thereby loſt upon the place, ' which certainly being ſo great, could not but oc- ' caſion his preſent death. There were only two ' wounds to be ſeen upon the body, the firſt, two ' or three inches below the right clavicle, betwixt

' the

of the high church of St Andrews; where his ſon erected a magnificent tomb, with an elegant epitaph, to his memory, compoſed by Dr Andrew Bruce, Biſhop of Dunkeld, and afterwards of Orkney (*y*). By his wife, Helen Moncrief, daughter to William Moncrief, Laird of Randerſton, deſcended from an ancient family, his Grace left one ſon, and two daughters; viz.—Sir William Sharp, who married Mrs Margaret Erſkine, daughter to Sir Charles Erſkine of Cambo, Bart. Lyon King at Arms.—Iſabel, who was in the coach with her father at the time of his barbarous murther, and was afterwards married to John Cunningham of Barns, Gent. in Fife-ſhire.—Margaret, who was married to William Lord Saltoun (*z*). The Archbiſhop was of a middle ſtature, ſtrong, and well made. He had a comely forehead, but his eyes appeared to be ſomewhat ſunk, yet full of life. His countenance was chearful, with a due mixture of gravity; and he was an abſolute maſter of the art of addreſs. For ſobriety he was next to a miracle. Neither was his Charity leſs in all its branches [*W*]. He was a man of good learning, and a frequent preacher; and thought reſidence one of the indiſpenſable duties of a Biſhop [*X*]. He was a kind and affectionate huſband, a tender and indulgent father, a firm friend, a great encourager of learning and learned men, and a ſure patron of ſocieties, particularly of the city and univerſity of St Andrews (*a*).

(*y*) Life, p. 82, 83.

(*z*) Life, p. 84.

(*a*) Life, p. 76—82.

the ſecond or third rib, which was given by a ſhot ' not reaching the capacity of the breaſt. The next ' was a ſmall wound upon the region of the kidneys, ' given by a ſmall ſword. Likewiſe we found three ' wounds upon his left hand, which might have proved ' mortal, though he had eſcaped the former. Alſo ' another upon the right hand, as dangerous as the ' former;' as witneſs our hands at St Andrews, the fifth day of May 1679, George Pitillo, M. D. William Borthwick, Chir. Henry Spence, Chir. James Pringle, Chir. (39).

(39) Appendix to the Preface, as above, p. 57.

[*W*] *Neither was his Charity leſs in all its branches.*] If at any time he made diſtinction, it was to thoſe of the better rank, upon whom poverty lies heavieſt, becauſe they are aſhamed to diſcover their neceſſities, or to beg ſupplies from others; and that without any reſpect to party. ' I have it (adds the author of his ' life) from a wife, reverend, and aged Preſbyter, ' who had the advantage of knowing him very well, ' that, to his certain knowledge, he hath cauſed ' diſtribute by his truſtees fifty crowns in a morning ' to the orphans and widows of the Preſbyterian ' brethren, without their being acquainted from what ' hand it came. And it is now very well known, ' that a certain Preſbyterian lady (whoſe father was ' the third and moſt eminent, except one, that ſuffered ' after the Reſtoration) was entruſted by him in ' diſpenſing no ſmall ſums of ſecret charity, to the ' moſt needful of that party, which differed ſo much ' from him. And his conduct in his family, and on ' other occaſions to the poor, was ſuitable to diſcretion, and the true laws of charity (40).'

(40) Life, p. 79.

[*X*] *And thought reſidence one of the indiſpenſable duties of a Biſhop.*] The author of our Primate's life explains more fully theſe particulars, in the following manner:——' He was no friend to Pluralities in the ' Church, and he thought reſidence one of the indiſ- ' penſable duties of a Biſhop, and was never abſent ' from St Andrews, except when the affairs of the ' Church and the publick called him. Frequently he ' preached every Lord's-day, but at leaſt once in the ' fourteen days: And when he was neceſſarily at ' Edinburgh, he preached on all anniverſary days, ' feſtivals, and ſolemn occaſions. And for that part ' of the Evangelical function he was happily qualified: ' for his ſermons were methodical, grave and per- ' ſuaſive, altogether free from Enthuſiaſtick ſlights ' and bitter invectives; which were then the admirable ' talents of thoſe denominated *a Goſpel-gifted Miniſtry*. ' That which made all Eccleſiaſtical performances ' eaſy to the Archbiſhop, was, the great progreſs he ' had made, from the days of his youth, in the ſtudy ' of the Greek and Latine Fathers, the ancient ' Liturgies, Councils, and Canons of the Church. ' Neither was he a ſtranger to the learning of the ' ſchool-men (41).'——Biſhop Burnet, indeed, is pleaſed to ſay, that Sharp ' had a very ſmall pro- ' portion of Learning, and was but an indifferent ' Preacher (42).' But we muſt conſider, that this comes from a very inveterate Enemy.

(41) Life, p. 79.

(42) Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 88.

C

SHARP [JOHN], the late moſt worthy Archbiſhop of York, was born at Bradford in Yorkſhire, February the 16th, 1644, being the ſon of Mr Thomas Sharp, an eminent tradeſman of that place, deſcended from the Sharps of Little Norton, a family of great antiquity in Bradford-Dale (*a*) [*A*]. On the 26th of April, 1660, he was admitted of Chriſt's-college in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr Brookſbank [*B*]. But he attended for ſome time Lectures in Natural Philoſophy, according to the Carteſian method; which were read by Mr Thomas Burnet, then Fellow of Chriſt's-college, afterwards Doctor in Divinity, and Maſter of the Charter-houſe. However, Mr Sharp did not apply himſelf ſo much to the Mathematicks, as he did to Botany and Chemiſtry, which were his favourite ſtudies in his younger years (*b*). On the 26th of December, 1663, he commenced Bachelor of Arts, having performed his exerciſe and examination with good reputation; though he had laboured under great infirmities both of body and mind moſt part of the time, having been afflicted with a quartan ague, which by its long continuance had brought on a hypochondriac melancholy (*c*). About the year 1664, he made intereſt for a Fellowſhip of his college; but, his county being full, he was expreſsly excluded by the ſtatutes: Dr Cudworth, the Maſter, offered to bring him in afterwards, in 1669, but he had then better views. The 9th of July, 1667, he commenced Maſter of Arts; and, the 12th of the month following, by virtue of a faculty from Archbiſhop Sheldon, was ordained Deacon and Prieſt both in one day, by Dr Fuller, then Biſhop of Limerick, afterwards of Lincoln. The ſame year, in the month of October, he became domeſtic Chaplain,

(*a*) Mr Thoreſby's Topography of Leedes, p. 56.

(*b*) From Memoirs communicated to us by the learned Dr T. Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, one of the Archbiſhop's ſons.

(*c*) Lives of the Proteſtant Biſhops, &c. by J. Le Neve, edit. 1720, 8vo. Part 2. p. 279.

[*A*] *Was born at Bradford in Yorkſhire, February the 16th*, 1644, &c.] He was baptized by Mr Blazet, with ſponſors, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England. Mr Blazet was epiſcopally ordained: and Dr Sharp was always thankful to God for this bleſſing (1).

(1) From Memoirs communicated by the learned Dr T. Sharp, as above.

[*B*] *Under the tuition of Mr Brookſbank.*] Dr Sharp procured afterwards for him the living of St Mary's in Reading, out of gratitude for the pains he had taken with him, whilſt he was under his tuition (2).

(2) From the ſame Memoirs.

[*C*] *And*

Chaplain, and Tutor to four ſons of Sir Heneage Finch [C], then Attorney-General, afterwards Lord Chancellor; by the recommendation of his fellow-collegian, the celebrated Dr Henry More (d). July 13, 1669, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford, in company with ſeveral other Gentlemen from Cambridge, who went to Oxford, at the opening of the Sheldonian Theatre (e). Having attended, with univerſal liking, for five years in the family of his excellent patron Sir Heneage Finch, he was by him recommended to King Charles II. for the Archdeaconry of Berkſhire, then void by the promotion of Dr Mew to the Biſhoprick of Bath and Wells; and accordingly he was collated thereto February 20, 1672 (f). Sir Heneage being advanced, the ſame year, to the high office of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; and ſenſible, that the ſeveral duties of his great poſt, would not allow him time and leiſure, to make that enquiry which was neceſſary, to know the characters of ſuch as applied to him for the Crown-preferments in his diſpoſal; he devolved this particular province upon his Chaplain Mr Sharp, of whoſe learning, integrity, and good judgment, he had now ſufficient experience [D]. In 1674, he preached a ſermon, the firſt in the collection of his printed works, which occaſioned a controverſy, of which an account is given in the note [E]. On the 26th of March, 1675-6, he was inſtalled Prebendary of the third ſtall in the cathedral of Norwich; and, on the 22d of April following, inſtituted to the Rectory of St Bartholomew Exchange London. He was married, May 16, 1676, by Dr Tillotſon, at Clerkenwell church, to Elizabeth, youngeſt daughter of William Palmer of Winthorp in the county of Lincoln, Eſq; And, on the third of January, 1676-7, was inſtituted to the Rectory of St Giles in the Fields, London, having ſupplied that place conſtantly from the death of the laſt incumbent (g). He now left the Lord Chancellor Finch, and kept houſe, and his time was taken up, for the ten following years, in cloſe attention to his cure at St Giles's [F]. During that time, he was happy in the intimacy of ſome, and well acquainted with all, the following eminent Divines then in London: Stillingfleet, Cradock, Whitcot, Calamy, Tillotſon [G], Clagett, Williams, Teniſon, Beveridge, Scott, Sherlock, Wake, and

(d) Memoirs, &c. and Le Neve, as above, p. 280.

(e) Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 177.

(f) Le Neve, p. 280, 281. and Faſti, p. 280.

(g) Memoirs, &c. as above. Le Neve, p. 281. and Newcourt's Repertorium, &c. Vol. I. p. 292, 613.

[C] *And Tutor to four ſons of Sir Heneage Finch.*] Two of them, Henry and Edward, entering afterwards into Orders, he gave them ſucceſſively the rich Prebend of Wetwang in his own Cathedral at York. Henry was made Dean of York, in 1702 (3).

(3) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. I. p. 72, 176.

[D] *Of whoſe learning, integrity, and good judgment he had now ſufficient experience.*] This particular we learn from the pious Mr Nelſon (4). whoſe larger account is as follows: 'Among the many very commendable qualities of this great man [Sir Heneage] 'his zeal for the welfare of the Church of England, 'was not the leaſt conſpicuous; which particularly 'ſhewed itſelf, in the care he took in diſpoſing of 'thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, which were in the 'Gift of the Seal. He judged rightly, in looking 'upon that Privilege as a Truſt for the good of the 'Church of God, of which he was to give a ſtrict 'account; and therefore being ſenſible that the ſeveral 'duties of his great Poſt, as firſt Miniſter of State, 'as Lord-Chancellor, and as Speaker of the Houſe 'of Lords, would not allow his Lordſhip time and 'leiſure to make that enquiry which was neceſſary 'to know the Characters of ſuch as were Candidates 'for Preferment, he devolved this particular province 'upon his Chaplain, whoſe Conſcience he charged 'with an impartial Scrutiny in this matter; adding 'withal, that he would prefer none but thoſe who 'came recommended from him, and that if he led 'him wrong, the blame ſhould fall upon his own 'ſoul. It is true, that this was a great teſtimony 'of my Lord's intire Confidence, in the Uprightneſs 'as well as the Capacity of his Chaplain; but the 'world will quickly be ſatisfied with what caution 'and judgment his Lordſhip took his meaſures, when 'they ſhall know, that his then Chaplain was Dr *Sharp*, 'the preſent Lord Archbiſhop of York, who fills one 'of the Archiepiſcopal thrones of the Church of 'England, with that univerſal applauſe, which is 'due to his Grace's diſtinguiſhing merit; whoſe 'elevation hath not deprived him of his humility, but 'he exerciſeth the ſame affability and courteſy towards all men, which he practiſed in a lower ſphere. 'And that Learning and Piety, that Integrity and 'Zeal for the Glory of God, which influence his 'Grace in the government of his Dioceſs and of his 'Province, were peculiarly ſerviceable to the Earl 'of Nottingham, in the charge his Lordſhip laid 'upon him with ſo much ſolemnity.'——It was he that procured the learned Mr George Bull, afterwards Biſhop of St David's, a Prebend of Glouceſter, from the Lord-Chancellor, in which he was inſtalled October 9, 1678.

(4) Life of Dr George Bull, &c. edit. 1713, 8vo. p. 278, 279.

[E] *Which occaſioned a Controverſy, of which an account is given in the note.*] This Sermon was, ſoon after, anſwered by an anonymous writer, ſuppoſed to be Wadſworth the diſſenter; and that Anſwer was the occaſion of Mr Dodwell's book of *Schiſm* (5). R Baxter replied to Mr Dodwell, in his 'True and 'only way of Concord.' This drew from Mr Dodwell a ſecond piece on *Schiſm* (6). At length Dr Sharp, in 1683, wrote, but without taking any immediate notice of the Authors aforeſaid, his firſt *Diſcourſe on Conſcience*; and in the year following his ſecond Diſcourſe on the ſame ſubject: Both which Diſcourſes made part of the London Caſes, and were abridged by Dr Bennet in the London Caſes. So this Diſpute ended.——But another aroſe from the ſame ſermon. Some Popiſh anonymous writer publiſhed in 1704, a piece intit'led *An Eſſay towards a Propoſal for Catholic Communion*, with arguments artfully taken from this Sermon. This was anſwered in a piece intituled *Concordia diſcors*; and again in a pamphlet, recommended publickly by Dr Fowler, Biſhop of Glouceſter, in an advertiſement prefixed: But laſtly and moſt fully by Mr N. Spinckes; all in the ſame year, viz 1705.

(5) See Mr Dodwell's Preface, and Mr Baxter's Life of Mr Dodwell.

(6) See above the article DODWELL [HENRY].

[F] *And his time was taken up, for the ten following years, in cloſe attention to his cure at St Giles's.*] Except that, in the laſt five years, being then Dean of Norwich, he removed in the ſummer months to his charge there.——Richard Baxter lived then in his Pariſh of St Giles's, and kept a large Conventicle there, which he attended on Sundays in the afternoon, but was a conſtant hearer of, and communicant with, Dr Sharp, at his own church in the morning And they lived for many years in good friendſhip with each other (7).

(7) Memoirs, &c. as above.

[G] *Tillotſon.*] The friendſhip and acquaintance, between them, was of a long ſtanding, and begun by an accidental meeting, upon this occaſion. Mr Joſhua Tillotſon, the doctor's brother, was a wet and dry Salter, or Oilman, in London, of which trade was Dr Sharp's father, at Bradford in Yorkſhire Mr Sharp returning from thence to London, with a bill drawn on Mr Joſhua Tillotſon, happened to meet at his houſe Dr Tillotſon, who finding Mr Sharp to be his countryman, and a young clergyman ſetting out into the world, being above fourteen years younger than himſelf, with his uſual goodneſs and civility took particular notice of him, and after ſome converſation gave Mr Sharp leave to come freely to his houſe, whenever he pleaſed, and to have recourſe to him as often as he thought it might be ſerviceable to him. Mr Sharp judged this a moſt fortunate interview, and

Himſelf

and Cave. With Clagett above all others he had a moſt particular friendſhip (*b*) [*H*]. March 28, 1679, he accepted of the Lecture at St Lawrence-Jewry, London, upon the earneſt deſire of Dr Benjamin Whichcot, then Vicar of that pariſh, and held it, according to his promiſe, as long as the Doctor lived (which was 'till 1683), and no longer. July 8, 1679, he commenced Doctor in Divinity at Cambridge. In 1681, June 17, he was, by the intereſt of his patron, then Lord High-Chancellor, made Dean of Norwich, into which he was inſtalled June 8 (*i*). Upon the death of King Charles II. he drew up the Addreſs of the Grand Jury for the city of London. March the 20th, 1684-5, he preached at Whitehall that Sermon which was publiſhed at the requeſt of the Biſhops who then attended at the King's chapel there (*k*). Having been Chaplain to King Charles II. and attended as one of the Court-Chaplains at the coronation of King James II. (*l*), he was ſworn Chaplain to this laſt, April 20, 1686, and not in 1688, as Le Neve ſays by miſtake. On the ſecond of May, 1686, he preached in his own church, on 1 Cor. xii. 13. a ſermon againſt Popery (*m*), which created him ſome trouble. For, at his coming down from the pulpit, a paper was put into his hand, containing an Argument for the Right of the Church of Rome to the ſtyle and title of the only viſible Catholick Church. Not knowing where to direct an Anſwer to that Paper, he anſwered it the next Sunday, May 9, at the end of his ſermon on the ſame text (*n*). This being miſrepreſented at Court, as a deſign to beget in the minds of the audience an ill opinion of the King and his government, by inſinuating fears and jealouſies to diſpoſe them to diſcontent, and to lead them into diſobedience and rebellion [*I*], and conſequently as a contempt of his Majeſty's order about Preachers; therefore the King reſented it extremely (*o*). But Dr Sharp had no notice of the King's diſpleaſure 'till May the 23d, when he was acquainted with it by the Lord-Chancellor Jefferies. The next day, he took his ſhort-hand ſermon to his Lordſhip, and read it to him [*K*]. Jefferies pretended to be very angry, and reprimanded him, but adviſed him to go down to Norwich, and was afterwards a friend to him (*p*). On the 17th of June following, Dr Henry Compton, then Biſhop of London, received a letter from the King [*L*], commanding him immediately to ſuſpend Dr Sharp from further preaching in any pariſh church or chapel in his dioceſe, until he had given his Majeſty ſatisfaction. The Biſhop, thereupon, ſent for the Doctor, and acquainted him with the King's diſpleaſure, and the occaſion of it, by ſhewing him his Majeſty's letter: but he having never been called to anſwer any ſuch matter, or make his defence, and proteſting his innocence, and likewiſe declaring himſelf moſt ready to give his Majeſty full ſatisfaction therein; in order thereto, his Lordſhip adviſed him to forbear preaching, 'till he had applied himſelf to his Majeſty. And, at his requeſt, he ſent by him, June 18, an anſwer to the Earl of Sunderland, Preſident of the Council, then at Hampton-court [*M*]; but no anſwer could be

(*b*) Memoirs, &c. as above.

(*i*) Le Neve, &c. as above, p. 282.

(*k*) It is the 6th in the firſt volume of his Sermons.

(*l*) Le Neve, p. 283.

(*m*) It is the 5th in the 7th volume of his Works.

(*n*) Memoirs, &c. It is the 6th ſermon in the foreſaid volume.

(*o*) Complete Hiſtory, Vol. III. edit. 1719, p. 455.

(*p*) Memoirs, &c. as above.

(8) Life of Dr Tillotſon, by Dr Birch; from Memoirs communicated by Mr Archdeacon Sharp.

Himſelf extremely happy in ſo valuable an acquaintance, and ever after ſpoke of this incident with pleaſure. And this was the foundation of a firm and laſting friendſhip between them, improved by an intimate acquaintance for many years, and cemented by repeated acts of mutual good offices (8).

[*H*] *With Clagett above all others he had a moſt particular friendſhip.*] He was perfectly charmed with Dr Clagett. And if ſimilitude of temper and manners, equality of age, conformity of inclination and ſtudies, &c. can make true friendſhips, theſe two perſons needed only to be known to each other to become faſt friends. They lived in a manner together. Clagett who was not well furniſhed with Books of his own, made uſe of Dr Sharp's Library, came into it at pleaſure, and proſecuted his enquiries in it as he pleaſed, without the leaſt ceremony uſed, or interruption given on either ſide. Dr W. Clagett dying March 28, 1688, Dr Sharp preached his funeral ſermon, and publiſhed a volume of his ſermons (9). And he took Mrs Clagett, immediately upon her huſband's deceaſe, to his own houſe; but ſhe ſurvived not long (10).

(9) See Preface to that volume.

(10) Memoirs, &c. as above.

[*I*] *And to lead them into diſobedience and rebellion.*] It was reported falſely, that he had undertaken, in that ſermon, to confute the Paper ſaid to have been found in the late King's ſtrong Box. Which was believed at Court (11).

(11) Memoirs, &c. as above.

[*K*] *The next day he took his ſhort-hand ſermon to his Lordſhip, and read it to him.*] Biſhop Burnet is miſtaken, when he ſays, that 'Sharp went to *Court* 'to ſhew the notes of his ſermon, which he was ready 'to ſwear were thoſe from which he had read it, by 'which the falſhood of the information would appear. 'But, ſince he was not ſuſpended, he was not admitted (12).' For, from the more authentick account ſent me, it was to Lord Ch. Jefferies the Doctor carried, and read, the notes of his ſermon.

(12) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1753, 8vo. Vol. II. p. 370.

[*L*] *Dr Compton, then Biſhop of London, received a letter from the King.*] It was dated June the 14th, 1686, and in theſe words:

'*James* R.

'Right Reverend Father in God, We greet you 'well. Whereas We have been informed, and are 'fully ſatisfied, that Dr *John Sharp*, Rector of the 'Pariſh-Church of St Giles in the Fields, in the 'County of Middleſex, and in your dioceſs, notwithſtanding Our late Letter to the moſt Reverend 'Fathers in God the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and 'York, and Our Directions concerning Preachers, 'given at Our Court at Whitehall, the 15th of 'March, 1685, in the ſecond year of our Reign; 'yet he, the ſaid Dr *John Sharp*, in contempt of the 'ſaid Orders, hath in ſome of the ſermons he hath 'ſince preached, preſumed to make unbecoming 'Reflections, and to utter ſuch Expreſſions as were 'not fit or proper for him; endeavouring thereby 'to beget in the minds of his Hearers an evil Opinion 'of Us and Our Government, by inſinuating Fears 'and Jealouſies to diſpoſe them to Diſcontent, and 'to lead them into Diſobedience and Rebellion. 'Theſe are therefore to require and command you 'immediately upon receipt hereof, forthwith to ſuſpend him from further preaching in any pariſh-church or chappel in your dioceſs, until he has 'given us ſatisfaction, and Our further Pleaſure be 'known herein. And for ſo doing this ſhall be your 'warrant: And ſo we bid you heartily farewel.

'Given at our Court at Windſor, the fourteenth 'day of June, 1686, in the ſecond year of our 'reign.

'By his Majeſties command,

'Sunderland.'

[*M*] *He ſent by him, June* 18, *an Anſwer to the Earl of Sunderland*, &c.] It was as follows:

be obtained to this letter of the Biſhop. Therefore, two days after, Dr Sharp carried a petition to the King [*N*] at Windſor, which however was not admitted to be read (*q*). After he had voluntarily ceaſed the exerciſe of his function, by the advice of the Biſhop of London, he removed to Norwich [*O*]. During this leiſure-time, he amuſed himſelf with collecting old Coins, chiefly Britiſh, Saxon, and Engliſh; of which, as well as of Greek and Roman, he picked up, then and afterwards, as many as furniſhed out a large and choice cabinet. At length, January 9, 1686-7, the Earl of Sunderland wrote to him, that he might return to his function; which he did with great joy. On the 14th and 15th of Auguſt, 1688, he agreed with the other Archdeacons (when ſummoned to appear before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners for not obeying the King's orders in reſpect of the Declaration), not to appear before that Court; and drew up the reaſons for their refuſal. The 27th of January, 1688-9, he preached before the Prince of Orange, and January the 30th before the Convention. On both occaſions he prayed for King James before Sermon (*r*) [*P*]. The Deanery of Canterbury becoming vacant by the removal of Dr Tillotſon to that of St Paul's, Dr Sharp was declared Dean of Canterbury in his room, September 19, 1689, and inſtituted by the Vicar-General on the 21ſt of November (*s*). About the ſame time, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for reviſing the Liturgy: and, November 21, moved in Convocation, that Dr Tillotſon ſhould be the Prolocutor; but it was carried for Dr Jane, which was thought one principal reaſon why the Commiſſion itſelf failed of ſucceſs (*t*) Upon the deprivation of ſome Biſhops, for refuſing the oaths to King William and Queen Mary, his Majeſty was pleaſed to mention Dr Sharp, as a proper perſon to ſucceed in ſome of the vacant ſees. Two or three were accordingly propoſed to him: Norwich in particular was preſſed by Dr Tillotſon, as the place which he thought would be moſt acceptable. But Dr Sharp abſolutely declined to accept of any of them; not out of any ſcruple of conſcience, for he could not, under ſuch a ſcruple, have either made

(*q*) An exact Account of the whole Proceedings againſt the Right Rev. Father in God Henry Lord Biſhop of London, &c. Printed in 1688, 4to. p. 7, 8, 9, 22.

(*r*) Memoirs, &c. as above.

(*s*) Le Neve, &c. as above, p. 283.

(*t*) Memoirs, &c. as above.

'To the right honourable, the Earl of Sunder-
'land, Lord Preſident, &c.

'My Lord,

'I always have, and ſhall count it my duty to obey 'the King in whatever Commands he lays upon me, 'that I can perform with a ſafe conſcience: But in 'this, I humbly conceive, I am obliged to proceed 'according to law; and therefore it is impoſſible 'for me to comply; becauſe, though his Majeſty 'commands me only to execute his pleaſure, yet in 'the capacity I am, to do it, I muſt act as a Judge; 'and your Lordſhip knows no Judge condemns any 'man before he has knowledge of the cauſe, and has 'cited the party. However, I ſent to Mr Dean, and 'acquainted him with his Majeſties diſpleaſure, whom 'I find ſo ready to give all reaſonable ſatisfaction, 'that I have thought fit to make him the Bearer 'of this Anſwer, from him that will never be un-
'faithful to the King, nor otherwiſe than,

'My Lord,

'Your Lordſhip's moſt humble ſervant,

'H. London.'

[*N*] *Therefore, two days after, Dr Sharp carried a petition to the King.*] It was in theſe words:

'To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, The humble
'Petition of *John Sharp*, Clerk,

'Sheweth,

'That nothing is ſo afflictive to Your Petitioner, 'as his unhappineſs to have incurred Your Majeſties 'Diſpleaſure, which he is ſo ſenſible of, that ever 'ſince your Majeſty was pleaſed to give notice of it, 'he hath forborn all Publick Exerciſe of his Function, 'and ſtill continues ſo to do. Your petitioner can 'with great ſincerity affirm, that ever ſince he hath 'been a Preacher, he hath faithfully endeavoured to 'do the beſt ſervice he could in his place and ſtation, 'as well to the late King, your Royal Brother, as 'your Majeſty, both by preaching and otherwiſe. 'And ſo far he hath always been from venting any thing 'in the pulpit tending to Schiſm or Faction, or any 'way to the diſturbance of Your Majeſties Govern-'ment, that he hath upon all occaſions in his Sermons, 'to the utmoſt of his power, ſet himſelf againſt all 'ſorts of Doctrines and Principles that look that 'way: And this he is ſo well aſſured of, that he 'cannot but apprehend that his Sermons have been 'very much miſrepreſented to Your Majeſty. But 'if in any ſermon of his, any words or expreſſions 'have unwarily ſlipt from him, that have been 'capable of ſuch conſtructions, as to give Your Majeſty 'cauſe of offence, as he ſolemnly profeſſes he had no 'ill intention in thoſe words or expreſſions, ſo he is 'very ſorry for them, and reſolves for the future to 'be ſo careful in the diſcharge of his duty, that 'Your Majeſty ſhall have reaſon to believe him to 'be Your moſt faithful ſubject. And therefore he 'earneſtly prayeth, that Your Majeſty out of Your 'royal grace and clemency, would be pleaſed to lay 'aſide the Diſpleaſure You have conceived againſt 'Your humble Petitioner, and reſtore him to that 'Favour which the reſt of the Clergy enjoy under 'Your Majeſties gracious Government.

'So ſhall your Petitioner ever pray, &c. (13).'

(13) Proceedings againſt the Biſhop of London, &c. p. 7, 8, 9.

[*O*] *He removed to Norwich.*] After he had been ſome time there, notice was given him, that if he would return and petition the King, he ſhould be reſtored. Mr Henry Guy, Secretary of the Treaſury, directed the manner of the Petition; and the Earl of Rocheſter undertook to befriend him in it (14). Mr Pepys was alſo very helpful to him, as we learn from Biſhop Kennet, whoſe account is thus (15):

'I have heard Archbiſhop Teniſon ſay, That He, 'as Vicar of St Martin's, uſed ſeveral endeavours 'with ſome of the Nobility in vain, to obtain a 'liberty of preaching for his neighbour Dr Sharp; 'till at laſt repreſenting his caſe to Mr Pepys, as 'a good-natured man with wife and children, Mr Pepys went freely to the King, and prevailed with 'his Majeſty to reſtore him to the exerciſe of his 'office; 'till which time, he had a guard or centinel 'to attend his lodgings.'

(14) Memoirs, &c. as above.

(15) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. edit. 1719. p. 483. note (*b*).

[*P*] *On both occaſions he prayed for King James before Sermon.*] The firſt time it gave no viſible offence, becauſe then neither of the Houſes of Parliament had declared the King's Deſertion of the government and kingdom to be properly an Abdication But on Monday the twenty-eighth the Commons had paſſed their Vote, That the King had abdicated, and the Throne was vacant. And therefore Dr Sharp's praying for the King, gave great offence; as well as ſome paſſages in the ſermon itſelf, leſs agreeable to mens tempers at that juncture than to the ſubject of the 30th of January; ſo that a long debate enſued about giving him thanks as uſual, and the Houſe broke up without doing it. Yet, on the firſt of February they paſſed a Vote of thanks, with a requeſt that he ſhould print the ſermon: but this he declined. This was a pretty remarkable proof, of his ſteadineſs in doing what in his own judgment appeared to him right (16).

(16) Memoirs, &c. as above.

[*Q*] *Dr*

made a return to the Congé d'eſlire for the election of Dr Tillotſon to Canterbury, which he did as Dean thereof; nor could he have ſuffered himſelf to have been conſecrated by Dr Tillotſon, as he was ſoon after; but out of a particular friendſhip and eſteem, which he had for the perſons deprived. This however diſpleaſed the King, and Dr Sharp ſeemed no longer to be thought of. While he was in this ſituation, Dr Tillotſon came to his houſe on the 24th of April, 1691, the day after his own nomination to the Archbiſhopric, and told him, that ſince he had ſo obſtinately refuſed taking any of the vacant Biſhoprics, he had thought of a method to bring him off with the King; which was, that he ſhould promiſe to accept the Archbiſhopric of York, in his own country, when it fell, as Dr Tenniſon ſhould take Lincoln. He told him at the ſame time, how all the vacant biſhoprics were deſigned to be diſpoſed of; obſerving, that he had thought of this ſcheme, as he came from Whitehall to his houſe; and directing him to go and acquaint the Earl of Nottingham with it; and if his Lordſhip approved of it, he would himſelf propoſe it to the King on the Monday following. Accordingly on that day he acquainted his Majeſty with what had paſſed between Dr Sharp and himſelf, and fixed the affair: which his Majeſty declared in Council, the middle of the ſame week. And Dr Lamplugh dying on the 5th of May following, Dr Sharp was promoted to the ſee of York [Q], and conſecrated July the 5th, 1691 (u). In that high ſtation he behaved in the moſt laudable and exemplary manner [R]. Upon Queen Anne's acceſſion to the Crown, he was ſworn (March 20, 1701-2) of her Majeſty's Privy-Council. The 23d of April following he preached the Sermon at her coronation, on Iſaiah xlix. 23. And, ſome time in the ſame year, was made Lord Almoner to her Majeſty, which office he held to his death (w). In 1706, he was one of the Commiſſioners for treating of the Union between England and Scotland (x). In 1709, while Dr Sacheverell's affair was depending, our excellent Prelate, imagining that through this imprudent attack both Church and State were in danger; he heartily

(u) Memoirs, as above. Life of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, by Dr Birch, p. 276, 277. and Le Neve, ut ſupra, p. 283, 284.

(w) Le Neve, as above, p. 284.

(x) Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, fol. p. 231.

[Q] *Dr Sharp was promoted to the See of York.*] The Earl of Nottingham brought him his Mandate, May the 8th He was confirmed July 2. Conſecrated the 5th. Did homage the 6th. Was inthroned at York by proxy the 16th. And October 5th was introduced into the Houſe of Lords (17).

(17) Le Neve, p. 284. and Memoirs, &c. as above.

[R] *In that high ſtation, he behaved in the moſt laudable and exemplary manner.*] 'In his *Family*, 'every thing was managed with ſuch admirable regu'larity, as if all his care and wiſdom had been con'fined to that ſphere only. His retirements were 'divided between ſtudy and devotion. At his table 'there was that decent freedom and alacrity, that 'hoſpitable abundance and plenty, which became 'the dignity of his ſtation and character, and the 'liberality of his diſpoſition. Had Wolſey been to 'dictate ſplendor to him, ſtill his converſation muſt 'have been the beſt part of the entertainment. He 'redoubled the eſteem and veneration of others for 'him, by aiming only at their love; and loſt nothing 'of the Archbiſhop, in the very good neighbour and 'obliging friend. The charity which flowed from 'his table to his gate, was extremely magnified, by 'the manner of beſtowing it: It reached to the 'ſouls, as well as bodies of the poor; and naturally 'led them to a grateful remembrance of their Maker, 'when they ſaw ſo lively an image of him, in one 'of his moſt faithful ſtewards. His delight in private 'charities could not be well concealed; but the 'meaſures of his bounty in that way, are a ſecret 'only known to Him, who ſhall one day reward them 'openly. In his chapel and devotions, he was ſo 'intent, and abſtracted from the world, that the duty 'looked more like pleaſure and enjoyment: And 'ſuch an unaffected humility and holy ardor accom'panied his daily offering of our moſt excellent 'Liturgy, that it ſenſibly diffuſed itſelf through all, 'who had the advantage of praying with him. In 'his *Province* and *Dioceſe*, he acted with all that 'wholeſome, but gentle authority, which became 'the ſpiritual father of the clergy and laity. He ſo 'far united thoſe two orders in affection and love 'for each other, which their firſt inſtitution plainly 'tended to promote, that they often joined together, 'to give publick marks of their high eſteem and 'veneration for him; and of the irreſiſtible force 'and influence which his example had upon them, 'to compel them to love and unity. He was conſtant 'in his Reſidence, regular in his Viſitations; and 'by his ſteady and uniform adherence to the rules 'and ordinances of the Church, accompanied with 'a true Chriſtian humility and gentleneſs, he regained 'all that authority and regard for the Epiſcopal 'function, which is one of the diſtinguiſhing marks 'of the primitive purity of Religion. No man had 'a more tender concern for the Reformed Intereſt 'abroad, nor more careful to preſerve the beauty 'and order of the Church of England; that it might 'be a ſtanding pattern for all other Proteſtants. That 'Diſcipline, whoſe decay he often lamented, and 'tried in ſome meaſure to reſtore, appeared truly 'reforming and medicinal under his government; 'and wherever the Canon was invalid, the ends of it 'were anſwered by the force of his Example. In the *Senate*, his opinion and judgment were of the greateſt 'weight, and his Veracity and Sincerity have never 'been called in queſtion He ſpake with all imagi'nable clearneſs and ſolidity upon the moſt important 'ſubjects; and very ſeldom or never entred into any 'debates, which turned altogether upon private pique 'or intereſt: But he ſaw at once through the merits 'and tendency of every cauſe, which any ways 'affected the conſtitution in Church and State; of 'which he was a conſummate judge, and an unal'terable friend to both.——He had the advantageous 'misfortune of preſiding in the Church, for many 'years of trouble and diſorder; in which time, he 'had frequent opportunities of giving proofs of his 'unſhaken zeal and integrity, whenever any Inno'vations were attempted againſt Religion in general, 'or the Church of England and his own order 'in particular. His conduct before the Revolution, 'ſhewed him to be a ſtrenuous oppoſer of the Idolatry 'and Corruptions of the Church of Rome; and 'his behaviour, both at, and after the Revolution, 'made it apparent, how juſt a ſenſe he had of that 'deliverance, when he promoted every thing, which 'tended to the reſtoration and eſtabliſhment of the 'Conſtitution, that had before been leſſened and 'invaded; and as bravely oppoſed every thing which 'tended to a further change and alteration in our 'Laws and Religion (18).'——To which muſt be added, in his further commendation, 'That he was 'a moſt excellent Governour, brought the Prebendaries 'in his Cathedral of York, and Colleges of Southwell 'and Rippon, to ſtrict reſidence; and that they might 'be the better diſpoſed thereto, he made it his unal'terable practice always to elect them out of ſuch 'as lived in his Dioceſe, and had recommended them'ſelves by doing their duties in their reſpective Parochial 'Cures: By which means no Cathedral in England 'was better attended by Clergy, and the ſervice more 'regularly performed than at York; or the Miniſters 'of ſmall livings, in any dioceſe, more encouraged to 'attend their charge; becauſe this good Biſhop would 'reward their diligence by ſuch compenſations, more 'eſpecially thoſe in York city, on whoſe conduct the 'world had a more eſpecial eye.——He likewiſe very 'much repaired the Collegiate Church at Southwell (19).'

(18) Annual Liſt, &c. at the end of Boyer's Hiſt. of Queen Anne, fol. Lond. 1735, p. 64. and the Examiner of Feb. 12, 1713.

(19) Survey of the Cathedral of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; p. 60, 61.

[S] *His*

heartily joined thoſe many well-meaning perſons, who zealouſly endeavoured to ſecure both (y): being ſenſible, at the ſame time, how much the great Council of the Nation expoſed themſelves, by taking notice of what was really below their notice. About the year 1712, he began to decline in his health, and going for the recovery of it to the Bath, he dyed there February the 2d, 1713-14, in the 69th year of his age: after having enjoyed the Archbiſhopric of York above two and twenty years, with the utmoſt honour and reputation (z). On the 16th of February he was interred in his own cathedral. His character is given below [S]. He was an excellent Preacher, and publiſhed ſeveral occaſional Sermons; beſides which, five new volumes of his Sermons have been printed ſince his deceaſe [T].

(y) Idem, Annual Liſt, &c. p. 64.

(z) Memoirs, &c.

[S] *His Character*, &c.] His *general Character* is thus given, by the ſame Author from whom we have borrowed the account already given of him in the laſt note.——'Archbiſhop Sharp had all the treaſures of 'antient and modern Learning, which were neceſſary 'to render him a perfect maſter of Divinity, in its 'own main branches, Preaching and Controverſy. 'He thought, and ſpoke, and wrote with inimitable 'clearneſs. In his perſon and behaviour, in the 'Church and the Senate, at his table and in his 'retirements, he gave all the natural and unaffected 'proofs of primitive uprightneſs and integrity: But 'to the honeſt plainneſs and ſimplicity of the Cypria-'nick age, he added all thoſe refined graces and 'improvements of modern Erudition; which others 'aſſume to gain applauſe to themſelves, and which 'He wholly employed in the propagation of truth, 'and the ſervice of Religion. Nothing mean or 'trifling, ſour or ill-natured, ever came from him; 'ſcarce from any body elſe in his preſence. He was 'far from being of a retired Monaſtick temper; but 'had all that well grounded chearfulneſs, that decent 'affability and humanity, which ſtruck a luſtre upon 'all his other Virtues, and made the imitation of 'him infinitely deſirable and pleaſing. As his Grace 'was the delight of all mankind; ſo all Mankind 'were his delight. His charity and bounty were 'large and extenſive; and reached not only to what-'ever objects came in his way, but to all that he 'could find, by an induſtry free from oſtentation. 'He had a publick ſpirit, immenſly large and perfectly 'ſincere; and a greatneſs of ſoul, ſufficient to adorn the 'higheſt birth, and to proclaim the advantageous diffe-'rence between the Roman and Chriſtian honour and 'nobility. His generoſity extended even to the relicts 'and deſcendents of good and worthy men; and became 'the happy inſtrument of Providence, in rewarding 'the poſterity of religious and loyal anceſtors. His 'continual exerciſe of this virtue vaſtly exceeded the 'intentional devotion of a thouſand poſthumous 'charities. He was acceſſible, complaiſant, and 'courteous to a ſurprizing degree; and his good-'nature made no difference in habits, fortunes, ſtations, 'and degrees. Pity and compaſſion ſeemed to be 'a part of his nature, and flowed directly from his 'heart. He might rather be ſaid not to know what 'reſentment was, than to ſtifle and ſuppreſs it. No 'man of a more forgiving temper, leſs acquainted 'with injuries, or better able to bear them. He 'perfectly underſtood the meaning and meaſures of 'Moderation; and left the world without excuſe 'for quarrelling about the word, when they ſaw it 'ſo fully explained in his Grace's life and conver-'ſation. He was juſt, equitable, and impartially 'good. His temperance was ſo great and exemplary, 'that his ſenſes and bodily appetites bore no propor-'tion to thoſe of his mind; to that ſpiritual ſenſation, 'which was perpetually ſearching after the pureſt 'objects. His Underſtanding and Conſcience were 'two great luminaries, moving together by unalterable 'concert; as remarkable for their purity and luſtre, 'as for the order and ſteadineſs of their courſes. He 'loved truth, not with the vain curioſity and un-'certain diſtruſt of one who ſearches after it, but 'with all the delight and complacency of the wiſe 'happy man, who has found, and long enjoyed it. 'His word and promiſe were eſteemed equivalent to 'the firmeſt ſecurities (20).'

(20) Annual Liſt at the end of Boyer's Hiſtory of Queen Anne, p. 63, 64.

We ſhall ſubjoin to this, the character given of our excellent Prelate, in his Epitaph, drawn by the elegant pen of Dr George Smalridge, Biſhop of Briſtol.

'Erat in ſermone apertus, comis, affabilis,
In concionibus profluens, ardens, nervoſus,
In explicandis Theologiæ caſuiſticæ nodis
Dilucidus, argutus, promptus:
In eximendis dubitantium ſcrupulis
Utcunque naturæ bonitate ad leniores partes aliquanto propenſior,
Æqui tamen rectique cuſtos ſemper fidiſſimus:
Primæva morum ſimplicitate,
Inculpabili vitæ tenore,
Propenſa in calamitoſos benignitate,
Diffuſa in univerſos benevolentia,
Studio in amicos perpetuo ac ſingulari,
Inter deterioris ſæculi tenebras emicuit,
Purioris Ævi lumina æquavit.
Tam acri rerum cœleſtium deſiderio flagrabat,
Ut his ſolis inhians, harum unice avarus,
Terrenas omnes neglexerit, ſpreverit, conculcarit.
Eo erat erga Deum pietatis ardore,
Ut illum totus adamaverit, ſpiraverit,
Illum ubique præſentem,
Illum ſemper intuentem,
Animo ſuo ac ipſis fere oculis obſervaverit.
Publicas haſce virtutes domeſticis uberrime cumulavit,
Maritus & Pater amantiſſimus;
Et a conjuge liberiſque impenſe dilectus,' &c.

[T] *And publiſhed ſeveral occaſional ſermons; beſides which, Five new Volumes of his ſermons have been printed ſince his deceaſe.*] His Sermons are comprized in *Seven* Volumes. The Iſt Volume is a collection of ſuch Sermons as his Grace had printed upon ſeveral occaſions before the year 1698, being fifteen in number. The IId Volume was publiſhed by his Bookſeller after his death, and takes in the Remainder of his Sermons which were printed in his life-time; and his *Two Diſcourſes upon Conſcience*, which were formerly publiſhed without a name, and make part of the Collection of the *London Caſes*. Theſe two Volumes contain all that he himſelf had ſuffered at any time to go abroad into the world.——In 1716, his executors publiſhed two Volumes more, conſiſting of Sermons never before printed. Of theſe, Vol. III. contains ſixteen Caſuiſtical Sermons preached on ſeveral occaſions. And Vol. IV. eighteen ſermons preached on ſeveral occaſions.——In 1734, the Vth Volume was publiſhed, being Eight Diſcourſes on ſeveral Subjects; with Four Sermons on the Imitation of Chriſt. The ſame year, came out the VIth Volume, being Nineteen Sermons on ſeveral Subjects. The VIIth and laſt Volume was printed in 1735, Containing his Grace's Sermons againſt Popery: preached in the reign of King James II. and other Papers wrote in the Popiſh Controverſy.——'So true and lively 'a ſpirit of Religion runs through all thoſe Diſcourſes, 'that they ſeem to be as much the dictates of the 'Author's practice as of his underſtanding. And 'they will be ever admired, as the ſtandard of good 'Preaching, ſo long as the Engliſh Tongue and the 'Proteſtant Religion remain in any degree of purity 'and perfection (21).'

(21) Ibid.

whom he was collated March 14, 1684, to the Prebend of Bromesbury in the church of St Paul (*f*). July 9, 1685, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity, having taken no degree before (*g*). He bore his part in the Popish Controversy, during King James the Second's reign [*C*]. And published twelve Sermons, preached upon several occasions, between the years 1673 and 1692 [*D*]. Being grown very eminent for his piety, learning, and most improving way of preaching, he was presented by the Crown to the then very considerable living of St Giles's in the Fields (*h*); and had institution thereto August 7, 1691 (*i*). We are told, that he also was offered, and refused, first the Bishopric of Chester, because he could not take the oath of homage, and afterwards another Bishopric, as also the Deanry of Worcester, and a Prebend of Windsor (*k*) [*E*]. At length, through too close an application to his studies and the duties of his function, falling into a bad state of health, he dyed March the 10th. 1694-5, leaving behind him the character of a good and learned man, an excellent preacher, and one who had done infinite service to the world by his preaching and writings. The 15th of the said month, he was buried in the Rector's vault under part of his church of St Giles's (*l*). Besides his other works already mentioned, he wrote some of the *Cases* to recover Dissenters to the Communion of the Church of England [*F*]: and a Preface to Mr John March's Sermons

(*f*) Newcourt, Vol. I. p. 119.

(*g*) Wood, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 227.

(*h*) Vacant by the promotion of Dr John Sharp to the Archbishopric of York.

(*i*) Newcourt, as above, p. 613.

(*k*) Some Discourses upon Dr Burnet and Dr Tillotson, supposed to be written by Dr Hickes. A marginal note in the Preface. That Preface is not paged.

(*l*) Wood, as above, col. 922.

which is essentially and immutably such, and of perpetual obligation. That Moral Good is the main of Religion. Of the causes and folly of Atheism. Of divine Providence, and a Future State Of the necessity of having right Apprehensions of God, &c.——He published, in 1686, Vol. second of this IId Part; 'Wherein that Fundamental Principle of Christian 'Duty, the Doctrine of our Saviour's Mediation, is 'explained and proved.' Wherein he also treats of the Nature of Christ's Kingdom, and of its Ministers; and of Christ's regal acts; and concludes with proving That Jesus Christ is this Mediator, of whom he had been treating.——Some materials he had prepared for a continuation and completion of this most useful work, which Sickness hindered him from accomplishing. But what was found among his papers, upon that subject, came out in the following order.—'The 'Christian Life, Part III. wherein the Great Duties 'of *Justice*, *Mercy*, and *Mortification* are fully ex- 'plained and inforced.' Published in 1697, by J. Gale.——And Part IV, or Vol. V. and last, by Humphrey Zouch, in 1699, 8vo. containing four Discourses; viz. The Worth and Excellency of the Soul: The Divinity nnd Incarnation of our Saviour: The Authority of the Holy Scripture: A Dissuasive from Apostacy."—Mr J. Gale, in his dedication of the IIId Part, informs us, that it was 'the Author's 'design to proceed to a particular explication of the 'several respective Duties which Men are obliged to 'render to *God*, their *Neighbours*, and *Themselves*; 'and for a conclusion of all he proposed a distinct 'Treatise of *Ecclesiastical Duties*.'——One favorite, and indeed very just, Notion he hath in this work; which is, 'That the *main* of Heaven consists not so 'much in any *outward* possession, as in an *inward* 'state and *temper* (3).'—So that, 'should not God by 'an immediate Vengeance precipitate wicked Souls 'into hell, yet their own Wickedness, by the mighty 'weight of its own nature, would inevitably press and 'sink them down into that miserable condition. What 'egregious nonsense therefore is it, for wicked men to 'talk of going to heaven? Alas! poor creatures what 'would you do there? There are no wanton *Amours* 'among those heavenly Lovers; no rivers of *Wine* 'among their rivers of pleasure to gratifie your un- 'bounded sensuality; no *parasites* to flatter your lofty '*Pride*; no *miseries* to feed your meagre *Envy*; no 'mischiefs to tickle your devillish *Revenge*; nothing 'but *chaste* and *divine*, *pure* and *spiritual* Enjoyments, 'such as your *brutish* and *devilish* Appetites will eter- 'nally *loath* and *nauseate*. Wherefore if we mean to 'go to heaven, and to be happy there, we must now 'endeavour to *dispose* and *attemper* our minds to it; 'which is no other way to be done, but by leading a 'heavenly Life and Conversation. (4)'—The *Christian Life* hath been printed several times in 8vo. and once in folio.

(3) Christian Life, Part I. edit. 1690. 8vo. p. 21.

(4) In the same Part, p. 190.

[*C*] *He bore his part in the Popish controversy during King James the Second's reign.*] At that time, he wrote,—'Examination of *Bellarmine*'s eighth Note, 'concerning *Sanctity of Doctrine*.'——And, 'The 'Texts examined, which Papists cite out of the Bible 'concerning *Prayer in an unknown Tongue*.' They were printed in October 1688, 4to (5).

(5) Wood Ath. col. 922.

[*D*] *And published twelve Sermons, preached upon several occasions.*] They were published in the following order. 1. Sermon preached before the Military Company at St Clement's Danes, 25 July 1673. on *Ephes.* vi. 11. Lond. 1674, 4to. 2 Sermon before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen at Guildhall-chapel on the 5th of Nov. 1673. on *Luke* ix. 56. Lond. 1674. 4to. 3. Sermon preached before the Artillery Company of London 15 Septemb. 1680. at St Mary-le-Bow. Lond. 1680. 4to. 4. Sermon preached at the funeral of Dr Will. Crown 23 Oct. 1684. in St Mildred's church in the Poultry, on *Matth.* xxv. 46. Lond. 1685. 4to. This Dr Crown was a very learned Physician, author of the excellent Observations *de Ovo*, and of the Theory of Muscular Motion (6). 5. Sermon before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen at Guildhall-chapel 16 Dec. 1684. on *Prov.* xxiv. 21. Lond. 1685. 4to. 6. Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London at St Mary le Bow 26 July 1685, being the day of public Thanksgiving for his Majesty's late Victory over the Rebels, on 2 *Sam.* xviii. 28. Lond. 1685. 4to. 7. Sermon preached at the Assizes at Chelmsford in Essex 31 Aug. 1685, before Sir Thomas Street, Knt. one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, on *Rom.* xiii. 1. Lond. 1685. 4to. 8. Sermon before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of London, at the church of St Mary-le Bow, 2 Septemb. 1686, being the anniversary Fast for the dreadful Fire in the year 1666, on *John* v. 14. Lond, 1686. 4to. 9. Sermon preached at the Funeral of Sir John Buckworth in the Parish church of St Peter's le Poor in Broad-street 29 Dec. 1687. on *Eccles.* xi. 8. Lond. 1688. 4to. 10. Sermon preached at the funeral of Sir John Chapman late Lord Mayor of London, at St Lawrence's church, 27 March 1689, on *Eccles.* viii. 1. Lond. 1689, 4to. 11. Sermon preached at Fulham 13 Oct. 1689, at the consecration of Edward Bishop of Worcester, Symon Bishop of Chichester, and Gilbert Bishop of Bristol, on *Jer.* iii. 15. Lond. 1689. 4to. 12. Sermon preached before the Queen 22 May 1692, upon occasion of the late Victory obtained by their Majesties Fleet over the French, on *Psalm* l. 14. Lond. 1692. 4to.

(6) Published in the Philosophical Transactions, and in Mr R. Hook's Philosophical Collections, No. 2.

[*E*] *And a Prebend of Windsor.*] Ant. Wood is therefore mistaken, when he says, that Dr Scott 'became Canon of Windsor in the place of Dr John 'Fitz-Williams a Nonjuror in April 1691 (7).' For it was John Hartcliffe who obtained that Prebend, upon the deprivation of John Fitz-Williams (8). The editor of the second volume of our author's Practical Discourses, informs us, that the Earl of Nottingham 'procured for him a little Recess from the Toil and 'Labours of his weighty Employment (9).' But doth not say how.

(7) Ath. Vol. II. col. 921.

(8) See Le Neve's Fasti, &c. p. 387.

(9) Dedication to that Volume, p. 2.

[*F*] *He wrote some of the Cases to recover Dissenters to the Communion of the Church of England.*] Namely, 'Certain Cases of Conscience resolved, concerning the 'Lawfulness of joining with Forms of Prayer in pub- 'lic Worship.' Part I. Lond. 1683. in seven sheets and a half in 4to The second Part was printed the same year in eight sheets 4to and both inserted in the second volume of, *A Collection of Cases and other Discourses lately written to recover Dissenters to the Communion*

SHEFFIELD [JOHN], Duke of Buckinghamſhire, a nobleman of diſtinguiſhed abilities both natural and acquired, was born in 1649 (*a*). After the death of his father, Edmund Earl of Mulgrave, which happened in 1658, the care of educating his ſon, then nine years of age (*b*), was committed to a governor. In the then diſtracted ſtate of the publick affairs at home, that gentleman travelled into France with his pupil, who was ſo little ſatisfied with his tutor's conduct, as to diſmiſs him in a few years [*A*]; when the young Earl, finding himſelf deficient in ſeveral branches of learning, took up a noble reſolution to ſupply that defect by his own induſtry [*B*]. And the ſequel of theſe memoirs will in ſome meaſure ſhew, to what a degree of perfection he finiſhed his deſign. However, intent as he was to compleat that taſk, his ardent thirſt after military glory drew him early into action. In 1666, at the age of ſeventeen (*c*), he went a volunteer in the firſt Dutch war to ſea [*C*]. A conduct ſo devoted to the ſervice of his country, procured him the command of one of thoſe independent troops of horſe, which were raiſed the following year, to defend our coaſts from the inſults of that enemy. He remained in his quarters at Dover 'till the concluſion of the peace (*d*), when thoſe troops were diſbanded. Soon after which, at the next meeting of the Parliament in October, though ſo much under the age prefixed for voting in the Houſe of Peers, he received a writ to ſit there; which being rejected by the Houſe on that account, he acquieſced not unwillingly, the heat of youth then inclining him more to the affairs of love and gallantry, which, by his own confeſſion (*e*), he engaged in with too much eagerneſs, and even without interruption. However, he did not ſuffer his pleaſures to depreſs or ſink his genius, though he employed his Muſe to heighten their reliſh [*D*], which in that view was far from being ſtrictly chaſte (*f*). Theſe merits ſet him in high favour at Court; by which means he was very ſerviceable in procuring the Laureat's place, in 1668, for Mr Dryden [*E*], whom, as a brother poet, he

(*a*) In the Peerage of England. It is printed in 1646 the laſt figure being inverted by an error of the preſs.

(*b*) Character of the Duke of Buckt, p. 323. in the ſecond volume of his Works, edit. 1740.

(*c*) Memoirs of himſelf, p. 4. in Vol. II. of his Works, in 2 vols 4to. 1723.

(*d*) The ratifications were exchanged Aug. 14. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. p. 139.

(*e*) Memoirs, ubi ſupra, p. 8.

(*f*) His Ode on Love ſeems to be wrote in this interval.

[*A*] *His Governor behaved in ſuch a manner as to be diſmiſſed.*] We are told, that upon their arrival in France, the Governor, with great earneſtneſs, cautioned his ward againſt kneeling, whenever he met the hoſt in proceſſion, exhorting him to avoid that compliance with the cuſtom of the country, as an act of idolatry; that our young nobleman liſtened with attention to the charge, reſolving to obſerve it. It was not long before they met ſuch a proceſſion, which happening to be in the duſk of the evening at the corner of a ſtreet, to avoid kneeling, he made his utmoſt efforts to ſlip into a ſhop, ſo ſuddenly, as to ſtumble over his governor, who had fallen on his knees, the moment that the Hoſt appeared. It would be idle to look any further for the cauſe of his loſing all his governing authority. However, it is probable the pupil's uncommon ſhare of good ſenſe, would have prevailed ſo far, as to retain him for the advantage of his literary inſtructions, if he had not found him very faultily remiſs in that part of his charge likewiſe (1).

(1) Character of the Duke of Bucks, p. 324. in his Works, Vol. II. edit. 1742, 8vo.

[*B*] *He ſupplied that defect by his own induſtry.*] This was a rare inſtance of a manly ſtrength of mind, and noble diſpoſition, at his years, and with the additional lure of an ample fortune. It is ſaid, he kept his tutor only two or three years (2); if ſo, he could not be above twelve years of age, when he took this reſolution. 'Tis true, his rank and fortune gave him the advantage of converſing with the firſt geniuſes of the age, which muſt ſet his own deficiency in literature in full glare before his eyes; and to this his reſolution is aſcribed. He could not but feel himſelf not their inferior in natural wit, and his ſpirit would not ſuffer him to be their inferior in acquired learning. It muſt not ſtill be denied, that he had the further allurement of heightening his pleaſures, by that reſult of his undertaking; and, both from the general diſſolute turn of the wits at that time, and from the uſe our wit made of it afterwards, it is evident that this motive had no ſmall ſhare in determining him to ſhut himſelf up, as we are told he did, for ſeveral hours every day, not only from his acquaintance, but from his pleaſures too.

(2) Id. ibid.

[*C*] *He went a volunteer in the firſt Dutch war to ſea.*] He informs us himſelf, that he was particularly incited to take this courſe, by hearing the Earl of Oſſory every where commended for being a volunteer in a hot engagement at ſea (3). Beſides the general ſpur of glory, that Earl was his relation (4), and perhaps the moſt deſerving young nobleman of the age. Fired by this example, he went directly on board that ſhip, which Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle jointly commanded in the fleet againſt the Dutch; and as a ſtorm prevented our volunteer from ſeeing any action, he entertains us with the following ſtory of the Duke of Albemarle's behaviour. After ſetting up the bloody flag, Mr Henry Saville and himſelf being on the quarter-deck, ſpied the old man charging a very little piſtol, and put it into his pocket. It ſeems, he had often ſaid he would anſwer for nothing, but that they ſhould never be carried into Holland. This being remembered, our two volunteers preſently imagined, he had made a reſolution to go down into the powder-room, and blow up the ſhip, in caſe at any time it ſhould be in danger of being taken. In this opinion, they both in a laughing way moſt mutinouſly reſolved to throw him over board, in caſe they ſhould ever catch him going down to the powder-room (5). Our author regretted his own diſappointment in the ſeparation of the fleets, which hindering any engagement, he complains very gallantly, that he loſt ſix weeks time at ſea, at an age when it might be a great deal more pleaſantly ſpent. He calls this the laſt year of the Dutch war (6), becauſe a treaty of peace was agreed upon before the expiration of it, and the two fleets never engaged afterwards, though the Dutch burnt ſome of our beſt ſhips at Chatham, in June 1667, and were driven in July from a ſecond attempt by Sir Edward Sprag (7).

(3) Memoirs, p. 4.

(4) See his Pedigree, in his Works, p. 342.

(5) Memoirs, p. 6.

(6) Ibid. p. 7.

(7) General Hiſtories of England.

[*D*] *He employed his Muſe to heighten the reliſh of his pleaſures.*] Several of his poetical pieces were written in this interval, between the firſt and ſecond Dutch wars, as may be gathered from the following quotation from Tully, applied with proper alterations to his Lordſhip by Mr Dryden, in the dedication to his tragedy of Aurengzebe, written in 1676. *De iiſdem rebus autem ſæpenumero* Brute *vereor, ne reprehendar, cum hæc ad te ſcribam, qui tum in Poëſi tum in optimo genere Poëſeos tantum profeceris; nec ut ea cognoſcas quæ tibi notiſſima ſunt ad te mitto, ſed quia te habeo æquiſſimum eorum ſtudiorum quæ mihi tibi communia ſunt, æſtimatorem & judicem.*

[*E*] *He was very ſerviceable in procuring the Laureat's place for Mr Dryden.*] This Laureat had probably been among thoſe early acquaintance of wits, who had fired the Earl's emulation, beforementioned. We find the former, in 1676, mentioning his friendſhip with the latter, in terms which import it was then of a long ſtanding. 'After which,' continues Dryden, in acknowledging his favour for the Laureat's place, 'I am ſure you will more eaſily permit me to be ſilent 'in the care you have taken of my fortune, which 'you have reſcued, not only from the power of others, 'but from my worſt of enemies, my own modeſty and 'lazineſs (8).' It ought to be remembered, to the Earl's honour, that he kept his friendſhip to the laſt; and the words which the Laureat here puts into the mouth of King Charles, as juſtly ſpoken of the Earl,

(8) Dedication of Aurengzebe.

Ille meos primus qui me ſibi junxit amores
Abſtulit. Ille habeat ſecum ſervetque ſepulchro.

he had taken into his particular friendſhip. In this interval, too nice a ſenſibility in the point of honour, engaged him in a very ſingular quarrel with Wilmot the witty Earl of Rocheſter [F]. At the breaking out of the ſecond Dutch war, in 1672, he went again to ſea, a volunteer under the Duke of York [G], and behaved ſo gallantly [H], at the famous battle of Solebay, that immediately upon his return to London, the King gave him the command of the Royal Katharine [I], the beſt ſecond rate ſhip then in the Navy, a favour

the praiſe of which, he declares, there needed no inſpiration to foreſee how well his Lordſhip would deſerve, may be juſtly put into his Lordſhip's mouth with regard to the Laureat himſelf; for whom he teſtified his entire reſpect, by erecting a handſome monument in Weſtminſter-abbey, at his own expence, in memory of this friend, not long before his own death.

[F] *He had a quarrel with Wilmot Earl of Rocheſter.*] Being informed that the Earl of Rocheſter had ſaid ſomething maliciouſly of him, he immediately ſent a mettled friend of his, Colonel Aſton, with a challenge. Wilmot denied the words; and though our challenger was ſoon convinced his ſuſpicion was falſe, yet he fooliſhly thought the meer report obliged him to go on with the quarrel. Since it could not be avoided, Wilmot choſe to fight on horſeback, and accordingly met our heroe next morning at the place appointed; but inſtead of one Mr Porter, whom he aſſured Aſton he would make his ſecond, he brought an errant life-guard-man, whom no body knew. Mr Aſton taking exception to this, eſpecially on account of his being ſo much better mounted than they, they all agreed to fight on foot. 'But, continues our 'author, as Lord Rocheſter and I were riding into the 'next field, in order to it, he told me, that he had at 'firſt choſen to fight on horſeback, becauſe he was ſo 'weak with a certain diſtemper, that he found himſelf 'unfit to fight at all, much leſs on foot.' At this, which was deemed a plain confeſſing himſelf a coward, his antagoniſt, whoſe anger was appeaſed by the diſcovery of the falſeneſs of the charge which had kindled it, puſhed him upon the conſideration of the neceſſity there would be, in caſe they ſhould not fight, of clearing his own character, by telling the truth of the matter. Wilmot ſubmitted to the condition, hoping his challenger would not deſire the advantage of having to do with any man in ſo weak a condition. 'I re-'plied, continues our author, that by ſuch an argu-'ment he had ſufficiently tied my hands, upon con-'dition I might call our ſeconds to be witneſs of the 'whole buſineſs; which he conſented to, and ſo we 'parted.' Mr Aſton, on their return to London, wrote down every word and circumſtance of the whole that had paſſed, and diſperſed it abroad; which being never in the leaſt either contradicted or reſented by Lord Rocheſter, entirely ruined his reputation as to courage *. So ſays our author; and the ſeveral challenges which were ſent to that Lord afterwards, together with his behaviour on thoſe occaſions, are a full proof of the truth of the fact in general. However, it cannot eſcape the reader's notice, that the Earl of Mulgrave condemns himſelf, at leaſt equally with his antagoniſt, in this affair in particular (9).

* Our author obſerves, he had a very good reputation for courage before.

(9) Memoirs, p. 8, 9, 10.

[G] *A volunteer under the Duke of York.*] The Earl never omitted an opportunity of ſhewing his regard to the Duke of York, and takes particular ſatisfaction in mentioning that Duke's kindneſs to him; yet he confeſſes, he went not now with half ſo good a will as before, his heart being engaged violently at this time, ſo that he could never forget the tenderneſs of the parting from his love (10). This laſt expreſſion ſhews it was at this time that he wrote his *Letter from Sea* †, which concludes thus:

(10) Ibid. p. 12.

† In the firſt volume of his Works.

Remember all thoſe vows between us paſt,
When I from all I value parted laſt;
May you alike with kind impatience burn,
And ſomething miſs 'till I with joy return.
And ſoon may pitying heaven that bleſſing give,
As in the hopes of that alone I live.

After reading theſe lines, we ſhall eaſily believe him, when he tells us, he made all the haſte imaginable to return to London, for reaſons not hard to gueſs (11).

(11) Ibid. p. 17.

[H] *He behaved gallantly.*] It is entertaining enough to obſerve the ſeveral paſſages in his memoirs, where this behaviour is inſinuated. Firſt, he acquaints us with his accepting Lord Oſſory's invitation to be aboard his ſhip, and afterwards, ſays he, 'I found I 'could not have been any where elſe ſo well, on ſeve-'ral accounts, ſince no man ever did more bravely 'than he on all occaſions (12).' Thus animated by the example of both a kinſman and a friend, he ſuggeſts the effect it had, as follows. After taking notice, that, upon retiring from the fight, the whole French ſquadron failed cloſe by the Lord Oſſory's ſhip, 'I well remember, ſays he, there did not appear ſo 'many ſhot in them all, as in his Lordſhip's ſingle 'ſhip, whoſe condition therefore was judged too bad 'to keep the ſea any longer (13).' Here he is only included among the ſhip's company, but what follows relates to his own particular ſhare of the work. 'I 'found then by experience how much there is of cu-'ſtom in the matter of courage, which makes old 'troops ſo formidable; for in the morning, when the 'enemy's ſhot came on board of us, I thought it 'impoſſible to eſcape, without loſing a limb at leaſt, 'and was accordingly pretty uneaſy; but about the 'afternoon, when the broad-ſides came only one way, 'though without interruption, I began to grow a little 'leſs ſenſible of the danger, which yet I was very glad 'to ſee ended at night. By that time I was very ſuf-'ficiently tired, but had much ado to ſleep, by reaſon 'of the noiſe ſtill ſounding in my ears, which remained 'ſo for ſome hours, juſt as if the ſhooting had ſtill 'continued.' This laſt period is very expreſs, but yet in ſuch terms, as put not the exacteſt modeſty to the bluſh. The image of the noiſe ſtill ſounding in his ears, unavoidably calls to our minds the contraſt to it, in the much admired lines of the eighth book of Milton's Paradiſe Loſt.

(12) Ibid. p. 12, 13.

(13) Ibid. p. 16.

The Angel ended, and in Adam's ear
So charming left his voice, that he a while
Thought him ſtill ſpeaking, ſtill ſtood fixt to hear.

We ſhall here take notice of a miſtake in Milton's Life prefixed to his proſe works, where the author tells us, that the Duke of Bucks, in his *Eſſay on Poetry*, prefers both Taſſo and Spenſer to Milton (14). The lines referred to are in the concluſion of that Eſſay, where, in deſcribing the arduous taſk of writing an heroic poem, he obſerves, the Muſe who makes ſuch an attempt,

(14) Life of Milton, p. liv. edit. 1753, 4to.

Muſt above Taſſo's lofty flights prevail,
Succeed where Spenſer and ev'n Milton fail.

Where this laſt is diſtinguiſhly preferred to both the former, contrary to what the abovementioned author remarks.

[I] *He had the command of the Royal Katharine.*] The Earl we find was not wanting to himſelf in the point of his promotion in the Navy. On the contrary, he tells us, 'That he had made a requeſt to that purpoſe, before the engagement at Solebay, to the Duke of York, and that he thought it a little hard to be denied. His requeſt was, that if in the next engagement, his Highneſs perceived any ſhip to fail of doing it's duty, by reaſon of the Captain's being killed, which was but too uſual, he would then ſend the Earl an order to go on board, and command her immediately; whereby, continues he, inſtead of being an inſignificant Captain-volunteer, I might have an opportunity of doing the fleet ſome ſervice, and gaining ſome honour.' However, he does not forget to turn this denial into a theme of ſounding the Duke of York's praiſes, obſerving, that though the Duke knew the fact, he had mentioned, well, and allowed the reaſon of his requeſt, as the only way of making the volunteers uſeful, yet he counted it too great an alteration of the ſettled orders, which gave the Lieutenant, in ſuch a caſe, that command his Captain before had, though ſeldom found to make a good uſe of it (15). He informs us afterwards, 'That during the engagement of Solebay, the Royal Katharine was once taken by the Dutch,

(15) Memoirs, p. 13.

favour which was in the higheſt degree acceptable to him [K]. But, notwithſtanding that, we find him, though at ſea, the enſuing year, yet acting in the poſt, and with the commiſſion, of a Colonel, having himſelf raiſed a regiment of foot to ſerve in the land forces, ſent (with the fleet) under the command of Monſieur de Schomberg, with whom he now lived in a good degree of familiarity and friendſhip (g). Theſe forces being ſet on ſhore in the ſummer, by the command of the Admiral, Prince Rupert [L]; while they lay encamped there, our Colonel, to the great mortification of [Schomberg] his General, was favoured by his Majeſty with the promiſe of a blue ribband, and, upon his arrival at Court, was appointed Colonel of the old Holland regiment, joined to that of his own raiſing. By this means, he continued in commiſſion after the peace, which was concluded before the expiration of the year (h), when all the other new Colonels were diſbanded (i). Soon after his inſtalment into the order of the Garter, May the 29th, 1674, he was made Gentleman of the Bedchamber to his Majeſty; but being ſtill deſirous to exerciſe and improve his military character, notwithſtanding nature had formed him particularly for ſhining in a Court, he went into the French ſervice, having obtained leave of King Charles to make a campaign under the celebrated Marſhal de Turenne (k). About this time, he had ſome expectations of having the firſt regiment of foot-guards; he depended upon the joint intereſt of the two Dukes of York and Monmouth [M], but was

(g) Memoirs of King Charles II. p. 7 and 14. This General had been invited into England the year before. Ibid. p. 5.

(h) It was ſigned Feb. 9, and proclaimed 28, 1673-4. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. p. 149.

(i) Memoirs of King Charles II. p. 15.

(k) The Marſhal died ſhortly after in 1675. See Rapin's Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 678. col. 1.

Dutch, who had ſent her Captain and moſt of her men on board other ſhips, a few only remaining there, whom they ſtowed under the hatches, with a guard over them: but the boatſwain happening to be among theſe, with his whiſtle encouraged the reſt to knock down all the centinels firſt, and then to fall on the Dutch above deck, by which briſk action they redeemed that conſiderable ſhip. The reader would ſcarce gueſs what ſort of man he really was. His name was Small, whom, continues his Lordſhip, I had an opportunity of knowing well afterwards, when I had the command of the ſhip. He was a nonconformiſt, always ſober, meek, and quiet, even too mild for that buſtling ſort of employment, and very often gave me an image of thoſe enthuſiaſtic people, who did ſuch brave things in our late civil war. For he ſeemed rather a ſhepherd than a ſoldier, and was a kind of heroe in the ſhape of a ſaint (16).'

(16) Ibid. p. 14, 15.

[K] *Was very acceptable to him.*] The writer of his character tells us he owed this ſtep to the Duke of York (17). The Earl himſelf takes no notice of that favour, (which ſure he would have ſcarce omitted if it were ſo) but attributes it wholly to my Lord Oſſory, whoſe kind and partial letters had arrived at Court before him, when the King making ſome particular compliments, offered him his choice of commanding either the Henry or the Royal Katharine, he choſe the latter, and declares he was extremely pleaſed with the command of a royal ſhip, better in all reſpects than my Lord Oſſory's, and, continues *he*, of a rate above what I could have expected; for even he who was ſo much more conſiderable on all accounts, had only a third rate ſhip granted him at firſt; whereas the Katharine was then the beſt of all the ſecond rates (18).

(17) P. 325. Where the ſame author tells us, the Duke often ſaid, he was never ſo much delighted by any favour afterwards received from the Court, as he was at that early mark of diſtinction.

(18) Memoirs, p. 17, 18.

[L] *By order of Prince Rupert*] The whole forces both ſea and land were commanded in chief by that Prince with the title of Generaliſſimo. We have the following account of the quarrel betwixt the land and ſea commanders, which occaſioned this order of the latter, whereby the land forces lay idle at Yarmouth, without doing any thing the whole ſummer. It ſeems Monſieur Schomberg, by the advice of our volunteer, and the conſent of the Captain of the ſhip where he was, had hung up in the ſhrouds one of the colours of our Colonel's regiment, as a ſignal for the land officers to know the ſhip where their General was, chuſing this as more proper for him than any of thoſe which belonged to the ſea. But it had not been ſet up half an hour, when ſitting with the Colonel on the quarter-deck, a bullet was heard whizzing over their heads, which was preſently followed by another. Upon this they began to think cannon bullets that came ſo near a little worth the minding and were ſurprized to perceive they came from the Admiral. All agreeing this was done to expreſs his diſlike of the ſignal, Clement, Captain of the ſhip, was diſpatched to explain the reaſon of it. The prince had ſent his Lieutenant Whitley with his poſitive command to pull down the flag. But he arriving on board the Greyhound juſt after Captain Clement had left it, Whitley was deſired to return with this anſwer, that if his Highneſs continued in the ſame mind, after hearing the occaſion from Clement, the flag ſhould be taken down immediately. The Prince ſeeing Whitley's boat come from the Greyhound, and *the flag not taken down, and Captain Clement juſt arrived on board him, in great anger ordered him to be clapt into the bilboes, without ſo much as hearing* either him or his meſſage, and *commanded the* gunner to ſink the Greyhound immediately, if the flag was not taken down. In this extremity, the volunteers of quality * on board the Prince having aſked leave, were connived at by him in going to the Greyhound, where they found it eaſy to perſuade them to pull down their flag, rather than be ſunk; but all together were not able to pacify the General, who interpreted all this proceeding to come from an old pique in Prince Rupert, who he ſaid was otherwiſe too well bred to uſe an old acquaintance and a foreigner in ſuch a brutal manner, as he called it (19).

* *Among theſe* volunteers was the Earl of Carliſle, a Privy-Counſellor, and a great friend of the Prince's.

(19) Memoirs of Charles II. p. 25 to 28. in the ſecond vol. of our author's Works, edit. 1740.

[M] *Joint intereſt of the Dukes of York and Monmouth.*] The ſcheme was, to perſuade the King to buy Ruſſel the Colonel out of it, for this purpoſe, having before prevailed with Lord Craven, who commanded the ſecond regiment to let our Earl come over his head. But all was quaſhed by the Earl's unluckily diſcovering, in the interim, ſome amour of the Duke of Monmouth, who by way of revenge privately obtained a promiſe of the King to have that command himſelf, and that his own ſhould be given to the Earl of Oſſory. Accordingly upon the Duke of York's application for the Earl of Mulgrave to his Majeſty, he told his brother he had already promiſed it to the Duke of Monmouth. Our author having his pretenſions thus blown up by the fly management of that Duke, his pretended friend, ſcrupled not to return him the like good office by undermining him with the Duke of York; to whom he repreſented, that as the Duke of Monmouth's own command of the horſe life-guards was better than Colonel Ruſſel's regiment of foot both for honour and profit, he would hardly change it thus without ſome ill deſign, to which twenty-four companies of foot might be more uſeful than a ſingle troop of horſe; that diſappointing of the Earl of Mulgrave was not his only aim, ſince he might have had that ſatisfaction entirely by getting the Earl of Oſſory into that regiment. In fine, when no other method would do to ſatisfy his revenge in keeping the Duke of Monmouth out of this regiment, the Duke of York by his advice perſuaded Colonel Ruſſel not to ſell †.

† As Ruſſel was covetous, this was effected probably by the charm of money.

Our author makes it a great merit in him to have given occaſion to the animoſity between theſe two Princes, and infuſing a jealouſy of his nephew aſpiring to the crown into the Duke of York, which he thinks probable might be the ground of his aiming to get this regiment of guards, which, ſays he, conſiſting of 2400 men was a great part of our little army, and was always kept together and quartered in London, when the other few regiments were ſeparated into all the garriſons of England. This he thinks appeared ſufficiently at the death of King Charles, when it had not been impoſſible for the Duke of Monmouth to ſucceed him, if he had then flouriſhed in court at the head of ſo conſiderable a regiment, which by our author's management he never got poſſeſſion of, being in diſfavour at the time of the Popiſh plot, when Ruſſel renewed his deſire to ſell, the King then giving that command to his other natural ſon the Duke of Grafton (20). How far, and in what manner, the Earl of Mulgrave carried

(20) Memoirs of Charles II. p. 33 to p. 39.

was disappointed by the latter; upon whose disgrace, however, in 1679, the Earl was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of the county of York, and Governor of Hull, in his room (*l*). The same year, he wrote his piece, intituled, *The Character of a Tory* [*N*]. And the next year, he gave a signal proof of his loyalty, in commanding the forces (*m*) ordered for the relief of Tangier; having voluntarily offered his service for that command, his honour would not suffer him to recede, notwithstanding he apprehended a design against his life [*O*], by the appointment of a ship to convey him, which the Captain often declared to be in a condition not able to endure the voyage. But he survived the danger [*P*], and returning

(*l*) He likewise kept the old Holland regiment, which made him easy. Memoirs, p. 28.

(*m*) A detachment of 2000 of our best troops. Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 180. It was besieged by the Moors. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 716. fol. edit.

carried his resentment to his Majesty on this disappointment, is represented in the dedication of Aurengzebe, where Mr Dryden takes notice of 'his Lordship's great and manly contempt of popular applause, and his retired virtue then shining only to a few, with whom, continues he, you live so easily and freely, that you make it evident you have a soul which is capable of all the tenderness of friendship, and that you only retire from those who are not capable of returning it. —— From this constancy to your friends, I might reasonably assume, that your resentments would be as strong and lasting, if they were not restrained by a nobler principle of good-nature and generosity; for certainly it is the same composition of mind, the same resolution and courage, which makes the greatest friendships and the greatest enmities *.'

* Mr Dryden is generally said to have lent a helping hand in this piece.

It was during this little ill humour that his Essay on Satire was written, in which he has inserted the following remarkable lines.

Nor should the royal mistresses be nam'd,
Too ugly or too easy to be blam'd,
With whom each rhyming fool keeps such a pother,
They are as common that way as the other.
While sauntring Charles betwixt so mean a brace,
Meets with dissembling still in either place,
Affected humour or a painted face.
In loyal libels we have often told him,
How one has justled him, the other sold him.
How that affects to laugh, and this to weep,
But who so long can rail as he can keep?
Was ever Prince by two at once misled,
Foolish and false, ill-natur'd and ill bred.

[*N*] *The character of a Tory.*] The whole title is, *The character of a Tory, in answer to that of a Trimmer*, written at the same time, but never printed. This piece presents us with a full and distinct view of his Lordship's state-principles. We see here how little credit he gave to the Popish-plot, which he expressly calls a pretended one. He appears in defence of a standing-army, and even of the King's dispensing power; yet he is not so absurd as to vindicate an absolute passive obedience, or a slavish non-resistance; but asserts the legality of resisting, when the public welfare risques less in attempting the change, than it suffers from the abuse of the sovereign power. Upon the whole I suppose it will not be denied, that if he had the worst side of the argument, yet he supports it with a much genteeler spirit than his adversary can pretend to, whose affected quaintness and incessantly flashing witty conceits are turned against himself, being first set to a much finer and more delicate edge. We shall give one instance. 'Another fallacy, says he, is endeavoured to 'be put upon us, by shewing the great limitation a 'King lies under, and the extraordinary lessening of 'his authority, when once he engages for one part of 'his people towards the destruction of another, which 'our Trimmer calls sinking from a great monarch into 'the head of a faction, and therefore he is extremely 'troubled for such a diminution of his prince's power. 'Now I confess this appears to me, just as if a highway-'man overtaken by a hue and cry should stand at bay, 'and thus pretend to wheedle the pursuing constable. 'What! will you reverend magistrates (for it is time 'to give good words), who are intrusted by the nation 'with the public peace and tranquillity, and therefore 'are not only strengthened with ample power, but a-'dorned with staves of authority. What? will you 'be thus partial to these witnesses, to these shabby 'fellows who pretend to be robbed, as to follow us 'who never saw your faces before? This is making 'yourself the head of a pursuing rabble, who one day 'perhaps may be indited of a riot for so abusing us. '—— I need not apply the comparison because the 'thing speaks itself.' What follows not only gives us the best idea, and conveyed in the most easy and engaging image, not only of this, but in general of all party disputes whatever, in which 'tis manifest each man means chiefly if not solely himself, and the furthering of his own interest. 'Whereas, con-'tinues he, our Trimmer * blames people for so mono-'polizing a Prince's favour, that a poor Trimmer can 'get none of it, I confess 'tis true, but methinks not 'very strange. I allow his simile to hold good, that 'not only these gentlemen [the ministry] but any o-'ther men in the world, even Trimmers themselves, 'would engross the sunshine with the hazard of being 'burnt, in case there were not enough of it for every 'body. And for my part, though 'tis a great fault 'in mankind, I cannot but charitably forgive it, be-'cause I am one of that race myself, and bad is the 'best of us, Whig, Tory, and Trimmer (21).'

* Savile, afterwards Marquis, then Earl, of Halifax, was the author of The Trimmer, and the greatest tickler against the Exclusion-bill. See some account of him in Sherburne's article, remark [*D*].

(21) Character of a Tory, p. 65 to 67.

[*O*] *He apprehended a design against his life.*] We are told, that some of the Earl's enemies at court took an opportunity to put King Charles out of humour, by malicious stories of him, relating to some ladies in whom his Majesty was not unconcern'd. That by this and other contrivances all the good ships were otherwise employed, and that when his Lordship represented the unsafe condition of the ship appointed for him, both the Admiralty and the King assured him the ship was safe enough, and that no other could be got ready time enough for his expedition; so that the point being reduced to a struggle between his honour and his life, he preferred the former, and resolved, contrary to the advice of his friends, to venture his life; but at the same time advised several volunteers of distinction to wave the voyage, their honour not being equally concerned. That two days after they set sail, the ship leaked in so many places, that notwithstanding the carpenters on board, they owed their safety to the pumps all the remainder of the voyage, which by the advantage of very fine weather they finished in three weeks. That arriving at Tangier, they met Admiral Herbert, afterwards Earl of Torrington, who lifted his hands and eyes in amazement of their having performed such a voyage in a ship which he had sent home as unfit for service (22). While he was at sea, we find he wrote a poem called the *The Vision*, where though the tender passion is touch'd with his usual delicacy, yet 'tis cast in such a gloomy form as is not common to his Lordship's muse, and therefore may well be thought to be inspired by the sensibility of his present danger, very different from that to the same lady from sea already mentioned. The following lines, with which this piece concludes, are an exact specimen of the temper of the whole, and will both explain and evince the truth of our remark.

(22) Character of the Duke of Bucks, p. 326 to 328.

The Spirit then reply'd to all I said,
She may be kind, but not 'till thou art dead.
Bewail thy memory, bemoan thy fate,
Then she will love, when 'tis alas too late.
Of all thy pains she will no pity have,
'Till sad despair has sent thee to the grave (23)

(23) The second volume of his Works.

[*P*] *He returned with triumph.*] The Earl it seems obtained this success cheap enough, for the Moors retired at the first approach of the English army. However, as the enemy had been long very troublesome, and had occasioned great sums to be expended in fortifying the place (24), which was part of Queen Katharine's portion; our general examined the works, attended with proper officers and engineers, who all agreed the place could not be put into a good condition of defence without a vast charge, especially considering how much the Moors had been improved in cannon of late.

(24) The mole cost 500,000 *l.* Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 181.

He

returning from the expedition, crowned with ſucceſs, and his Majeſty, not long after, returned likewiſe to his uſual good-nature. This melting away all the Earl's reſentment [Q] and chagrin, immediately revived that hearty reſpect which had continually glowed in the breaſt of this ſubject, who remained ever after in high favour with that Prince (*n*), 'till by his death the Crown devolved upon the head of his brother. By this change, what had before been the Earl of Mulgrave's dutiful allegiance, became now his ardent affection. He had never known King Charles any other than his ſovereign, a circumſtance that naturally creates ſomewhat of a diſtant awe to the moſt gracious princes; but he had long before lived in a ſtate of familiar friendſhip [R] with the Duke of York, which therefore as naturally grew into the moſt affectionate attachment to King James the Second; upon whoſe acceſſion to the throne, he was immediately ſworn of the Privy-Council, and the 20th of October following, was appointed Lord-Chamberlain of the Houſhold. His ſincere zeal for his maſter carried him even ſo far, as to take a ſeat in the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion [S]. It was this perſonal regard likewiſe, that urged him to oppoſe all ſuch imprudent

(n) Character of the Duke, p. 9.

(25) See the Life of Admiral Leake, p. 54. edit. 1751. The Admiral's father was chief engineer on this occaſion.

He ſtaid a ſufficient time to be aſſured, there could be no other attempt made that year, after which he returned home with this account, and in 1683 Lord Dartmouth was ſent with a fleet to blow up all the works, and choak up the mole (25)

[Q] *All the Earl's reſentment.*] We have a remarkable inſtance to what a height he carried it during the paſſage to Tangier. Among the volunteers who had a deſign of accompanying him, ſome deſiſted by his perſuaſion, but others having ſpoken their intention to go with him, thought their honour concerned in keeping their word. Among theſe was the Earl of Plymouth, a natural ſon of King Charles (26), who 'tis ſaid likewiſe entered heartily into his General's cauſe. They had been a fortnight at ſea, when one of the company obſerving his Majeſty's health had never once been propoſed at the General's table, took the liberty of hinting it to him as an omiſſion occaſioned through forgetfulneſs, eſpecially conſidering a ſon of his Majeſty ſat there every day. The General anſwered he knew it very well, but muſt firſt get out of his rotten ſhip, before he could make that health go merrily round (27).

(26) Beſides him, the two Lords, Mordaunt and Lumley, went alſo volunteers. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under the year 1680.

(27) Character, p. 328. He returned in a ſtrong man of war, which was ordered by Admiral Herbert.

[R] *He had lived in great familiarity with the Duke of York.*] Both his memoirs and his account of the Revolution are ſo full of expreſſions of that kind, that one is apt even to think that the pleaſure of that part was the principal motive to the writing of them. But there is one paſſage more conſpicuous than the reſt, which is related by him as follows. In ſpeaking of the ſeveral cauſes which concurred with the Duke of Monmouth's ambition, he ſays, 'There was yet one 'thing more that much contributed to that young 'man's advancement, I mean the great friendſhip 'which the Duke of York had openly profeſſed to his 'wife, a Lady of wit and reputation, who had both 'the ambition of making her huſband conſiderable, 'and the addreſs to ſucceed in it by uſing her intereſt 'in ſo friendly an uncle, whoſe deſign I believe was 'only to convert her. Whether this familiarity of 'theirs was contrived or only connived at by the 'Duke of Monmouth himſelf, is hard to determine. 'But I well remember that after theſe princes had be'come declared enemies, the Duke of York told me 'with ſome emotion, as conceiving it a new mark of 'his nephew's inſolence, that he had forbidden his 'wife to receive any more viſits from him. To which 'I could not forbear frankly replying, That I, who 'was not uſed to excuſe him, yet could not hold from 'doing it in that caſe, wiſhing his Highneſs might 'have no juſter cauſe to complain of him (28).' We have already obſerved, that our author makes himſelf the cauſe of the breach between theſe two Dukes, which he tells us was of the higheſt importance to King James's ſafe ſucceſſion to the crown; this breach taking it's riſe from an intrigue of our Earl with one of the Duke of Monmouth's miſtreſſes (29).

(28) Memoirs of Charles II. p. 12. 4to. edition.

(29) Ibid. p. 14.

[S] *A ſeat in the Eccleſiaſtical commiſſion.*] As this was one of the illegal ſteps taken by his maſter, he was in ſome danger of ſmarting for it after the Revolution; in which juncture he had the good fortune to find a friend, where perhaps he leaſt expected it, in Dr Tillotſon, then Dean of Canterbury, who moſt generouſly interceding in his behalf, procured his pardon. In return for ſo noble an act of goodneſs, he thought himſelf obliged to write and print the following letter to that Dean.

'Sir,

'Nothing in this world is or ought to be ſo dear to 'to any man of honour as his reputation, and conſe'quently the defence of it is the greateſt obligation 'that one man can lay upon another. There are alſo 'ſome circumſtances that render this obligation more 'acceptable and valuable, as when it is conferred 'generouſly, without any ſelf-intereſt, or the leaſt deſire 'or invitation from the perſon ſo defended. All this 'happens to be my caſe at this time, and therefore I 'hope you will not be ſurprized to find, I am not the 'moſt ungrateful and inſenſible man living; which 'certainly I ſhould be, if I did not acknowledge all 'your induſtrious concern for me about the buſineſs of 'the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, which now makes ſo 'much noiſe in the world. You have, as I am told, 'ſo cordially pleaded my cauſe, that it is almoſt be'come your own. And therefore unwilling as I am 'to ſpeak of myſelf, eſpecially in a buſineſs which I 'cannot wholly excuſe; yet I think myſelf now a 'little obliged to ſhew, that my part in this matter, 'though imprudent enough, yet is not altogether un'worthy of ſo juſt, and ſo conſiderable an advocate.

'The leſs a man ſays for himſelf the better, and it 'is ſo well known already, with what great care I was 'ſometimes excluded from knowing the moſt impor'tant deſigns of the Court, that I need not juſtify 'myſelf or trouble you as to thoſe matters, only I ap'peal to the unqueſtionable teſtimony of the Spaniſh 'Ambaſſador, if I did not zealouſly and conſtantly 'take all occaſions to oppoſe the French intereſt, be'cauſe I knew it directly oppoſite both to the King's 'and kingdom's good, which are indeed things inſe'parable, and ought to be ſo accounted, as a funda'mental maxim in all councils of princes.

'This, I hope, will prepare the way a little for 'what I have to ſay concerning my being one of the 'Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, of which error I am 'now as ſenſible as I was at firſt ignorant, being ſo 'unhappily converſant in the midſt of a perpetual 'court flattery, as never to have heard the leaſt word 'of any illegality in that Commiſſion, before I was 'unfortunately engaged in it

'For though my Lord of Canterbury had very pru'dently refuſed to be of it, yet it was told us at court, 'by the King himſelf, that his refuſal proceeded only 'from his unwillingneſs to act at that time, and not 'from any illegality he ſuſpected in the Commiſſion, hav'ing excuſed himſelf from it in the moſt reſpectful way, 'only upon the account of his age, and the infirmities 'he lay under. Being thus ignorant of the laws, and 'in ſuch a ſtation at Court and Council, I need not de'ſire a man of your judgment and candour, to con'ſider the hardneſs of my caſe, when I was com'manded to ſerve in a commiſſion with a Lord Chan'cellor, a Lord Chief Juſtice, and two Biſhops, who 'had all of them acted ſome time already, without 'ſhewing the leaſt diffidence of their power, or any 'heſitation in the execution of it. And perhaps a 'man of more diſcretion than I can pretend to, might 'have been eaſily perſuaded to act in ſuch a conjunc'tion, and to think he might do it ſafely, both in law 'and conſcience; but I need not ſay much to ſhew 'my deſire of avoiding, if poſſible, a troubleſome 'commiſſion, that had not the leaſt temptation of 'honour or profit to recommend it, and in which 'therefore, you know, I continued on no account in the

imprudent ſteps, which it was foreſeen muſt unavoidably lead to the ruin of that unfortunate Prince (*o*) [*T*]; and the ſame perſonal regard kept him at a great diſtance, from having any ſhare in thoſe counſels, where the meaſures were concerted for bringing about the Revolution [*U*]. In eſtabliſhing the new ſettlement of the Crown, he yielded to the exigency

(*o*) See his letter to Dr Tillotſon, in the preceding remark [*S*]. He was one of the twenty-ſeven Peers, ſelected from the reſt by Chancellor Jefferies, then Lord High-Steward, to try the Lord Delamere for high-treaſon, on January 14, 1685, when that Lord was unanimouſly acquitted. Peerage, Vol. II. p. 518. edit. 1741.

'world, but to ſerve both the King and Clergy 'with the little ability I had, in moderating thoſe 'counſels, which we thought might grow higher, if 'I left my place to be filled by thoſe who greedily 'waited for them, in order to their fooliſh deſigns.

'And ſince I have been forced to mention my good 'will at leaſt, if not my ſervice, to ſuch learned men 'of the Clergy who I thought deſerved it, it may be 'allowed me to give this one inſtance of it, that al'though in preferring men to all other places of the 'houſehold, I ever uſed to aſk permiſſion firſt, (and 'accordingly was often refuſed for the ſake of Roman 'Catholics and others, who were recommended by 'perſons more in favour than myſelf) yet I was ſo 'careful of keeping that conſiderable part of the fa'mily unmixed with mean or unworthy chaplains, '(whom others I feared would have impoſed on his 'Majeſty againſt his intention) that I conſtantly filled 'up thoſe places, without giving him the leaſt notice 'or trouble about it, and ſupplied them with the ableſt 'approved Divines, I could poſſibly find, moſt com'monly recommended to me by thoſe Biſhops who 'were not of the Court. This I conceived to be the 'moſt proper courſe in a matter concerning Clergymen 'with a King of a different perſuaſion from theirs, 'and I intended it for his real ſervice, believing it 'had been better for that unhappy Prince, as well as 'the kingdom, if the greater Eccleſiaſtical dignities 'had been diſpoſed of by others with as much caution.

'And thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to confirm you 'in your favourable opinion of me, which muſt be 'acknowledged by every body to be an approbation 'of ſuch weight, that as I hope it may be an example 'of authority to many, ſo it is ſufficient of itſelf to 'ballance the cenſoriouſneſs of others.

'I am,

'Sir,

'Your obliged humble Servant,

'MULGRAVE (30).'

(30) The Duke's Works, Vol. II. p. 123 to 128.

[*T*] *He oppoſed the meaſures that led to the ruin of that Prince.*] He declares that diſlike of the King's meaſures in following the advice of the Roman Catholics, though at the ſame time to ſhew his reluctance to the diſlike, he ſays *it ſpread like an infection.* 'This, ſays he, reached ſome of his Majeſty's mini'ſters themſelves. The Earls of Mulgrave and Mid'dleton never the leaſt tainted with being either falſe 'or factious. Yet the firſt of them not only in execu'tion of his office [Lord Chamberlain] aſſiſted openly 'all the Proteſtant Clergy, but abſented himſelf from 'all the councils, and both of them in their own juſti'fication took all occaſions of deriding the ill advice of 'the Papiſts (31).'

(31) Account of the Revolution, Vol. II. p. 92.

[*U*] *At a great diſtance from having any ſhare in the Revolution.*] Though his Lordſhip was vexed at the diminution of his ſalary, and utterly excluded from all power and favour by a few, and thoſe the fooliſheſt of the Roman party; yet he was far from thinking theſe, or any other reaſons, ſufficient to excuſe a deſertion of his Majeſty, of which he expreſſes the warmeſt abhorrence, and particularly that of his daughters; 'and becauſe, ſays he, this extraordinary deſer'tion of one daughter, as well as the other's ſitting on the father's throne afterwards, muſt needs ſeem wonderful in two ſuch Princeſſes, both of ſtrict devotion, and many great virtues, poſterity will be glad, perhaps, to have ſome further account of ſuch unprecedented proceedings, in perſons of ſo unblameable and of ſo illuſtrious a character. 'Tis very remarkable, that this Prince was ſo thoroughly unfortunate, as to be undone by his own children, and the more by their being bred up moſt carefully and religiouſly, and their being endued with all virtuous inclinations. Theſe being firſt deceived by the indefatigable induſtry of ſome people, drew in a great part of the nation to be deceived, by the goodneſs of their diſpoſition, and the nearneſs of their relation to the perſon accuſed: for who could ſuſpect ſuch daughters of wronging their father. It was infuſed into them ſeverally, by the propereſt inſtruments that could be found, that their father was not only reſolved to perſecute the Proteſtant religion, but would ſtick at nothing in order to it; and therefore at once to prevent his eldeſt daughter's ſucceeding him, and to ſecure the throne after him to one of his own religion, he had contrived a ſuppoſititious ſon, who was to ſucceed, and ſettle that which his ſuppoſed father might not live long enough to fix ſufficiently. And though the juſtice of his mind, and the tenderneſs of his nature were enough to diſperſe all ſuch apprehenſions, yet the zeal of the *Popiſh* religion was brought in to overballance all other conſiderations. All this was joined with the Prince of Orange's conjugal impoſitions on the moſt complying wife in the world, who was at laſt drawn into the diſmal neceſſity of giving up either her huſband, or a father reſolved and ready (as ſhe thought) to diſinherit her. So that two worthy religious ladies, even becauſe they were ſo, conſented to dethrone a moſt indulgent father, and to ſucceed *him* boldly in their ſeveral turns, before an innocent brother then a child.

Tantum religio, &c.'

Our author excuſes, after this, King James's general diſtruſt of every body, intimates his own diſſatisfaction, and even endeavoured afterwards to hinder him from going away. 'Juſt as he was ſtepping into bed, continues the Earl, the night before his going away, the Earl of Mulgrave happened to come into the bed-chamber, which being at ſo late an hour, might poſſibly give the King ſome apprehenſions of the world's ſuſpecting his deſign, with which he was reſolved not to truſt him, nor any other Proteſtant whatſoever, he therefore ſtopt ſhort, and turned about to whiſper him in the ear, that his commiſſioners [the Earl of Halifax, &c.] newly ſent him a very hopeful account of ſome good accommodation with the Prince of Orange; to which that Lord only replied with a queſtion, aſking if the Prince's army halted, or approached nearer London. The King owned they ſtill marched on, at which the other ſhook his head and ſaid no more, only made him a low bow with a dejected countenance, humbly to make him underſtand, that he gave no credit to what the King's hard circumſtances at that time obliged him to diſſemble.' After the King's departure from London, when he was inſulted and ſeized by the populace at Feverſham in Kent, and had ſent a poor country fellow with a letter to inform the Council of it, in order to procure his reſcue, which was likely to come too late; the meſſenger having waited long at the council door, without any body's being willing to take notice of him; the Earl of Mulgrave happening to be privately advertiſed of it: The ſad account moved him with great compaſſion, inſomuch that no cautions of offending the prevailing party, were able to reſtrain him from ſhewing a little indignation at ſo mean a proceeding in the Council. Upon this their new Preſident, the Marquis of Halifax, haſtily adjourned it in order to prevent him. But my Lord Mulgrave earneſtly conjured them all to ſit down again preſently, that he might acquaint them with a matter which admitted of no delay, and which he ſaid was of the higheſt importance imaginable. Accordingly the Lords did ſo, when he repreſented to them what barbarity it would be in ſuch an aſſembly to connive at the rabble's tearing in pieces any private gentleman, much more a great Prince, who with all *his* Popery, he aſſerted, was ſtill their Sovereign. The meſſenger being called in, after giving them a moving account of the King's diſtreſs, delivered the letter (*). Whereupon the Council were prevailed with to ſend

(*) It had no ſuperſcription, and was to this effect. To acquaint the reader of it, that he had been diſcovered in his retreat by ſome fiſhermen of Kent, and ſecured at firſt there by the gentry, who were yet afterward forced to reſign him into the hands of an inſolent rabble.

exigency of the occaſion [*W*], being fully perſwaded, that the welfare of his country required ſuch a conduct. In this view it was, that in the Convention Parliament, he both ſpoke and voted for the conjunctive ſovereignty [*X*]. However, by that ſtep he greatly obliged the Prince of Orange [*Y*], who had it much at heart to obtain this advantage over the Princeſs. The Earl had no employ under the new government for ſome years. May the 10th, 1694, he was created Marquis of Normanby in the county of Lincoln (*p*). But neither this teſtimony of King William's kindneſs, nor even a perſonal application, with very advantageous offers from his Majeſty [*Z*], could prevail upon him to deſiſt from exerting his utmoſt vigour, to procure and carry through both the Treaſon-bill, and that for eſtabliſhing triennial Parliaments. He alſo oppoſed, with great zeal, the

(*p*) Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. p. 210. col. 2. On the 31ſt of Auguſt, having made Mr Wafely his Chaplain, he ſent Col. Fitzgerald to Dr Tillotſon, to propoſe him for a Biſhoprick in Ireland, which was refuſed by Queen Mary. Life of Tillotſon, p. 335. edit. 1752.

200 of the Life-guards, under their Captain, the Earl of Feverſham, firſt to reſcue the King from all danger of the common people, and afterwards to attend him towards the ſea ſide, if he continued his reſolution of retiring, which they thought it more decent to connive at than to detain him here by force. Upon the King's return to London, though he blamed all the Council, and among them the Earl of Mulgrave, for aſſuming what he called an illegal power of acting as they did. Yet he does not forget to mention two things very favourable to the King's private character. When the ſtout Earl of Craven, ſays he, reſolved to be cut in pieces rather than reſign his poſt at Whitehall to the Prince of Orange's guards; the King prevented that unneceſſary bloodſhed with a great deal of care and kindneſs: And amidſt all that juſt apprehenſion of violence to his perſon, at the ſudden entrance into his chamber, of the three Lords, [Halifax, Shrewſbury, and Delamere] who ordered him from the Prince of Orange to retire, which he choſe to do to Rocheſter; he diſguiſed it ſo well as to diſcourſe of the ſetting of the tyde, and other things relating to his removal, as coolly and unconcernedly, as if it had been only a common journey (32).

(32) Ibid. paſſim.

Some years after the Revolution, when King William told him on a particular occaſion, 'That upon 'hearing his Lordſhip was not ſatisfied for ſome time 'before his predeceſſor left England with the meaſures then taken, a perſon, whom he had employed 'to conſult and treat with thoſe Lords who invited 'him to come over, propoſed at one of their meetings to bring over Lord Mulgrave, and to communicate their deſign to him. Upon which the Earl 'of Shrewſbury ſaid, *If you do you will ſpoil all, he 'will never join with us.* The King aſking him with 'a ſmile, *Pray, my Lord, what would you have done, 'if my agent had acquainted you with the whole 'buſineſs?* Sir, ſaid my Lord Mulgrave, *I ſhould have 'diſcovered it to the Maſter I ſerved.* The King re'plied, *I cannot blame you?* (33).'

(33) Character, p. 333.

[*W*] *He yielded to the exigency of the occaſion.*] No doubt but he included himſelf among thoſe few perſons, who, without intending any good to the Prince of Orange, thought it imprudent to ſtem a tide to no other purpoſe except their own ruin, and therefore rather reſerved that intereſt, which by their compliance they obtained both with the Prince and people, to ſecure the public good as much as poſſible, in a ſeaſon when almoſt every body ſeemed to abandon it. After the King's firſt abſconding, when the rabble had pulled down the houſe of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, the Earl of Mulgrave, though his maſter was gone, and his ſtaff laid aſide, thought the honour of the nation ſo much concerned, that he preſumed to take upon himſelf to order an apartment in Whitehall immediately, and a great table to be kept for him twice a day, with Yeomen of the Guard to attend at his outward room, (which they never do but on the King only) for which ſtrain of authority, he tells us, he had the good fortune to be thanked, both by King James and the Prince of Orange.

After the King's laſt retirement, which our author calls a fatal ſtep that loſt him the crown, and was ſome leſſening to the reputation he had before, when the reading of the King's laſt letter, (wherein he appealed to God and man againſt that flight forced upon him by ſo near a relation) was refuſed by the Council, looking on this as the cleareſt proof of the Lords intentions to exclude their King, he joined with all the reſt, in agreeing that a Convention ſhould be ſummoned, by circular letters in the Prince of Orange's name; and ſecondly, that the Prince ſhould be deſired to manage all public affairs, as well as the public moneys in the mean time. This was the firſt ſtep which he took in favour of the Prince of Orange, and his motive for it, if we believe himſelf, was, that he might, by this compliance, have the greater influence and power in oppoſing the ſottiſh deſigns of ſome of the old Whigs, who having long deſpaired of Court favour, were now, he ſays, tranſported with it, not only out of their old principles, but even out of their very ſenſes alſo. What he remarks afterwards, has been confirmed ſince, 'that ſuch a good opportunity was loſt, of reſettling our old conſtitution, as perhaps England is like never to have again; 'which, continues he, I do not obſerve with any regard to either of the two Princes in competition; but I only mean, that whichſoever Prince that Convention ſhould ſet up, our liberties might have been ſecured, and the government fixed on the beſt and ſteadieſt foundation, the united intereſt of King and people (34).' From this laſt period it appears, that he thought the throne was become vacant by the deſertion of King James, and that the Convention had power to ſet either of the two competitors upon it, as they thought beſt.

(34) Account of the Revolution.

[*X*] *He voted for the conjunctive Sovereignty.*] We are told, that ſome of his friends had heard him declare, he had the following motive for this ſtep; that he thought the title of either perſon was equal, and ſince the Parliament was to decide the matter, he judged it would much better pleaſe the Prince, who was now become their Protector, and was alſo in itſelf a thing more becoming ſo good a Princeſs as Queen Mary, to partake with her huſband a crown ſo obtained, than to poſſeſs it intirely as her own (35).

(35) Character, p. 330.

[*Y*] *He obliged the Prince of Orange.*] In this ſtep he left the church party, who were inclined to ſet up the Princeſs above her huſband, and not only from his motives as declared to his friends, mentioned in the preceding remark, but what is related in remark [*U*] concerning the behaviour of the Princeſs of Orange, as only ſuffering the impoſitions of her huſband, one can't help thinking that this vote was owing to his contempt and reſentment of her conduct, and we may know from his own words, how much he paid his court to King William by it, who, he tells us, on this account grew jealous of his moſt intimate confidents among the Engliſh, becauſe they had ſo much regard to his wife. However, the Earl was far from thinking this Prince in earneſt, when he gravely endeavoured to make his friends believe, that he would leave them all in the lurch, by returning with his army into Holland, rather than yield the title to his own wife. He tells us the Princeſs was kept in Holland 'till he had maſtered that diſpute, which vexed him more than any other (36). If ſo, this reaſon of her ſtaying in Holland was luckily favoured by the froſt, and contrary winds after the thaw, which Biſhop Burnet gives for the cauſes of that detention (37).

(36) Account of the Revolution, p. 118.

(37) Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 820. folio edition.

[*Z*] *A perſonal application from King William.*] We have the following account of this application from the penman of his character. King William ſent one day for the Earl, and after ſome little diſcourſe, offered to give him an additional title, with an annual penſion of 3000*l.* and to make him of the Cabinet-Council. The Earl gave him many thanks for his intended favours, and aſked, with humbleſt ſubmiſſion, what his Majeſty expected from him in return; addiog, that he could not deny but that he was engaged in aſſiſting thoſe bills, which his Majeſty did not at preſent approve of; he was ſorry his Majeſty did not, but whether he had the honour or not of ſerving him, he could not give them up, but muſt aſſiſt their ſucceſs to his utmoſt ability (38).

(38) Character, as before.

[*AA*] *He*

the act which took away Sir John Fenwick's life. Yet ſo high was his reputation at Court, that the King took him into the Cabinet-Council, and gave him a penſion of three thouſand pounds a year (*q*). He received with pleaſure all theſe marks of eſteem that were paid to his diſtinguiſhed abilities, though he never had any good liking for that Prince [*AA*]. But, as ſoon as Queen Anne came into the poſſeſſion of the Throne, he entered into her ſervice, with all the warmth of the moſt affectionate duty, which was accepted on her part with the trueſt ſincerity. She gave *him* the Privy Seal, April 21, 1702, juſt before her coronation, and preſently after it, made him Lord-Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the north-riding of Yorkſhire. In October following, he was alſo appointed one of the Commiſſioners to treat of an Union between England and Scotland; and, before the expiration of the year, was firſt created Duke of Normanby, March 9th, and then Duke of Buckinghamſhire, the twenty-third of the ſame month (*r*). He was made too one of the Governors of the Charter-houſe this year. Yet he did not ſit long eaſy in his preſent advantageous ſituation. He grew by degrees jealous of his rival the Duke of Marlborough, and not brooking the ſuperior power of that favourite with his miſtreſs, he threw up the Privy-Seal (*s*), entirely againſt her mind; ſo that, to remove his diſcontentment, and procure a reconciliation, ſhe made him an offer of the Lord Chancellor's place, which was alſo refuſed by him (*t*). During this ill-humour, he ſuffered party-prejudice to tranſport him beyond the bounds both of his honour and good ſenſe [*BB*]. Yet, in 1705, March 21 (*u*), the Queen readily admitted him to kiſs her hand,

(*q*) Character of the Duke, p. 13.

(*r*) Salmon, ubi ſupra, under the year 1702.

(*s*) When he brought it, the Queen deſired him to take two or three days to conſider; he took it, but the Queen ſent for him the next day, and made him the offer of Chancellor.

(*t*) He was ſucceeded by the Duke of Newcaſtle, March 27, 1705. Salmon, for that year.

(*u*) Note (z), by Tindal, to p. 795. Vol. II. of Rapin's Hiſtory of England.

[*AA*] *He had no good liking for King William.*] In his Feaſt of the Gods, the character of this Prince, bad enough in itſelf, is yet rendered more conſpicuous, by contraſting it with the very amiable one of his predeceſſor, the Earl's favourite, King James, as follows. Another Prince [King James] lately deceaſed in exile, was cenſured alſo, yet with great compaſſion amidſt all their [the Gods] mirth; becauſe though he not only meant to govern well, but had talents capable of it, yet notwithſtanding all that, he loſt three kingdoms, merely for want of being wiſely principled in his youth, and inſtructed that kings ſhould indeed reverence the Gods, and appear decently devout, but never violently zealous for any thing, beſides juſtice and the publick good; which virtue alone, without any other religion, is ſufficient to make them heroes on earth, and advance them afterwards to be Demigods in Heaven. Then follows King William: All the Gods admired that odd mixture of which his ſucceſſor was compoſed, ſo very lazy, heavy, and eaſily impoſed on by Favourites, and yet ſo very ambitious and enterprizing; which they attributed to the very different characters of his anceſtors, who, on his mother's ſide, were only Sovereigns, (Henry the 4th of France excepted), but on his father's ſide ſuch as deſerved to be ſo.

Yet Jupiter himſelf ſhewed great eſteem of him, but was ſuſpected a little of ſome partiality on the account of his own proceedings with old father Saturn. He was obſerved alſo to kiſs Ganymede all the while they were talking of this Prince, which made the Gods whiſper to one another a little maliciouſly (39).

(39) Feaſt of the Gods, p. 191, 192.

[*BB*] *He acted againſt his honour and good ſenſe*] He threw up the ſeals in March, and at the meeting of the new Parliament in November following, Lord Haverſham moved the Houſe of Peers, that the Princeſs Sophia might be ſent for into England, as neceſſary to ſecure the ſucceſſion in the Houſe of Hanover. This motion was ſeconded by the Duke of Bucks and the Earls of Rocheſter, Nottingham, and Angleſea (40). A late author makes the following remark upon this extraordinary turn of affairs. 'The Tories, ſays he, very probably looked upon their cauſe as a party to be in a manner deſperate, ſhut out of power both by a Prince and by Miniſters, whom they had always looked upon as of their own principles. Their preſent ſituation was bad, the proſpect was worſe. The very meaſures they had taken to ſecure themſelves in the good graces of the Queen, had given their opponents an opportunity to repreſent them as very cool towards the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, if this opinion prevailed under the great diſappointment of preſent expectations, they had the misfortune of ſeeing their hopes blaſted as far as human foreſight could reach. This it was, continues this author, which, in my poor opinion, determined them to act in the manner related. In which, like all exaſperated parties, they forgot that the perſon againſt whom their rage was pointed, was their Miſtreſs and their Queen: Some of them forgot more; they forgot the returns of gratitude, and the ties of nature. The Duke of Bucks, who made her the firſt compliment after her acceſſion, in replying, when her Majeſty ſaid that the 8th of March, on which King William died, was a dull cloudy day; for all that, Madam, it is the fineſt I ever ſaw in my life, now loſt all decency, and ſaid in her hearing, that the Queen might become childiſh, do nothing of her own head, but be intirely paſſive under thoſe in whoſe hands ſhe was or might be (41).' The writer of the Duke's character inſinuates (42), tho'unwillingly, that he had oppoſed the Duke of Marlborough's ſettlement of 5000*l. per Annum* from the Poſt-Office, and 'tis certain that ſettlement was not carried 'till this very ſeſſion, when the juſt-related motion in the Houſe of Peers was ſeconded by the Duke of Bucks. 'Tis remarkable, that upon the diſappointment he met with in the refuſal of the firſt regiment of the foot-guards from the Queen's uncle Charles II. he paſſed the following cenſure: The King, ſays he, though of more wit than moſt of thoſe who influenced him, had that foible of his family to be eaſily impoſed on (43). He ſeems to have exerciſed his ſatirical genius at this time, as he had done when in a like fit of ill humour in 1675. The production was his laſt mentioned piece, *The Feaſt of the Gods*, in which he has the following ſevere and unmanly cenſure of Prince George of Denmark, the Queen's huſband: 'They[the Gods]perceived another king hard by, much concerned for the loſs of a brother, whom many years ago he had diſpoſed of extremely well, yet no body ſince ever heard one word of him. Momus laughing, ſaid the good Prince was not quite dead, though forced to breathe hard to prevent being buried, becauſe no body perceived any other ſigns of life in him. Some of the Gods ſmiled, and ſaid it would be well for the quiet of the world, if all Princes were as dull and inſignificant (44).' If what is related in a ſubſequent remark[*EE*] may paſs for truth, that the Duke once aſpired to marry the Princeſs Anne, it furniſhes an additional incitement for this malevolent ſtroke againſt the Prince of Denmark, who muſt in that caſe be treated as (what is ſcarcely ever felt without rancour) a ſucceſsful rival. Yet, after all, it may be placed to our author's account, by way of ballance to theſe enormous effects of pique and reſentment, that it was at this ſame juncture that he penned his excellent Obſervations on the Statute of Treaſons, where he has given ſuch a proof of his judgment and penetration in a moſt difficult and important point of the Law, as will be a ſtanding monument to juſtify her Majeſty's offer made to him of the Chancellor's place. I can't help thinking but the conſideration, as it ſerved his own honour and reputation, was one motive for this exerciſe, as he calls it, of his thoughts. This conjecture ſeems to be confirmed (if we remember his Lordſhip's artful genius) by the concluding words of thoſe Obſervations. 'I would not have communicated theſe rambling thoughts to any but a friend, nor to yourſelf neither, if among the ſeveral miſrepreſentations upon my reſigning one great employment, and refuſing a greater, you had not ſuſpected me of a little lazineſs, from which I hope this way of employing my leiſure may be ſome vindication, and I wiſh it does not prove a much greater, by ſhewing I needed

(40) General Hiſtories of England.

(41) Bolingbroke's Memoirs, p. 111, 112.

(42) P. 334.

(43) Memoirs, P. 34.

(44) Feaſt of the Gods, p. 193, 194.

hand, upon the marriage of his third wife, who was a natural daughter to King James the Second [*CC*]. During this receſs from publick buſineſs, he finiſhed his houſe in St James's park [*DD*], having before obtained a grant of the ſite of it from the Crown. The Duke continued out of employ 'till the general change of the miniſtry in 1710; in effecting which he had ſome ſhare (*w*), and was preſently made Lord Steward of the Houſhold; whence he was advanced the following year to be Lord Preſident of the Council (*x*). He joined in all the meaſures of that remarkable miniſtry [*EE*] (of which himſelf was a conſiderable part), excepting in the affair of the Catalans only, whoſe lives and liberties he thought too much expoſed by that part of the plan of the peace of Utrecht; and he laboured heartily, though without ſucceſs, to obtain a better ſecurity for that ill-fortuned people [*FF*], who had entirely relied on England for protection. Notwithſtanding his diſagreement with the Earl of Oxford in this particular, yet he continued his friendſhip to that miniſter after his diſgrace; and though the Duke, in virtue of his poſt, became, on the death of the Queen, one of the Lords Juſtices for governing the kingdom (*y*) 'till the arrival of her ſucceſſor in England; yet he never afterwards entered into any of the concerns at Court, and conſtantly oppoſed the ſteps purſued by the adminiſtration, ſpending ſome of his leiſure hours in the moſt elegant manner with his Muſe [*GG*]. In 1716, his lady brought him a ſon [*HH*], whom he left a child of nine years old (*z*) at his death, which happened February 24, 1720-21, at the age of ſeventy-one. His corpſe

(*w*) Mr Harley communicated this project to him among others, as ſoon as he had brought it to a proper degree of maturation. Character of the Duke of Bucks, p. 17.

(*x*) Boyer's Hiſt. of Queen Anne, P. 476 and 514. edit. 1735, fol.

(*y*) Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's Hiſtory, Vol. XIII. in this year, 1714.

(*z*) He was born January 11. Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 148.

needed no other reaſon beſides my diſability, for not accepting the higheſt poſt in a profeſſion I was never bred to, an honour too much to think any man fit for except a Lawyer (45).

(45) Obſervations on the Statute of Treaſons, p. 184.

[*CC*] *His third wife was a daughter of King James II.*] Her mother was Katharine Sedley, daughter to the ingenious Sir Charles Sedley (46). King James, by a warrant dated December 1688. dignified his daughter by her with the name of Lady Katharine Darnley, gave her the place of a Duke's daughter, and empowered her to bear the royal arms within a border Compone, Ermin and Azure, the Azure charged with Flower-de-lis of France, and for ſupporters, on the Dexter ſide, an Unicorn Ermine, his horn, main, and hoofs, Or, accolled with a Chaplet of Red Roſes, barbed and ſeeded proper, and on the Siniſter, a Goat Ermine, horned and hoofed Azure, with a like Chaplet about his neck as has the dexter. She was left very young a widow by James Earl of Angleſey, from whom ſhe was parted at her own ſuit, though the Earl long oppoſed it, by the unanimous conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, for the Earl's cruelty, and cauſeleſs ill uſage of her. It was thought by ſome that his Lordſhip had a tincture of diſtraction, as was they ſaid plain from his conduct to her. They lived together only one year (47).

(46) See his article.

(47) Account of the Duke's pedigree, p. 352.

His Grace was firſt married to Urſula, daughter of Colonel Stawel, and widow of Earl Conway. His ſecond wife was Lady Catharine, eldeſt daughter to Fulk Greville, Lord Brooke, widow of Baptiſt Noel, Earl of Gainſborough, ſhe died in 1703 4. His Grace had no iſſue by either of theſe ladies, to whom, we are told by ſeveral, he ſhewed but little deference (48), and indeed the natural children he had during theſe marriages, give but too much room to believe the truth of that cenſure. However his Grace makes a kind mention in his will of all his wives, declaring that 'he had had the moſt extraordinary bleſſing of three kind and excellent wives' He alſo deſired to be buried near his ſecond lady in Weſtminſter-Abbey, and intimates, that he would have removed the corps of his firſt wife to the ſame grave, had ſhe not lain near her own mother in the country (49).

(48) Character, P. 340.

(49) His Will, P. 364.

[*DD*] *He built his houſe in St James's Park.*] In the deſcription of this elegant edifice, he has given his brother Duke incidentally ſome account how he paſſed his time, which he declares was ſpent ſo for the moſt, as to be very conjugally at home, confeſſing himſelf to be changed enough as to his former delights, as to make his wife's company agreeable: ſo far he is explicit, no checks of infamy reſtrained him. He was now at leaſt 59 years old. But in the preceding paſſage, where he ſays, that after dinner he drove again to Marybone for air and exerciſe, obſerving truly enough, that agitation of the body and diverſion of the mind is a compoſition for health, above all the ſkill of Hippocrates, he could not be explicit; the diverſion he choſe for his mind would not bear ſhewing. However it is too well known to be concealed, and ſhall be admitted into theſe memoirs in the view of ſtanding as a ſea-mark to others, againſt that ſcandalous and penurious vice of gaming. It has been ſaid, and never contradicted that I know of, that by this infamous conveyance, a good part of that garden which he ſpeaks of as his chief delight in this letter, came into the hands of a perſon, who inſultingly grazed his ſheep aud oxen cloſe under his Grace's window. And, which is ſtill more infamous, he even did not eſcape the cenſure of being a falſe gameſter.

[*EE*] *He entered into the Queen's ſervice with all warmth of the moſt affectionate duty.*] 'Tis ſaid he had made his addreſſes to her in the way of love before her marriage with the Prince of Denmark. This is hinted by Mrs Manley, in the ſtile and manner of her Memoirs of the Engliſh Court (50). Mr Boyer alſo takes notice of it in his hiſtory of this Queen. Some years, ſays he, before the Queen was married to Prince George, the Marquis of Normanby, then Earl of Mulgrave, a nobleman of ſingular accompliſhments both of mind and perſon, and of a plentiful fortune, aſpired ſo high as to [attempt to] marry the Lady Anne. But though his addreſſes to her were checked as ſoon as diſcovered, yet the Princeſs had ever an eſteem for him (51).

(50) P. 85, 86. Vol. I. edit. 1709. Where ſhe aſperſes the Duke under the name of Count Orgueil.

(51) Boyer's Hiſtory of Queen Anne, p. 514. note a), edit. 1735. folio.

[*FF*] *He laboured to obtain a better ſecurity for the Catalans,*] He procured two Councils, in order to debate that matter before them, when it had been in a manner determined the other way, and when he ſaw his arguments over ruled, he was never obſerved to be ſo much troubled at the ill ſucceſs of any buſineſs of his own (52)

(52) Character P. 338. where this writer tells us, he differed from the Earl of Oxford and the reſt of the miniſters, except Lord Bolingbroke, who he believes was of the Duke's opinion in this affair.

[*GG*] *He paſſed his leiſure hours with his Muſe.*] Witneſs his Seſſion of the Poets upon the choice of a Laureat in 1719, and thoſe excellent lines on Mr Pope. 'Twas at this time alſo that he wrote his two Tragedies of Julius Cæſar, and the Death of Brutus; for the latter of which the juſt-mentioned Poet compoſed two Choruſſes, which were ſet to Muſic by Signor Bononcini, and performed at Buckingham Houſe. Mr (now Biſhop) Warburton, obſerves, that the two Choruſſes were made at the requeſt of the Duke, to adorn a very poor performance of his, and that they have the uſual effect of all ill-adjuſted ornaments, they make the meanneſs of the piece more conſpicuous (53).

(53) Notes to the firſt chorus in Vol. I. of Pope's Works, edit. Warburton.

[*HH*] *She brought him a ſon.*] She had brought the Duke ſeveral children before this, as firſt a daughter, chriſtned Sophia, who died very young, and two ſons, to the firſt of which Queen Anne, as a Godmother, gave the name of John, who lived but three weeks; and the year after another ſon, called Robert, and ſtiled Marquis of Normanby, born December 11, 1711. On his death his father wrote a tender poem, which ends thus:

But why ſo much digreſſion,
This fatal loſs to ſhew,
Alas there's no expreſſion
Can tell a Parent's woe.

After this there was another daughter, chriſtened Sophia Catharina Henrietta, who lived 'till ſhe was four years of age. (54) Account of the Duke's Pedigree, p. 352, 353.

corpſe lay magnificently in ſtate for a conſiderable time at Buckingham-houſe, whence it was conveyed with the greateſt funeral pomp to Weſtminſter-abbey; where being interred according to his own requeſt, a ſumptuous monument was erected afterwards to his memory in Henry the Seventh's chapel; for which purpoſe, he left 500 pounds by his Will, and directed an epitaph written by himſelf to be put upon it. But one expreſſion was omitted by order of Dr Atterbury [*II*], then Dean of that church, who would not ſuffer it to ſtand there; and indeed the whole, after many declarations of his religious ſentiments, which are found interſperſed up and down in his writings, too plainly ſpeaks him a Theiſt [*KK*], yet not without ſome mixture of a ſuperſtition caſt in his compoſition

[*II*] *An expreſſion omitted by order of the Dean.*] The expreſſion was, *Chriſtum adveneror*, which, he thought, intended by the Duke in derogation of the Divine Nature of the Son of God; and the next remark will ſhew he had ground for that opinion, notwithſtanding another worthy clergyman (55) has likewiſe ſhewn the words otherwiſe fairly capable of a higher meaning, being uſed by Varro, to ſignify even the higheſt act of religious worſhip, who ſays, *Venerem & Minervam adenerari.* The original epitaph is

(55) *Fiddes, in his Defence of the Duke's Epitaph. Lond, 1721, 8vo.*

Dubius ſed non improbus vixi.
Incertus morior ſed inturbatus.
Humanum eſt neſcire et errare.
Chriſtum adveneror, Deo confido
Omnipotenti, Benevolentiſſimo.
Ens Entium miſerere mihi.

[*KK*] *The epitaph compared with his other works ſpeaks him a Theiſt.*] Among theſe paſſages we ſhall produce only that in his Ode on Brutus, the rather becauſe it ſeems to have been written about the ſame time with the Epitaph.

'Tis ſaid that favourite mankind,
Was made the Lord of all below.
But yet the doubtful (*a*) are concern'd (*b*) to find
'Tis only one man (*c*) tells another ſo.
And for this great dominion here,
Which over other beaſts we claim,
Reaſon our beſt credential does appear,
By which indeed we domineer;
But how abſurdly we may ſee with ſhame:
Reaſon that ſolemn trifler light as air,
Driven up and down by cenſure or applauſe,
By partial love away 'tis blown,
Or the leaſt prejudice can weigh it down
Thus our high privilege becomes our ſnare.
In any nice and weighty cauſe,
How weak at beſt is reaſon, yet the grave
Impoſe on that ſmall judgment which we have.

Note (*a*) The doubtful.] In which number are comprehended all the Sceptics of both ſorts, viz. they who with much conſideration are got to ſlight the Holy Bible, and all religion depending on it, becauſe they have neither the patience nor the parts to examine any thing thoroughly; and others more modeſt, who on ſeveral accounts would accept thoſe doctrines there taught us, if their judgments, informed by a well-meaning and induſtrious inquiry, which is all that God has given us for our guide, did not perceive, in ſome of them at leaſt, a manifeſt abſurdity; apprehending alſo a kind of impiety in believing things inconſiſtent not only with common ſenſe, but with that received notion we ought to have of the Deity. They conceive it to be one of theſe abſurdities, that a poor animal, called a man, ſhould be inveſted by God with a deſpotic dominion over all the reſt of the creation, when all the while we are but too plainly ſenſible of being unable to comprehend the minuteſt part of it. Should we not ſay they undervalue and laugh at any of ourſelves, for giving a large patrimony to a booby ſon, without inſtructing or breeding him up to underſtand or enjoy it. But when no other anſwer is to be well made, the reply to all is, that as odd as it appears, yet God has done it, and therefore we ought to believe it well done, and highly prudent, which moſt certainly is a true conſequence if the premiſes were right, but that will be examined impartially in the following notes.

(*b*) Concerned.] That is, ſays he, both intereſted in it as they claim the dominion, and ſo are reaſonably inquiſitive about it, and troubled to find their title to it ſo very weak, after ſo much wealth and blood ſpent in the controverſy. 'Tis well too if we are not one day called to account, and made to pay with coſts for ſo contentious a cruelty.

(*c*) Only one man.] Here now comes properly an examination of the grounds they go upon, who pretend that God has done us this favour, and therefore we ought to believe it well and wiſely done, whatever incongruities may appear in it, which is a conſequence juſt enough, if the premiſes can be as well made out. But alas (ſay our Sceptics) when we come to that, inſtead of a proof there is nothing produced, but one poor text in Geneſis, whether written by Moſes or ſome other man (for that is now diſputed among Divines themſelves) is of no importance, ſince as a man he is ſtill one of our own imperfect, unknowing kind, and if he is to be credited on his ſingle word, againſt all all our ſenſe and reaſon, in a thing alſo which ſeems ſo much to derogate from the infinite wiſdom of Divine Providence, ſure there is need firſt of proving him infallible, whereas all the proof of that is only derived by tradition from other men, who therefore cannot certify for one another. 'Tis ſaid alſo by theſe Sceptics, that 'tis worth our obſerving, how the author of this text of man's dominion over all other creatures, has written another very extraordinary one, viz. That God walked in the garden of Eden in the cool of the evening, which if excuſed on the account of being only a figurative expreſſion, yet much invalidates a narration of ſuch vaſt importance, that tropes and figures ſeem improper in it. Divines are unwilling to ſave it's credit by the difficulty of our underſtanding the Hebrew tongue (though no ill excuſe ſince 'tis allowed to be ſometimes unintelligible) for fear of their adverſaries making the ſame objection to other texts as extraordinary, and perhaps to all the Old Teſtament. Upon the whole matter 'tis probable, the wiſe author of Geneſis, for reaſons which might be given, and many more which we now cannot gueſs at, had found it fit and neceſſary to infuſe this opinion of man's ſovereignty into the Jews; and who knows but it was as needful to encourage them againſt the beaſts of a wilderneſs in which they wandered ſo long, as againſt the kings of Canaan, whom Moſes, like a wiſe leader aſſured them beforehand, the Lord would deliver into their hands (56).

(56) *His Works, Vol. I. p. 146, & ſeqq. edit. 1739, 8vo.*

Having thus derided the authority of the Old Teſtament, and conſequently the Jewiſh religion, we find him in the concluſion of his letter concerning his houſe, ſeriouſly denying that of the New, and conſequently of Chriſtianity. Having declared to his brother Peer, that he was often miſſing a pretty gallery in the old houſe he pulled down, more than pleaſed with a ſalon which he had built in it's ſtead, though a thouſand times better in all manner of reſpects, he proceeds thus: *Pour faire bonne bouche*, with a grave reflection. It were well for us, if this incapacity of being intirely contented was as ſure a proof of our being reſerved for happineſs in another world, as it is of our frailty and imperfection in this. I confeſs the Divines tell us ſo. But though I believe a future ſtate more firmly than a great many of them ſeem to do, by their inordinate deſires of the good things in this, yet I own my faith is founded not on thoſe fallacious arguments of preachers, but on that adorable conjunction of unbounded power and goodneſs, which certainly muſt ſome way recompence hereafter ſo many thouſands of innocent wretches created to be ſo miſerable here (57). 'Tis true his Lordſhip calls the former notes a rambling ſort of rhapſody; and it muſt be owned,

(57) *His Works, Vol. II. p. 310.*

tion [*LL*]. Mr Pope having declined to write his character [*MM*], there came out, in 1723, his Works *, pompouſly printed, with his picture prefixed, curiouſly engraved from an original painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller, as alſo a draught of his monument, with the epitaph, and the following inſcription: *To the memory of John Sheffild, Duke of Buckingham, theſe his more laſting remains, the monument of his mind and more perfect image of himſelf, are here collected by the direction of Katharine his Ducheſs; deſiring that his aſhes may be honoured, and his fame and merit committed to the teſt of time, truth, and poſterity.* The whole impreſſion being ſeized at the preſs by his Majeſty's meſſengers, ſome pieces in it, which gave offence to the Government, were ſuppreſſed (*aa*) in the publication. However, in 1729, a ſecond edition was publiſhed in 8vo. wherein the caſtrated ſheets were inſerted, and there was alſo prefixed, *A Short Character of the Duke of Buckinghamſhire, together with an Account of the Pedigree of the Sheffield Family, and his Grace's laſt Will and Teſtament, written with his own hand, without any aſſiſtance.* With regard to his character, it is obſerved, that in his perſon his Grace was tall; and though not perhaps the moſt exactly ſhaped, being thought a little too long waiſted, and rather too narrow in his cheſt and ſhoulders, yet all together he looked more like a man of quality than moſt of his rank who were his contemporaries. He was allowed to be handſome, his face being a regular oval, and all the features of it well proportioned. His countenance had an extraordinary ſweetneſs, joined with a lively and penetrating look, which at firſt ſight ſtruck you with an idea of that great underſtanding of which he gave the world ſuch various proofs. He had one thing very particular, that laughing heartily, which is ſeldom advantageous to any body, was in him uncommonly agreeable. And as it was generally allowed, that no body exceeded him in perſon when young, ſo few if any were ever ſo agreeable when old. As to

* One of his Works (for ſo it may fitly be called, though not mentioned hitherto) was, correcting the preſs for an edition of the Works of G. Villiers Duke of Buckingham, printed in 1712, of which he reviſed every ſheet, and made ſeveral corrections and emendations in them. Communicated by the perſon who carried the proofs to him, and ſtood by while he performed this taſk, to which he offered himſelf unaſked.

(*aa*) Theſe are, the Account of the Revolution, and the Feaſt of the G ds. See Life of Alderman Barber, p. 10.

owned, the cenſure is juſt enough. We ſee him rambling to overturn revelation by the ſuperior ſtrength of reaſon, and yet decrying this reaſon as a narrow, miſleading, uncertain, guide, and ſo unworthy to give us a title of dominion over our fellow-creatures, who are alſo endowed with it *. So then, man is little or nothing better than a brute. But his Lordſhip's drift is more ſoberly delivered elſewhere, in the following diſtich:

* Note (*d*).

> The wiſe and good morality will guide,
> And ſuperſtition all the world beſide (58).

(58) *On Mr Hobbes and his Writings*, Vol. I. p. 180. edit. 1740, 8vo.

[*LL*]. *Though not without ſome mixture of ſuperſtition.*] I have ventured to aſſert this from ſeveral paſſages in his works, ſome of the moſt remarkable of which ſhall be laid before the reader for his judgment. In the poem already mentioned, written in his voyage to Tangier, the plan of which is a Viſion, he concludes thus:

> Amaz'd I wak'd in haſte,
> All trembling at my doom;
> Dreams oft repeat adventures paſt,
> And tell the ills to come (59).

(59) Vol. I. p. 38. 4to. edit.

Again, in his memoirs of himſelf, ſpeaking of the death of the Earl of Sandwich, he makes the following remark. He dined in Mr. Digby's ſhip the day before the battle, when no body dreamt of fighting, and ſhewed a gloomy diſcontent, ſo contrary to his uſual chearful humour, that we even then all took notice of it, but much more afterwards (60). The next inſtance is more full to our purpoſe. It is in the ſame memoirs where he relates ſeveral paſſages in his firſt adventure at ſea. Our fleet, ſays he, happening to go near the ſhore to take in freſh water, Prince Rupert dined with a gentleman who lived thereabouts, and returning on board in a little boat, with only Lord Blaney and myſelf, there happened ſo ſudden and violent a ſtorm that we did not like it, and Prince Rupert began to talk of Prince Maurice being caſt away by a like accident. Upon which, continues our author, I could not but reflect on my family alſo, ſince my grandfather and three of his brothers had been drowned. The Lord Blaney hearing all this, made us all laugh in the midſt of our danger, by ſwearing, that though he liked our company, he wiſhed himſelf out of it, and in any other boat whatſoever, ſince he feared the ill fortune of our two families would ſink him (61). The ſtory of his grandfather and three brothers is in the Peerage of England by Mr Collins, who tells us there were in all five brothers, one of whom was drowned in France, three others loſt their lives in the paſſage of Whitgift ferry, over the river Humber, and the youngeſt broke his neck in a new riding houſe, which his father had made out of an old conſecrated chapel, according to Sir William Dugdale. This father was the firſt Earl of Mulgrave in the family, being created by Queen Elizabeth, by whoſe expreſs command he, among other Engliſh Lords, attended the Duke of Anjou to Antwerp. And being in the famous ſea-fight againſt the Spaniards in 1558, who had threatened an invaſion, was knighted by the Lord Admiral for his gallant deportment and memorable ſervice in that engagement. He was afterwards appointed Governour of the Briel, in Zealand, and made a Knight of the Garter. The title of Lord Sheffield of Butterwick was firſt given in the 1ſt of Edward VI. to Edmund Sheffield, our Duke's great-great-grandfather, who was killed in an inſurrection of the common people of Norfolk the next year, he being one of the nobles who accompanied the Marquis of Northampton to ſuppreſs them, when his horſe fell into a ditch near Norwich, whereupon pulling off his helmet to ſhew the rebels who he was, a butcher ſlew him with his club. The manor of Butterwick came into the family by the marriage of Sir Robert Sheffield, knighted by Edward I. with Janet, daughter and coheireſs to Alexander Laird of Butterwick. This Robert's father, who was himſelf alſo Sir Robert Sheffield, lived in the time of Henry III, and was the firſt anceſtor of this family mentioned in hiſtory (62).

(60) P. 13. Vol. II. 4to. edit.

(61) P. 6, 7, ibid.

(62) Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 143, & ſeqq.

[*MM*] *Mr Pope having declined to write his character.*] In a letter of that celebrated Poet to Dr Atterbury, dated July 1722, he writes thus. 'The Ducheſs's letter concerns me nearly, I muſt keep clear 'of flattery, I will, and as it is an honeſt reſolution, I 'hope your Lordſhip will aſſiſt me in ſo doing. I 'beg therefore you would repreſent thus much to her 'Grace, that as to the fear ſhe ſeems touched with, 'that the Duke's memory would have no advantage, 'but what he muſt give it himſelf, without being be'holden to any one friend, your Lordſhip may cer'tainly, and agreeably to your character both of rigid 'honour and Chriſtian plainneſs, tell her, that no man 'can have any other advantage, and that all offerings 'of friends in ſuch a caſe paſs for nothing. Be but ſo 'good as to confirm what I have repreſented to her, 'that an inſcription in the ancient way, plain and 'pompous, yet modeſt, will be the moſt uncommon, 'and therefore the moſt diſtinguiſhed manner of doing 'it, and ſo I hope ſhe will be ſatisfied, the Duke's 'honour preſerved, and my integrity alſo, which is 'too ſacred a thing to be forfeited in conſideration of 'any little (though what people of quality may call 'great) honour or diſtinction whatſoever, which thoſe 'of their rank can beſtow on one of mine, and which 'indeed they are apt to over-rate, but never ſo much 'as when they imagine us under any obligation to ſay 'an untrue word in their favour.' It appears by the Biſhop's anſwer, that he had wrote to the Ducheſs juſt as Mr. Pope deſired, but queſtioned whether ſhe would be ſatisfied with it. And that ſhe was not, will be ſeen preſently.

[*NN*] *He*

to his manners, he was reported not to be good-natured, and to be very haughty and proud; whereas he was really good-natured, and ſo tender, that upon ſeeing in the ſtreets any real object of compaſſion, he has ſeveral times been touched to a degree of bringing tears into his eyes. He was affected in the ſame manner, upon reading a melancholy ſtory or hearing of any friendly and generous behaviour. He was a little paſſionate, and ſometimes quick upon people that had given him no occaſion; which was the caſe ſometimes of his moſt familiar friends, or gentlemen who came freely to viſit him. But then he was never eaſy 'till he had made them ſome amends. When he was diſobliged by his equals, or even by his King, to his thinking, not well treated, he carried it pretty high, 'till he had got the better of the firſt, and prevailed on the other to change his proceedings more to his ſatisfaction. But except upon ſuch occaſions, no man on earth could carry himſelf with more good breeding and humanity. And in all his converſations with his inferiors, you could not think he judged there was any difference betwixt him and them. He would talk as familiarly to his ſervants as if he was not their maſter, and often ſaid, I was angry with you a little time ago, but I don't mean half the things I ſay in a paſſion. He was by many thought not to have made a very good huſband to his firſt and ſecond wives; yet this ſecond had by a former huſband two daughters, whom he always treated with the greateſt reſpect and kindneſs, as themſelves always acknowledged; and after her death, he contributed to marry one of her daughters to one of the beſt matches in the kingdom. The liberties which he allowed himſelf in relation to the ladies are well known. Yet this ought to be remarked as a proof of his good ſenſe, that none of his miſtreſſes could ever prevail upon him to marry fooliſhly, or ever gained too great an aſcendant over him. And ſome years before his death, a good deal of concern for that kind of libertiniſm, into which an impetuoſity of temper, too much neglected in his education, together with the prevailing faſhion of that Court in which he lived, had too often hurried him. He was by his worſt enemies allowed to have lived always very kindly with his laſt wife. Whenever ſhe was very ill, or in danger (which generally happened when ſhe was with child, or at her lying-inn), he ſhewed all poſſible marks of concern: and when there was more than ordinary danger, his ſervants often found him on his knees at prayers; and on thoſe occaſions he has made vows, in caſe ſhe recovered, to give in charities, ſometimes two hundred, ſometimes three hundred pounds at a time, which he performed punctually. He was thought to be too ſaving in money matters; but that opinion was occaſioned by little trifling accidents, or rather an humour, which indiſcreet people knew not how to manage; for in reality he was not to be called covetous. It is certain his affection to his laſt Ducheſs over-ballanced his diſpoſition that way; for he always paid her pin-money to a day: and notwithſtanding ſome ill accidents in his fortune might have juſtified an omiſſion or delay, when her penſion from the Crown of 1200 *l.* a year, part of the proviſion made for her by King James the Second (the payment of which, by the ill offices of a favourite at Court had been for ſome time diſcontinued). And when by a juſt repreſentation to Queen Anne, by Lord-Treaſurer Oxford, that penſion began to be repaid, he always brought the money to her, deſiring her to take what part of it ſhe pleaſed for her own uſe; of which ſhe always took one third. But there is a ſtrong indication of his neglecting money matters too much. He loſt a great part of his fortune merely through an indolence and unwillingneſs to take the pains to viſit his eſtates at ſome diſtance from London, in the ſpace of forty years. In a word, he was a good huſband, a juſt and tender father, a conſtant zealous friend, and, one may add, the moſt agreeable of companions. As to religion, Biſhop Burnet tells us (*bb*), he was looked on as indifferent to all particular profeſſions, and that he was apt to comply in every thing that might be acceptable to King James, going with his Majeſty to maſs, and kneeling at it; ſo that, when that Court thought of making converts to Popery, the prieſts made an attack upon him; he told them, he was willing to receive inſtructions; that he had taken much pains to bring himſelf to believe in God, who made the world and all men in it; but it muſt not be an ordinary force of argument, that could make him believe that man was quits with God, and made God.

(*bb*) Hiſtory of his own Time, p. 683. Vol. I. folio edition.

His Grace's only ſurviving child, Edmond, was a youth of the greateſt hopes. He was left ſolely to the care of his mother, and being of a weakly conſtitution, was carried by her, who conſtantly attended him, ſoon after his father's death, into foreign parts, on account of his health, which obliged him to reſide a great part of his time out of his native country. He was admitted, on the 26th of July, 1732, of Queen's-college in Oxford, and reſided there about a year and a half, only during the publick Act, in 1733, he retired from the college, his modeſty not permitting him to aſſiſt at that ſolemnity, in which it is uſual for the academical nobles to pronounce exerciſes in publick *. Tender as he was, yet, fired with the example of his anceſtors, many of whom had ſignalized themſelves in the wars, in 1734 he went a volunteer into the French army, then under the command of his uncle the Duke of Berwick [*NN*], in Germany, whom he ſerved as Aid

* Communicated by the Rev. Mr Allen, Vice-principal of Magdalen Hall, from the information of Dr Browne, now Provoſt of Queen's-college, who was tutor to his Grace.

[*NN*] *He ſerved a campaign with the Duke of Berwick.*] This is mentioned by Lord Orrery, now Earl of Cork, a relation and particular acquaintance of this young nobleman, as well as an executor of his father's will, and who after his death publiſhed a poem ſacred to his memory, where he ſpeaks thus of him:

An

Aid de Camp at the ſieges of Fort Kehl and Philipſburgh, 'till the Marſhal loſt his head by a cannon ball from the walls of the latter. This cataſtrophe put an end to the nephew's campaign. The next year, intending to try the air of Naples, he advanced in his way thither as far as Rome, where he found his ſtrength ſo much waſted, that he was not able to purſue the journey any farther. He remained in this city 'till the very laſt ſhock of his diſtemper, which he ſuſtained with admirable fortitude and reſignation, ſaying, *he would ride out the ſtorm in the chair where he ſat.* He died October 30, 1735, at Rome (*cc*); but his body was brought into England, and after lying in ſtate at Buckingham houſe, was conveyed to Weſtminſter abbey, with a like funeral ſolemnity to that of his father, by whoſe ſide he was interred. His effigy, curiouſly done in wax, lies over his tomb in Henry the VIIth's chapel. Mr Pope wrote an epitaph for him [*OO*] By his death, the Sheffield family became extinct, and the whole eſtate came into the hands of the old Duke's natural ſon, Charles Herbert [*PP*]; who taking the name of Sheffield, in purſuance of his father's Will, entered alſo, after the death of the Ducheſs [*QQ*] in 1742, into poſſeſſion of the houſe in St James's Park, which he enjoys with a fair character.

(*cc*) Of a hectic conſumption. Peerage of England Vol. II. p. 148.

An early wit by juſteſt precepts taught,
By art improv'd, by ſolid judgment wrought;
That knew no folly and deteſted ill,
Whoſe thoughts were great, whoſe reaſon was his will.
To higheſt titles, honours, fortune born,
He only look'd on ſordid vice with ſcorn;
Steady in youth, reſolved, yet not auſtere;
Humane to failings, but to crimes ſevere.
Valiant in arms France ſaw his martial fire
Kindling, where Berwick's did in blood expire.

[*OO*] *Mr Pope wrote an epitaph for him.*] In theſe words:

'If modeſt youth with clear reflection crown'd,
'And every opening virtue flowing round,
'Could ſave a parent's juſteſt pride from fate,
'Or add one patriot to a ſinking ſtate,
'This weeping marble had not aſk'd thy tear,
'Or ſadly told how many hopes lie here.
'The living virtue now had ſhone approv'd,
'The Senate heard him and his country lov'd.
'Yet ſofter honours and leſs noiſy fame,
'Attend the ſhade of gentle Buckingham,
'In whom a race for courage fam'd and art,
'Ends in the milder merit of the heart;
'And chiefs or ſages long to Britain giv'n,
'Pays the laſt tribute to a Saint in Heaven.'

This laſt thought is finely expreſſed by Lord Orrery, who ends his excellent Poem in an addreſs to the mother thus:

'But thou to whoſe diſtinguiſh'd worth 'twas giv'n,
'To form a ſon an offering fit for heav'n,
'By whoſe unwearied toil and boundleſs care,
'Maternal love and never ceaſing pray'r,
'Life's rugged path he learn'd with eaſe to tread,
'To bear death's mighty ſhock, yet not to dread:
'Whoſe wiſdom urg'd him like the lark to riſe,
'And though with callous wings to reach the ſkies.
'Bid him to Fame's eternal temple climb;
'Daring in action as in ſenſe ſublime:
'Let this conſole thee, tho' but ſhort the race,
'Twas run with ardour and obtain'd with grace.
'And now far hence remov'd from mortal eyes,
'He ſits with ſeraphs and enjoys the prize.'

[*PP*] *His natural ſon*] The Duke had taken care of his education, and bred him under a Governour, who was with him at Utrecht and appointed William Bromley, Eſq; a gentleman well known and eſteemed for his great worth and abilities, to be this ſon's guardian to the age of twenty one years. If he, the Duke, happened to die before him, he left him 5000 *l.* and in caſe he ſhould ſurvive his heir, who ſhould die without iſſue, the whole eſtate, except the houſe in the Park, which likewiſe he was to ſucceed to upon the death of the Ducheſs His Grace alſo left 1000 *l.* to Mr Herbert's mother, Mrs Lambert. Beſides this ſon, the Duke had alſo two natural daughters, Sophia and Charlotte to whom he left 1000 *l* each, to be raiſed to 5000 *l* in caſe Mr Herbert ſhould ſucceed to the eſtate (63): But what is more unaccountable, the daughters were to be put into his own houſe, by the requeſt of his wife, and were carefully educated by her, 'till they were ſent alſo by her direction to a boarding ſchool at Chelſey. One of them was afterwards married to Dr Walker, Dean of Burien, and afterwards to Jeremiah Griffith, Eſq; a Counſellor at Law; and the other to Dr Joſeph Hunt, D. D. and Maſter of Baliol-college in Oxford, and after his death, firſt to Cole an Apothecary at Oxford, and then to Cox, Eſq; of Kent, whoſe widow ſhe now is, and very lately went to Oxford to diſcharge all the debts of her firſt huſband, Dr Hunt, who happened to die inſolvent (64). A rare inſtance of generoſity and conjugal affection.

(63) See his Will, at the end of the ſecond volume of his Works.

(64) From private information, this year, 1760.

[*QQ*] *At the death of the Ducheſs.*] This Lady did not only procure to be written a character of her huſband, but alſo wrote her own character, which was publiſhed after her death, and is as follows: 'She was 'daughter of King James II. and of the Counteſs 'of Dorcheſter, who inherited the integrity and 'virtue of her father with happier fortune. She was 'married firſt to James Earl of Angleſea, and ſecondly 'to John Sheffield Duke of Bucks and Normanby. 'With the former ſhe exerciſed the virtues of pa'tience and ſuffering as long as there was any hopes 'of doing good by either; with the latter, all other 'conjugal virtues. The man of fineſt ſenſe and ſharpeſt diſcernment ſhe had the happineſs to pleaſe, and 'in that found her only pleaſure. When he died it 'ſeemed as if his ſpirit was only breathed into her; 'to fulfil what he had begun to perform, what he 'had concerted, and to preſerve and watch over what 'he had left his only ſon; in the care of whoſe health, 'the forming of whoſe mind, and the improvement 'of whoſe fortune, ſhe acted with the conduct and 'ſenſe of the father, ſoftened, but not overcome, 'with the tenderneſs of the mother. Her underſtanding was ſuch as muſt have made a figure had it 'been in a man, but the modeſty of her ſex threw a 'veil over it's luſtre, which nevertheleſs ſuppreſſed, 'only the expreſſion, not the exertion of it; for her 'ſenſe was not ſuperior to her reſolution, which when 'once ſhe was in the right, preſerved her from ma'king it only a tranſition to the wrong, the frequent 'weakneſs even of the beſt women. She often fol'lowed wiſe counſel, but ſometimes went before it, 'always with ſucceſs She was poſſeſſed of a ſpirit, 'which aſſiſted her to get the better of thoſe acci'dents which admitted of any redreſs, and enabled 'her to ſupport outwardly with decency and dignity 'thoſe which admitted of none, yet melted inwardly, 'through almoſt her whole life, at a ſucceſſion of me'lancholy and affecting objects, the loſs of all her 'children, the misfortunes of relations and friends 'public and private, and the death of thoſe who were 'deareſt to her. Her heart was as compaſſionate as it 'was great; her affections warm even to ſolicitude; 'her friendſhip not violent or jealous, but rational 'and perſevering. Her gratitude equal and conſtant 'to the living, to the dead, boundleſs and heroical. 'What perſon ſoever ſhe found worthy of her eſteem, 'ſhe would not give up for any power on earth, and

'the greateſt on earth whom ſhe could not eſteem, 'obtained from her no farther tribute than decency. 'Her good will was wholly directed by merit, not by 'accident, not meaſured by the regard they profeſſed 'for her own deſerts but by her idea of theirs; and 'as there was no merit which ſhe was not able to 'imitate, there was none which ſhe could envy. 'Therefore her converſation was as far from detrac- 'tion, as her opinion was from prejudice or prepoſ- 'ſeſſion As her thoughts were her own, ſo were her 'words, and ſhe was as ſincere in uttering her judgment 'as ſhe was impartial in forming it. She was a ſafe 'companion, many were ſerved, none ever ſuffered by 'her acquaintance? inoffenſive when provoked, when 'unprovoked not ſtupid, but the moment her enemy cea- 'ſed to be hurtful, ſhe could ceaſe to act as an enemy, 'and indeed when forced to be ſo, the more a finiſhed 'one for having been long a making, and her proceeding 'with ill people was more in a calm and ſteady courſe like 'juſtice, than in quick and paſſionate onſets, like revenge. 'As for thoſe of whom ſhe only thought ill, ſhe con- 'ſidered them not ſo much as once to wiſh them ill; 'of ſuch her contempt was great enough to put a ſtop 'to all other paſſions that could hurt them. Her love 'and averſion, her gratitude and reſentment, her eſ- 'teem and neglect were equally open and ſtrong, and 'alterable only from the alteration of the perſons who 'created them. Her mind was too noble to be in- 'ſincere, and her heart too honeſt to ſtand in need of 'it. So that ſhe never found cauſe to repent her con- 'duct either to a friend or an enemy.——There re- 'mains only to ſpeak of her perſon, which was moſt 'amiably majeſtic. The niceſt eye could find no fault 'in the outward lineaments of her face, or proportion 'of her body. It was ſuch as pleaſed wherever ſhe had 'a deſire it ſhould, yet ſhe never envied that of any 'other, which might better pleaſe in general. In the 'ſame manner as being content that her merits were 'eſteemed where ſhe deſired they ſhould, ſhe never 'depreciated thoſe of any other that were eſteemed 'or preferred elſewhere. For ſhe aimed not at a ge- 'neral eſteem, or a general love, where ſhe was not 'known, it was enough to be poſſeſſed of both where 'ſhe was. Having lived to the age of ſixty-two 'years, not courting regard, but receiving it from all 'who knew her, not loving buſineſs, but diſcharging 'it wholly whereſoever duty or friendſhip engaged her in 'it; not following greatneſs, but not declining to pay 'reſpect as far as was due from independence and 'diſintereſt. Having honourably abſolved all the 'parts of life, ſhe forſook this world, where ſhe had 'left no act of duty or virtue undone, for that alone 'where ſuch acts are rewarded, on the 13th day of 'March 1742-3.'

To this extraordinary performance there was ſubjoined the following memorandum. The above character was written by Mr Pope ſome years before her Grace's death. This coming out ſoon after Mr Pope's death, gave occaſion to Mr Warburton to publiſh it in his edition of that poet's works, with the following note We find by letter xix. of Pope's letters (65), that the Ducheſs of Bucks would have had Mr Pope draw her huſband's character, but though he refuſed this office, yet having in his Epiſtle on the Characters of Women inſerted theſe lines,

To heirs unknown deſcends the unguarded ſtore,
Or wanders Heaven directed to the poor.

Which are ſuppoſed to mark her out in ſuch a manner as not to be miſtaken for another; and having ſaid of himſelf, that he held a lie in proſe or verſe to be the ſame, all this together gave a handle to his enemies ſince his death, to publiſh the following paper, intitled, The Character of Katharine, Ducheſs of Buckingham and Normanby, as written by him; to which, in vindication of the deceaſed Poet, we have ſubjoined a letter to a friend, that will let the reader fully into the hiſtory of the writing and publiſhing of this extraordinary character. That part of the letter which relates to this affair is as follows:

'To James Moyſer, of Beverly, Eſq;

Bath, July 11, 1743.

'I come now to anſwer your friend's queſtion, the whole of what he has heard of my writing a character of the old Duke of Bucks, is untrue, I don't remember even to have ſeen it in MS. nor ever to have ſeen the pedigree, otherwiſe than after the Ducheſs had printed it with the Will, and ſent one to me, as I ſuppoſe ſhe did to all her acquaintance. I don't wonder it ſhould be reported I writ that character, after a ſtory which I will tell you in your ear, and to yourſelf. There was another character written of her Grace by herſelf (with what help I know not) but ſhe ſhewed it to me in her blots, and preſſed me by all the adjurations of friendſhip to give her my ſincere opinion of it. I acted honourably and did ſo. She ſeemed to take it patiently, and upon many exceptions which I made, engaged me to take the whole, and to ſelect out of it juſt as much as I judged might ſtand, and return her the copy. I did ſo. Immediately ſhe picked a quarrel with me, and we never ſaw each other in five or ſix years. In the mean time ſhe ſhewed this character (as much as was extracted of it in my hand-writing) as a compoſition of my own in her praiſe; and very probably it is now in the hands of Lord Hervey (66).' By this laſt paſſage, compared with what Mr Warburton obſerves, that the character was publiſhed by Mr Pope's enemies, we are led to fix the writing of it upon his Lordſhip, who, it is well known, was one of the chief of Mr Pope's enemies. The Ducheſs was interred by her own particular direction, with at leaſt equal funeral pomp to that of her huſband and ſon; and by the ſame direction, her effigies in wax-work, adorned with jewels, ſtands in Henry VIIth's chapel, in a caſe, which includes that alſo of her daughter, Sophia Katharina Henrietta Sheffield ſtanding by her ſide. In the deſcription of his houſe, the Duke takes notice of the particular care that was taken in contriving it, ſo as to prevent all noiſe over his wife's head during the myſteries of Lucina. It has been ſaid, that he retained an eminent Phyſician, particularly ſkilled in that part of the art, at a large annual ſtipend, and at his death erected a moſt ſumptuous monument (67) to his memory in Weſtminſter-Abbey, with an inſcription written by himſelf. 'Tis of his own conduct to this gentleman he ſpeaks in his Eſſay on Vulgar Errors, where he recommends a ſalary for life as a better method than fees. I almoſt doubt whether the whole profeſſion is generally here accuſed both of want of honeſty and ſkill, only to render the exception more conſpicuous. This, ſays he, is only the caſe in general, for I doubt not but ſome Phyſicians are abler and honeſter than the reſt; and I have myſelf had the experience of one, whoſe ſkill, honeſty, and friendſhip, has recovered the moſt valuable part of my family out of dangers in which we have almoſt deſpaired of ſucceſs, and reſtored her to perfect health. P

(65) See remark [M M].

(66) Pope's Works, by Warburton, Vol. VIII.

(67) It yields to none there, either for invention or execution.

SHELDON [GILBERT] Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the XVIIth century, a moſt generous and munificent prelate, was born July 19. 1598. at Stanton in Staffordſhire. He received the name of Gilbert from his godfather Gilbert Earl of Shrewſbury; to whom his father Roger Sheldon was then a menial ſervant (a), but deſcended from the ancient family of the Sheldons of Staffordſhire (b). In the latter end of the year 1613 he was admitted into Trinity-college in Oxford (c): and November 27. 1617. took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and that of Maſter May 28. 1620 (d). He was elected Fellow of All-ſouls college in 1622. And about the ſame time taking holy orders, he became afterwards domeſtic Chaplain to Thomas Lord Coventry Keeper of the Great Seal, who gave him a Prebend of Glouceſter [A]: and finding him to be a man of parts, recommended

(a) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col 1162. and Plot's Natural Hiſtory of Staffordſhire, p. 273.

(b) From the Archbiſhop's Epitaph.

(c) Wood, Ibid.

(d) Idem Faſti, Vol. I. col. 216.

[A] *Who gave him a Prebend of Glouceſter.*] He was inſtall'd into it February 26. 1632. (1)——The Lord Keeper exceedingly eſteemed him, and uſed his ſervice not only in all matters relating to the Church, but

(1) Dr Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. I. p. 742.

recommended him to King Charles I. as a perſon well vers'd in political affairs (e). On the 2d of May 1633, he was preſented by his Majeſty to the Vicarage of Hackney in Middleſex, void by the promotion of David Dolben to the biſhoprick of Bangor (f). He was alſo Rector of Ickford in Buckinghamſhire; and Archbiſhop Laud gave him the Rectory of Newington in Oxfordſhire (g). Having proceeded Bachelor of Divinity November 11. 1628. he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity June 25, 1634, as a compounder (h). In March 1635, he was elected Warden of All-ſouls-college (i). And being eſteemed a learned man (k), was appointed Chaplain in ordinary to the King; became afterwards Clerk of his Cloſet; and was deſigned by him to be made Maſter of the Savoy-Hoſpital, and Dean of Weſtminſter: but his ſettlement in them was prevented by the civil wars (l). During theſe, he firmly adhered to the King, and was one of the Chaplains whom his Majeſty ſent for, to attend his Commiſſioners, at the Treaty of Uxbridge, in February 1644, for their devotions, and for the other ſervice of the Church, as the management of the treaty requir'd; which could not be foreſeen (m). He argued there ſo earneſtly in favour of the Church of England, as drew upon him the envy and reſentment of the Parliamentarians, which they made him afterwards ſufficiently feel (n). In April 1646, he was attending the King at Oxford, and witneſs to a remarkable vow made by his Majeſty [B], of which an account is given in the note. He alſo attended in 1647, as one of his Majeſty's Chaplains, at Newmarket, and other places (o). The 30th of March, he was ejected from his Wardenſhip of All-ſouls-college, by the Parliamentary viſitors; who forcibly took poſſeſſion of his lodgings, April 13. and impriſon'd him (p), with Dr Hammond, in Oxford, and elſewhere; to the end that their eminency in the univerſity might not hinder the intruders and rebels proceedings, and to keep them from attending on the King at the treaty in the iſle of Wight (q). He remained confin'd above ſix months, and then the Reforming Committee ſet him at liberty, October 24. 1648, upon condition that he ſhould never come within five miles of Oxford; that he ſhould not go to the King in the iſle of Wight; and that he ſhould give ſecurity to appear before them, at fourteen days warning whenever cited (r) Upon his releaſe, he retir'd to Snelſton in Derbyſhire, and among the reſt of his friends in Staffordſhire and Nottinghamſhire; whence, from his own purſe, and from collections made by him amongſt the Royaliſts, he ſent conſtant ſupplies of money to King Charles II. abroad, and follow'd his ſtudies and devotions 'till matters tended to a happy Reſtoration. J. Palmer, the intruder into his Wardenſhip, dying March 4. 1659-60; he became of courſe Warden again, without however taking repoſſeſſion, and continued ſo 'till the January following (s). He became then alſo poſſeſs'd of the Maſterſhip of the Savoy [C], which he kept 'till 1663. On King Charles the Second's return, he met his Majeſty at Canterbury, and was ſoon after made Dean of the Chapel royal; as alſo, upon biſhop Juxon's tranſlation to Canterbury, advanced in his room to the Biſhopric of London, and conſecrated October 28. 1660 (t) [D]. But in effect he governed the whole Province of Canterbury, by reaſon of Archbiſhop Juxon's great age and infirmities (u). He was likewiſe ſworn a privy Counſellor (w). In 1661, the famous Conference between ſome of the Epiſcopal Clergy and Preſbyterian Divines, concerning alterations to be made in the Liturgy, was held at his lodgings in the Savoy [E]. His conduct there and afterwards, is blamed by the Preſbyterians [F]. While he was

(e) Wood, Ath. Vol. 1163.

(f) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 620.

(g) J. Le Neve's Lives of the Proteſtant Biſhops, Lond. 1720, 8vo. Part i. p. 277.

(h) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 242 and 260.

(i) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 276.

(k) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1753, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 247.

(l) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra.

(m) Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. edit. 1731, 8vo. Vol. IV. p. 583.

(n) Cl. G. Richardſoni Contin. Godwini Commentariorum de Præſulibus, edit. 1742, p. 163.

(o) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory, Vol. V. p. 60. and Parliamentary Hiſtory, Vol. XVI. p. 34. 40, 42, 49, 50, 65.

(p) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. i. p. 397, 402, 403.

(q) Wood, Ath. col. 1163.

(r) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. L. i. p. 413.

(s Wood, Ath. col. 1163. and Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. ii. col. 176. and Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, p. 221.

(t) Le Neve, as above, p 180.

(u) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. edit. 1719, p. 207.

(w) Wood, Ath. col. 1163.

but in many other buſineſſes of importance, in which that Lord was nearly concerned. The Earl of Clarendon, from whom we have this particular, adds †, that when Dr Sheldon was afterwards Warden of All-Souls college in Oxford, he then was looked upon, as very equal to any preferment the Church could yield, or hath ſince yielded unto him; and Sir Francis Wenman would often ſay, when the Doctor reſorted to the converſation at the Lord Falkland's houſe, as he frequently did, that 'Dr Sheldon was born, and bred 'to be Archbiſhop of Canterbury.'

† Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, edit. 1759, Vol. I. 8vo. p. 49. and of the folio edit. p. 25.

[B] *And witneſs to a remarkable vow made by his Majeſty.*] It was firſt made public by Mr Echard (z), who gives this account of the occaſion of making it. ——'In the midſt of theſe uncommon difficulties, 'the pious King, as it were reflecting upon his conceſſions relating to the Churches of Scotland and 'England, and being extremely tender in caſe of ſacrilegious encroachments, wrote and ſigned this extraordinary vow, which was never yet publiſhed. I 'do here promiſe and ſolemnly vow, in the preſence 'and for the ſervice of almighty God, that if it ſhall 'pleaſe the divine Majeſty, of his infinite Goodneſs 'to reſtore me to my juſt kingly rights, and to re'eſtabliſh me in my throne, I will wholly give back 'to his Church all thoſe Impropriations which are 'now held by the Crown; and what lands ſoever I 'do now, or ſhould enjoy, which have been taken 'away either from any Epiſcopal ſee, or any Cathe'dral or Collegiate Church, from any Abby, or other 'religious houſe. I likewiſe promiſe for hereafter to 'hold them from the Church, under ſuch reaſon'able Fines and Rents as ſhall be ſet down by ſome 'conſcientious perſons, whom I propoſe to chuſe with 'all uprightneſs of heart, to direct me in this parti'cular. And I moſt humbly beſeech God to accept 'of this my Vow, and to bleſs me in the deſign I 'have now in hand, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord 'Amen.

'CHARLES R,

'Oxford, April 13. 1646.'

(z) In the Appendix to his Hiſtory of England, p. 5.

This is a true Copy of the King's Vow, which was preſerv'd thirteen years under ground, by me

1660. Aug. 21. Gilb. Sheldon.

[C] *He became then alſo poſſeſs'd of the Maſterſhip of the Savoy.*] The famous Conference, between the Epiſcopal and Preſbyterian Divines, in 1661, was holden in his Lodgings there; and thence came to be diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of the *Savoy-Conference*. See below note [E].

[D] *And conſecrated October* 28. 1660] His *Congé d'eſlire* bears date Septemb. 28. And he was elected October the 9th, confirm'd the 23d and inſtall'd by proxy November 3d (3).

(3) Le Neve, &c. as above, p. 180. from the Biſhop's Regiſter, and Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, p. 303.

[E] *In* 1661, *the famous Conference——concerning alterations to be made in the Liturgy. was held at his lodgings in the Savoy.*] At the firſt meeting of the Commiſſioners, Biſhop Sheldon told the Preſbyterian Divines, 'That not the Biſhops, but *They*, had been 'ſeekers of the Conference, and deſir'd Alterations 'in the Liturgy: Therefore, there was nothing to be 'done

was Biſhop of London, he gave fifty pounds to Chriſt's-church in Oxford, towards repairing ſeveral damages which it had ſuſtained during the civil wars (x). In 1663 he was tranſlated to the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury [G], vacant by the death of Archbiſhop Juxon. As he had ſpent large ſums upon his epiſcopal houſes whilſt he was biſhop of London [H], ſo did he now upon his archiepiſcopal; particularly upon his palace at Lambeth, where he rebuilt the Library (y), after having recovered the books belonging thereto from the univerſity of Cambridge. He alſo made an addition to it of ſeveral Books (z). But his moſt ſumptuous and conſiderable work, was the magnificent Theatre at Oxford [I], erected at his ſole expence; which was opened with great ſolemnity July 9. 1669. In 1665, during the time of the great Plague, he firmly continued at Lambeth, notwithſtanding the extremity of the danger, and with his diffuſive charity preſerved great numbers alive that would otherwiſe have periſhed. Alſo by his affecting letters to all the Biſhops, he procured great ſums to be return'd out of all parts of his province (a). The ſame year, he was one of thoſe who promoted the Corporation, or Five-mile-act (b). He is ſaid to have adviſed, among others, the removal of Lord Chancellor Clarendon (c) [K]: And, in his room, he was elected, December 20. 1667, Chancellor of the univerſity

(x) Idem, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. ii. p. 284.

(y) Wood, Ath. col. 1163, 1164, and Le Neve, as above, p. 182, 196.

(z) Le Neve, p. 87, 194.

(a) Echard's Hiſt. of England, edit. 1707, fol. Vol. III. p. 142.

(b) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 315.

(c) Burnet, Vol. I. p. 354.

'done 'till they had brought in all that they had to ſay 'againſt it in writing, and all the additional Forms and 'Alterations which they deſir'd.' The Miniſters moved for an Amicable Conference, according to the Commiſſion, as thinking it more likely to contribute to diſpatch, and to the anſwering the great end: Whereas, writing would be a tedious endleſs buſineſs, and prevent that familiarity and acquaintance with each others minds, which might facilitate concord. But Biſhop Sheldon abſolutely inſiſted upon it, 'That no-'thing ſhould be done 'till all Exceptions, Alterations 'and Additions, were brought in at once.' And after ſome debate, it was agreed, 'That they ſhould bring 'in all their Exceptions at one time, and all their 'Additions at another time (4)' — During the courſe of that Conference the Biſhop did not appear often, and engag'd not in all the diſputation, and yet was well known to have a principal hand in diſpoſing of all ſuch affairs (5).

(4) Calamy's Abridgment of R. Baxter's Life, edit. 1713. Vol. I. p. 553, 554.

(5) Ibid. p. 171. See alſo Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 251.

[F] *His conduct there, and afterwards, is blamed by the Preſbyterians.*] They accuſe him of too much rigidneſs; and tell the following ſtories of him. —— 'In the convocation holden in 1661. Dr Allen of Huntingdonſhire, clerk in that convocation, laboured with Him, to have the Liturgy ſo reformed, as that no ſober man might make exception. But Biſhop Sheldon deſir'd him to forbear; "for, what ſhould be, was concluded on, or reſolv'd." (6) —— Likewiſe, That when the Lord Chamberlain Mancheſter told the King, while the Act of Uniformity was under debate, 'He was afraid the terms of it were ſo rigid, that 'many of the Miniſters would not comply with it;' The Biſhop, then preſent, replied, 'I am afraid, they 'will.'——Moreover, that he ſhould ſay, 'Now we 'know their minds, we'll make them all Knaves if 'they conform (7).'

(6) Calamy, ubi ſupra, p. 159.

(7) Calamy, p. 171.

Upon its being debated in Council, in Auguſt 1662, Whether the Act of Uniformity *ſhould* be punctually executed on the 24th of that month, or ſuſpended for a while: Our Biſhop preſſed the execution of it. 'England, ſaid he, was accuſtomed to obey laws: 'So while they ſtood on that ground, they were ſafe, 'and needed fear none of the dangers that ſeemed to 'be threatened: He alſo undertook to fill all the va-'cant pulpits, that ſhould be forſaken in London, 'better and more to the ſatisfaction of the people, 'than they had been before: And he ſeemed to appre-'hend, that a very ſmall number would fall under 'the deprivation, and that the groſs of the party 'would conform. On the other hand, thoſe who led 'the party took great pains to have them all ſtick to-'gether (8).' —— Biſhop Parker relates this matter ſomewhat more fully (9). —— 'The Council, ſaith he, 'being held, Biſhop Sheldon came of his own accord '(for he was not yet called to the Privy-Council) and 'pleaded for the Law, with that ſharpneſs of wit, 'that copious eloquence, and that weight of reaſon, 'that he did not ſo much perſuade, as command, the 'aſſent of the King, the Duke, the Council, and all 'that were preſent, and almoſt even the petitioners 'themſelves to his opinion. He told them, that the 'ſuſpenſion of the law came almoſt too late, that by 'the command of that law he had ejected all who 'had not obey'd it in his dioceſe the Sunday before, 'by which he had ſo provok'd their anger and hatred, 'that if they were again reſtor'd, he ſhould not live 'henceforward in a ſociety of Clergy, but in the jaws 'of his enemies; neither could he dare to contradict 'a law that was paſſed with ſo great approbation of 'all good men, ſo general a conſent of Parliament, 'and with ſo much deliberation. And further, that 'if at that time ſo ſacred a Law ſhould be repealed, 'it would expoſe the lawgivers to the ſport and ſcorn 'of the faction. And laſtly, that the State and 'Church would never be free from diſorders and diſ-'turbances, if factious men could extort whatever 'they deſir'd by their impudence and importunity.'

(8) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 268.

(9) Hiſt. of his own Time, p. 29.

Our Prelate is alſo blamed by the Preſbyterians, for a circular Letter ſent by him to his ſuffragans, in 1670, for promoting the execution of the Conventicle-act (10).

(10) See Complete Hiſtory, Vol III. p. 281. and Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 328.

But a perſon highly provok'd, and very much injur'd, as he certainly had been, could not act with that coolneſs about matters which he thought of the utmoſt Importance, as his natural temper would have prompted him to. And, after all, are his ſufferings to be abſolutely forgotten?

[G] *In 1663. he was tranſlated to the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury.*] The *congé d'eſlire* was granted July 14. and he was elected Auguſt 11. and confirm'd the 31ſt of that month.

[H] *As he had ſpent large ſums upon his epiſcopal houſes whilſt he was biſhop of London, &c.*] He paid to the Lord Petre, for the purchaſe of London-houſe in Alderſgate-ſtreet, 5200 *l.* to ſerve as a Town-houſe to himſelf and ſucceſſors, in the room of his palace at the North-weſt corner of St Paul's church-yard, which had been deſtroyed by the great Fire. —— And he laid out on the repairs of his houſes at Fulham, Lambeth, and Croydon, 4500 *l.* (11).

(11) Le Neve, as above, p. 193.

[I] *But his moſt ſumptuous and conſiderable work was the magnificent Theatre at Oxford.*] The learned and ingenious Dr Lowth, juſtly celebrates his Munificence diſplayed in that noble edifice, in theſe elegant words. —— 'Quid denique hoc ipſum 'Theatrum, Viri graviſſimi atque ſanctiſſimi *Gilberti* 'Sheldoni Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopi ſingulari conſtruc-'tum Munificentia? munus dignum auctore, —— quod 'cum intueor et circumſpicio, videor mihi in ipſa 'Roma, vel in mediis Athenis, antiquis illis et cum 'maxime florentibus, verſari; niſi quod, fidenter hoc 'dico, neque Roma neque Athenæ tale tantumque 'Gymnaſium Muſis et Apollini ſuo conſecratum un-'quam habuerunt —— (12).

(12) Lowth Oratio Crewiana, inter Prælectiones Academicas, p. 362.

[K] *He is ſaid to have adviſed, among others, the removal of Lord Chancellor Clarendon:*] Our author for this particular, is Biſhop Burnet (13); though indeed his words are not very clear, but rather ambiguous. After ſaying, that King Charles II. had reſolved to take the Seals from Lord Clarendon; he goes on thus. —— 'The King ſaid to the Lord Lau-'derdale, that he had talked of the matter with Shel-'don; and that he (14) convinced him, that it was 'neceſſary to remove Lord Clarendon from his poſt. 'And, as ſoon as it was done, the King ſent for 'Sheldon, and told him what he had done. But he 'anſwered nothing. When the King inſiſted to ob-'lige him to declare himſelf, he ſaid, "Sir, I wiſh "you would put away this woman that you keep." 'The King upon that replied ſharply, why had he 'never talked to him of that ſooner, but took this 'occaſion now to ſpeak of it. Lauderdale told me, 'he

(13) Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 354.

(14) Q. Who, the King, or Archbiſhop Sheldon?

versity of Oxford (d). The same year, he lost the King's confidence for advising him to put away his mistress Barbara Villiers, and could never recover it again (e). On the 31st of July 1669, he resigned the place of Chancellor of the university of Oxford, and retired from public business; with the inward satisfaction of having served the university with as much affection, and a munificence almost equal to any of his predecessors (f). For the last years of his life, he resided chiefly at his palace of Croydon (g). Having filled the see of Canterbury with great honour and reputation for above fourteen years, he dyed at Lambeth, November 9. 1677, in the eightieth year of his age; and, according to his own direction, was buried in Croydon-church in Surrey (h): where a stately monument was soon after erected to his memory [L], by his nephew and heir Sir Joseph Sheldon, then lately Lord Mayor of London, son of his elder brother Ralph Sheldon of Stanton (i). His works of piety and charity were many [M]. And the rest of his character is given below [N]. He never published any thing but 'A Sermon preached before

(d) Wood, Ath. col. 1163. and Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. ii. p. 1144.

(e) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 355.

(f) Le Neve, as above, p. 185.

(g) Complete History, as above, Vol. III. p. 348.

(h) Le Neve, p. 190.

(i) Wood Ath. as above, col. 1163.

'he had all this from the King: And that the King 'and Sheldon had gone into such expostulations upon 'it, that from that day forward Sheldon could never 'recover the King's confidence.'

[L] *Where a stately monument was soon after erected to his memory.*] The inscription upon it begins thus.

'Fortiter & Suaviter.
'Hic jacet
'*Gilbertus Sheldon,*
'Antiquâ Sheldoniorum familiâ
'In Agro Staffordiensi natus;

Then, after giving an account of his education and preferments, it goes on thus to his character.

'Vir
'Omnibus negotiis par, omnibus titulis superior:
'In rebus adversis magnus, in prosperis bonus,
'Utriusq; Fortunæ Dominus.
'Pauperum Parens,
'Literatorum Patronus,
'Ecclesiæ Stator.
'De tanto Viro
'Pauca dicere non expedit, multa non opus est.
'Norunt Præsentes, Posteri vix credent.'

i. e. a man equal to any business, superior to all titles: Great in adversity, good in prosperity, master of good and bad fortune. The father of the poor, the patron of the learned, the watchman, or defender of the Church, &c.

[M] *His works of piety and charity were many.*] Besides what he laid out in purchasing *London-house*, and repairing his *Episcopal houses*, as mentioned above in note [H], he gave for repair of St Paul's church, before the fire 2169*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* and after the fire 2000*l.*——He gave, for the augmentation of Vicarages belonging to his see, *a hundred and forty pounds a year*, for which he abated in his fines to the value of 1680*l.* and all the leases being expired when he was made Bishop, upon the renewal of them, he abated in his fines above *sixteen thousand* pounds more, for the augmentation of small livings.——He expended upon the building of the Theatre at Oxford 14470*l.* 11*s.* 11*d.* and gave the university 2000*l.* besides, to buy land, for keeping it in perpetual repair.——He gave for the finishing of All-souls-college chapel, and Trinity-college chapel in Oxford, and repairing Lichfield-cathedral 450*l.*—— In his will, he bequeathed to pious and charitable uses 1500*l.* Out of which he appropriated to All souls-college 300*l.* Trinity-college 100*l.* both in Oxford. To Canterbury-cathedral 100*l.* To the poor at Lambeth 50*l.* at Croydon 40*l.* To St John's hospital at Canterbury 100*l.* and to that of St Nicolas Harbledown near Canterbury 100*l.*—— In short, we are assured, that from the time of his being Bishop of London to that of his death, it appeared in his book of accounts, that upon publick, pious and charitable uses he had bestowed *sixty six thousand pounds* (15). But, according to others (16), he disposed to publick pious uses, in acts of munificence and charity (in his life, or by his last will and testament) the sum of *seventy two thousand pounds*, as attested by his Treasurer Ralph Snow Esq; to whom he left a legacy of 1000*l.* under

(15) Le Neve, as above, p. 192, 193, &c. Wood, Ath. col. 1164.

(16) W. Kennett's Case of Impropriations, &c. p. 257.

this distinguishing style, *To my old and faithful servant.*

[N] *And the rest of his character is given below.*] It is thus drawn by Dr Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford, who had been his Chaplain (17). 'He was a 'man of undoubted Piety; but though he was very 'assiduous at Prayers, yet he did not set so great a 'value upon them as others did, nor regarded so 'much Worship as the use of Worship, placing the 'chief point of religion in the practice of a good 'life. In his daily discourse he cautioned those about 'him, not to deceive themselves with an half religion, 'nor to think that divine Worship was confined within 'the walls of the Church, the principal part of it 'being without doors, and consisting in being con-'versant with mankind. If men led an upright, 'sober, chaste life, then and not 'till then they might 'look upon themselves as Religious; otherwise it 'would signify nothing what form of religion bad 'men followed, or to what Church they belonged. 'Therefore having spoken to this effect, he added 'with a kind of exultation and joy, *Do well, and rejoice.*——His advice to young Noblemen and Gentlemen, who by their parents commands resorted 'daily to him, was always this; *Let it be your principal care to become honest men, and afterwards be as devout and religious as you will. No Piety will be of any advantage to yourselves or any body else, unless you are honest and moral men.* He had a great 'aversion to all pretences to extraordinary Piety, which 'covered real dishonesty; but had a sincere affection for 'those, whose religion was attended with integrity of 'manners. His worthy notions of religion meeting 'with an excellent temper in him, gave him that 'even Tranquillity of mind, by which he was still 'himself, and always the same in adversity as well as 'in prosperity; and neither over-rated nor despised 'life, nor feared nor wished for death, but lived 'agreeably to himself and others. From this Tranquillity of Mind naturally arose a courteous behaviour. His Conversation was easy; he never sent 'any man away discontented; among his domestics 'he was both pleasant and grave, and governed his 'family with authority and courtesy.——His Generosity was such, that besides what he did in a private condition, (in which he redeemed the family 'estate, which his elder brother had wasted, for the 'children of the deceased,) after he was advanced to 'the episcopal throne he laid out thirty seven thousand pounds in works of Charity and Piety, and yet 'managed his own affairs with such prudence, that 'he left a considerable estate and a great deal of ready 'money to his heirs, and at the same time bequeathed 'to every one of his servants large pensions for their 'lives.'——Bishop Burnet does not give him so favorable a character (18): It is as follows.——'Sheldon 'was esteemed a learned man before the wars: But he 'was now engaged so deep in politicks, that scarce 'any prints of what he had been remained. He was 'a very dextrous man in business, had a great quickness of apprehension, and a very true judgment. 'He was a generous and charitable man. He had a 'great pleasantness of conversation, perhaps too 'great. He had an art, that was peculiar to him, 'of treating all that came to him in a most obliging 'manner: But few depended much on his professions 'of friendship. He seemed not to have a deep sense 'of religion, if any at all *: And spoke of it most 'commonly as of an engine of government, and a 'matter of policy. By this means the King came to 'look

(17) *Commentarii de rebus sui temporis*; or, History of his own Time, book i.

(18) Hist. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 247.

* Very likely, because he did not *care* so much about it, as Bishop Burnet, and persons of his cast.

(k) See Mr Chillingworth's Life by Mr Des Maizeaux, edit. Lond. 1725, 8vo. p. 78—103. and the article CHILLINGWORTH [WILLIAM].

'fore the King at Whitehall, upon June the 28th 1660, being the Day of Solemn 'Thankſgiving for the happy Return of his Majeſty,' on Pſalm xviii. 49 Lond. 1660. 4to. With the renowned Chillingworth he had a great intimacy, and was the chief means of perſuading that great man to ſubſcribe the Thirty nine articles of the Church of England (*k*) [*O*].

'look on him as a wiſe and honeſt Clergyman.'—— Elſewhere he intimates (19), that he was a man of no great ſtrictneſs.

(19) Ibid. p. 192.

But the Reader will be pleaſed to remember, That, ſince our unhappy civil wars, every man of eminence hath born a double character, according to people's Paſſions and Prejudices.

[*O*] *And was the chief means of perſuading that great man to ſubſcribe the Thirty nine Articles of the Church of England*] Among Mr H. Wharton's MSS. in the Library at Lambeth, there are minutes of a Letter of Dr Sheldon to Mr Chillingworth, (as is ſuppoſed) which though printed already by Mr Des Maizeaux, and in the General Dictionary, we ſhall here preſent the Reader with, from an exact copy taken from the original by an ingenious Friend. It is as follows;

'It was in a third perſon elſe I ſhould not have told you what I did

I muſt deal plainly with you, I am much afraid it will ruin you here and not advantage you at the laſt day

God forbid I ſhould perſuade any to do againſt his conſcience, be in itſelf good or bad, it muſt be a ſin to him,——

Accordinge] if not againſt. for 'tis accordinge to Scripture that the church hath power to eſtabliſh ceremony or doctrine if occaſion require, not againſt the Scripture

The end of theſe general forms of prayer. if capable of any conſtruction true againſt the papiſts

no evangelical counſells as the papiſts ſuch as preſuppoſe a fulfilling of the law and going beyond it to ſatisfy and merit for us that accordinge to Scripture in this ſenſe the article condemns them. conſider it well.

No ſuch offeringe of X^{s} in the Scripture where will you find it once offered for all in that manner they did it againſt whom the article was fram'd, taken with all aggravating circumſtances of corporal preſence. —— as if another ſatiſfaction for ſin the conſequences that *may* be drawn from tranſubſtantiation will amount to little leſs than blaſphemy

Works done by bare nature are not meritorious *de congruo*. nature of ſin they muſt have if ſin be in them and ſo it is for *malum ex qualibet cauſa* unleſs a downeright Pelagian You may give it a fayre and [not legible] true interpretation.

Upon theſe reaſons I preſume did that reverend prelate Andrews and that learned Mountague ſubſcribe when they publicly taught evangelical councells in their writings what you have writ to me in a third perſon —— be not too forward —— over poſſeſs'd with a ſpirit of contradiction. —— thus you may ——

On the back

Sheldon's hand-written (I ſuppoſe) for Chillingworth.'

The Reader may obſerve, that theſe are only half-form'd, unfiniſh'd ſentences, or rather hints; out of which, in part, Dr Sheldon *might* perhaps afterwards have drawn up a letter to Mr Chillingworth.

In the General Dictionary, 'tis ſaid, that 'In the 'catalogue of the manuſcripts of Mr Wharton drawn 'up by himſelf, we find that one of the volumes (20) 'contained *A letter of Dr Sheldon to Mr Chilling-* 'worth to ſatisfy his ſcruples about ſubſcribing; but 'we can give no account of that letter, having not 'ſeen it.' Upon examination, inſtead of a Letter, it appears to be only thoſe confus'd hints, or minutes, here given.

(20) MS. M. p. 933.

C

SHERBURNE [Sir EDWARD] a learned and ingenious Writer in the XVIIth century, was deſcended from an ancient and genteel family of his name at Stonyhurſt in Lancaſhire. But his grandfather Henry Sherburne becoming a retainer to Corpus Chriſti college in Oxford (*a*) ſettled there, and had iſſue among other children, Edward Sherburne, who being made Clerk of the Ordnance, reſided in Goldſmith's-rents, near Red croſs ſtreet, in the Pariſh of St. Giles Cripplegate, London, where the ſubject of the preſent memoir was born, on the 18th of September, 1618. He received the firſt part of his education from Mr Thomas Farnabie [*A*] who then taught a grammar-ſchool in Goldſmith's rents: And

(a) Perhaps Butler. Mr Wood tells us, he built a houſe oppoſite to Merton college, and probably dwelt in it. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 659.

[*A*] *Mr Thomas Farnabie.*] This gentleman who we are told was the moſt noted ſchoolmaſter of his time, deſerves, on account of the importance of that laborious employment to the public, ſome further notice. His life was alſo chequered with a variety of uncommon incidents. He was the ſon of Thomas Farnabie, Carpenter of London, (2) where he was born about 1575. He became a ſtudent in Merton college in 1590. and being a youth of great hopes was made by one of the Fellows, Mr Thomas French, his poſtmaſter, and conſequently his ſervitor (3); but being very wild he left the college, was ſeduced by the Jeſuits, went into Spain, and was for ſome time educated in one of their ſeminaries there; 'till growing weary of their ſevere diſcipline, he found a way to leave them, and went with Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins in their laſt voyage in 1595, being in ſome eſteem with the former. He afterwards became a ſoldier in the Low-Countries, and was reduced to great poverty, but found means to be ſet on ſhore in the weſt of England; where, after wandering about under the name of Thomas Bainrafe (4), he ſettled at Martock in Somerſetſhire, and taught the grammar-ſchool there for ſome time with good ſucceſs; as appears from hence, that in the year 1646. there was in that town and neighbourhood, many that had been his ſcholars, ingenious men and good grammarians, even in their grey hairs, among whom it was then reported, that when he landed in Cornwall, his diſtreſſes made him ſtoop ſo low as to be an Abcdarian, ſeveral being taught their horn-books by him. After he had gotten ſome feathers at Martock, he took his flight to London, and taught a long time in Goldſmith's-rents, as above mentioned; where he had large gardens and handſome houſes, with great accommodations for young noblemen and gentlemen, who at one time made up the number of 300 or more. The ſchool-houſe was a large brick building, divided into ſeveral partitions or apartments, according to the diſtinctions of the forms and claſſes under the care of the reſpective uſhers allotted to attend them. While he taught here he was made Maſter of Arts at Cambridge, and ſoon after incorporated at Oxford. At length upon ſome diſagreement with his landlords, and frequent ſickneſſes

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 104, 105.

(2) His grandfather was ſome time Mayor of Truro in Cornwall, and his great-grandfather an Italian muſician. Ibid.

(3) It was then the cuſtom for Poſtmaſters to ſerve thoſe Fellows from whom they received their places. Ibid.

(4) The anagram of Farnabie.

And upon that eminent master's removal to Sevenoak in Kent in 1636, Mr Sherburne engaged his uther, Mr Charles Aleyn (*b*), a very ingenious gentleman, who had been bred at Sidney-college in Cambridge (*c*), to instruct his son in his own house But his preceptor dying in 1640, it was resolved to send his pupil, who was now two and twenty years of age, to compleat his education by travelling into foreign parts. Accordingly he went to France about Christmas the same year, and having visited the most considerable places in that kingdom, was preparing to set out for Italy, when the unhappy news of his father's illness brought him home. The old gentleman did not survive his return many weeks. However upon his death, which happened a few days before Christmas 1641, his son succeeded to the Clerkship of his Majesty's ordnance, the patent being granted to him on the 5th of February following (*d*). But the condition of the times did not suffer his continuance in this post: Upon the breaking out of the civil war he was found too firmly attached to the King's interest for the designs of the opposite party, and being a papist, was ejected by warrant from the House of Lords, in April or May 1642. He was also committed to the custody of the black rod, and lay there at great expence 'till October, when regaining his liberty, he immediately betook himself to his royal master, who repaired his loss in the best manner he was then able, by making him commissary general of the artillery. In that post he served his Majesty at the Battle of Edge-hill the same month, and attending him afterwards to Oxford, was there created master of arts on the 20th of December This situation was very favourable to Mr Sherburne's taste and turn to letters, and he made use of the opportunity it gave him to prosecute his studies [*B*] with advantage,

(*b*) Dr Alexander Gill was an assistant to Mr Farnabie, before he succeeded his father as head Master of St Paul's-sch. of. Athen. Oxon Vol II. col. 22.

(*c*) He wrote two poems, one intituled, The Battle of Crossy and Poictiers, and the other The History of Henry VII. with the Battle of Bosworth. Printed at Lond. 1633.

(*d*) In Wood's Fasti, col. 18. It is printed 5 Feb. 13 Car. I. which must be a mistake, and probably of the press, unless the grant was a reversionary one.

nesses in the city, he removed about 1616. to Sevenoak in Kent, having purchased an estate at Otford in that neighbourhood. Here he kept a boarding-school, and taught the sons of several noblemen and gentlemen, was greatly esteemed, grew rich, purchased an estate there also, and another near Hortham in Sussex Upon the dawning of the civil war he was deemed ill affected to the parliament party (*e*), and being afterwards suspected to have favoured the rising of the country for the King about Tunbridge in 1643, he was imprisoned first in Newgate, and thence put on board a ship, it being then moved in the House of Commons to send him to America; but that motion being at last rejected, he was removed to Ely-house in Holbourn, where he remained for about a year before his death, which happened in 1647. He was buried in the chancel of the church at Sevenoak, with this epitaph over his grave. *P. M. Viri ornatissimi* Thomæ Farnabii Armigeri. *Causæ olim Regiæ, reique publicæ, sed literariæ, vindicis acerrimi. Obiit 12, 1647.*

Vatibus hic sacris qui lux Farnabius olim,
Vate carens saxo nunc sine luce jacet.

(*e*) When the Protestation was urged in 1641, he said it was better to have one King than five hundred. The design of this Protestation may be seen in Salmon's Chron. Hist. under 1641.

By his first wife Susan, daughter of John Pierce of Launcells in Cornwall, he had a son named John, who became a Captain in the King's army; to this son he left his estate in Sussex, where he lived in good esteem, dying about 1673. By his second wife Anne, daughter of Dr John Howson, Bishop of Durham he had several children, one of which was named Francis, to whom he left his estate at Kippington, in the parish of Sevenoak, where he was living about 1700, in good repute. To him we are indebted for several particulars in this narrative, as Mr. Wood informs us, who gives Mr Farnabie for the chief Grammarian, Rhetorician, Poet, Latinist, and Grecian of his time, and tells us, that out of his school there issued more churchmen and statesmen than from any other school taught by one man in England. His memory is celebrated by several authors, as John Dunbar (6), Richard Bruch (7), and others. He published several books at London, for the use of schools, among which are *Notæ ad Senecæ tragœdias* (8), 1613. 8vo *Notæ ad Senecæ tragœdias*, 1612. 8vo. *Notæ ad Martialis Epigrammata*, 1615. 8vo. Genev 1623. 1633. &c. in 12mo *Notæ ad Luciani Pharsalia*, 1618, 8vo *Index Rhetoricus scholis & institutioni tenerionis ætatis accommodatus*, 1625. 8vo. *Phrases oratoriæ elegantiores & poeticæ*, 1618. 8vo 8th edit. *Florilegium epigrammatum Græcorum eorumque Latino versu a variis redditorum*, 1629. 8vo. *Notæ ad Virgilium*, 1634 8vo. *Notæ in Terentium*, 12mo. *Notæ in Ovidii Metamorph. libros* 12. 12mo. and again in 1677, &c. *Systema Grammaticum*, 1641. 8vo. *Index Rhetoricus & Oratorius cum formulis Oratorils & indice poetico*, 1646. 8vo. *Phraseologia Anglo-Lat* 8vo. *Tabulæ Græcæ linguæ*, 4to *Syntaxis* in 8vo. *Epistolæ variæ ad doctissimos viros*

(6) In Epigram. Cent. 6. Lond. 1616 in cent. sext. num. 74.

(7) In libro suo cui titulus est Epigrammatum Hecatontades duæ. Lond. 1627.

(8) Owen the Epigrammatist, with whom our author had a friendly acquaintance hath celebrated this piece, in Append. Epigr. num. 10.

[*B*] *He prosecuted his studies at Oxford.*] As several others did, says our Antiquary, who, among the rest, particularly mentions Captain or Sir George Wharton, as having a place as well as Mr Sherburne in the artillery at Oxford: we shall therefore take this opportunity of supplying what may be thought an omission in the article of Lilly the astrologer, by the following account, in which will be found some entertaining incidents. Mr Wood informs us *, that Sir George was descended from an ancient and genteel family in Westmoreland, and born at Kirby Kendal in that county, April 4, 1617, spent some time as a sojourner at Oxford in 1633, and after then retiring to his patrimony, he cultivated his genius for astronomy, being assisted by William Milbourne curate at Brafferton, near Durham, and published almanacks by the name of George Naworth (9); but upon the growing rebellion he turned all his inheritance into money, and raised a gallant troop of horse in his Majesty's service. After several generous hazards of his person in battle, he was at last totally routed in March 1645. near Stow on the Would in Gloucestershire, where the valiant Sir Jacob Astley was taken prisoner, and Sir George received several scars of honour which he carried to his grave. Upon this misfortune he retired to Oxford to his Majesty, who, in recompence of his losses, made him treasurer and paymaster to the artillery under Sir John Heydon. Here at leisure hours he followed his studies, was entered of Queen's college, and might have been created Master of Arts, but neglected it †. After the surrendry of Oxford, he retired to London, and, living privately, wrote several small pieces for a livelihood. But these giving offence to the then prevailing powers (1), he was often seized and imprisoned, as in the Gatehouse, Westminster, Newgate, and at length in Windsor Castle, when, being further threatened, he found a friend in Lilly the astrologer, though his antagonist in that art (*a*). After the Restoration he became treasurer and paymaster to the office of ordnance, generously

* In Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 683 to 686 inclusive.

(9) The anagram of his name. The first six only were printed under that anagram. They were intituled, Homeroscopium, or Almanacks, and came out in 8vo. from 1646 to 1665, and were reprinted in his Works.

† Godbury by mistake says he actually took that degree. Preface to Sir George's Works.

(10) His Almanacks were seasoned with satirical epigrams, reflecting on the times and persons of the rebels, as he called them. Of the same stamp was his Mercurius Elenchus, begun in 1647 and in 1648, he printed a list of those members of the House of Commons, as were officers of the army, contrary to the self denying ordinance, &c.

(*a*) Our author began the war with an attack upon Booker, in a piece intituled, *Mercurio-cælica Mastix*: or, an Anticaveat to all such as have heretofore had the misfortune to be cheated and deluded by that great and traiterous impostor, John Booker, in an answer to his frivolous pamphlet, entituled *Mercurius Cælicus*: or, a Caveat to all the People of England. Oxon. 1644, in 4to. The blow was seconded in his Astrological Judgment upon his Majesty's march from Oxford, 7 of May, 1645, 4to wherein he fell severely both on Booker and Lilly. This piece being sent from Oxford to Sir Samuel Luke (*a*), Governor of Newport-Pagnel, was presented

(*a*) This Governor is well known to be the hero of Hudibras, and perhaps Butler might take the hint of Whacum's name from Wharton.

advantage, as far as the duties of his poſt would permit, in which he continued to ſerve his royal maſter with unintermitting fidelity, during the four years of the civil wars. Upon the ſurrendry of Oxford to the Parliament in June 1646, he went to London, where he was entertained by a near relation, John Povey, Eſq; at his chambers in the Middle Temple. He was now reduced to the ſtate of a perfect philoſopher, and carried all his poſſeſſions about him, his eſtate being ſeized by the antiroyaliſts, his houſe plundered, and all his perſonal effects and houſehold goods carried off, among which was an ample and very valuable collection of books. And he was, even in this privacy, ſtill perſecuted with frequent midnight ſearches, and proclamation baniſhments out of the lines of communication as a malignant. In this diſtreſsful condition he felt the uſe and advantage of his learning; to this dernier reſort he recurred, and had now the happineſs to meet with his kinſman the learned and ingenious Thomas Stanley, Eſq; who was a ſufferer in the ſame cauſe, and had taken up his reſidence in chambers near thoſe of Mr Povey. This was the firſt time they had ſeen one another (e), and the enjoyment became exquiſite, by an unreſerved communication and a lucky affinity of ſtudies. Our author had not long finiſhed a collection of poems and tranſlations, upon which this friend wrote an excellent copy of commendatory verſes [C]; when Sir George Savile, afterwards Marquis of

(e) Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 284.

preſented to Lilly, who publiſhed an anſwer to it, together with his Starry Meſſenger, the ſame year (b). In return to which, Sir George, in his Almanack for that year, called Lilly *an impudent and ſenſeleſs fellow*. Hereupon Lilly, who had been more inclined before to the intereſts of the King, now devoted himſelf entirely to the Parliament, and made repriſals upon Sir George, in his Almanack for the ſame year; wherein, from the King's nativity, he predicted his fatal overthrow at Naſeby, in theſe words: *If now* [in June] *we fight, a victory ſtealeth upon us* (c). Sir George concluded the conteſt by a general ſtorm, in a piece intituled, *Merlini Anglici Errata: or, The Errors, Miſtakes, &c. of Mr* William Lilly's *new Ephemeris for* 1647, printed in that year.

(b) Lilly's Hiſtory of his own Life, p. 45. Lilly in Butler's Sidrophel, who, upon the approach of Hudibras, accoſts his man thus:

Whacum, quoth he, look yonder, ſome
To try or uſe our art are come. Hud. Part III. Cant. iii. l. 488, 489.

Upon which Dr Grey obſerves, that Lilly being acquainted with Luke, from thence, and the Knight's figure, he might well know him at a diſtance. (c) Ibid. p. 46.

generouſly repaid Lilly's courteſy, and out of the gains of his place having raiſed money to purchaſe an eſtate, he was created a Baronet, by patent dated December 31, 1677, which title deſcended to his ſon and heir, Sir Polycarp Wharton. He died at his houſe in Enfield, Middleſex, Auguſt 12, 1681, leaving behind him the character of a moſt loyal and generous cavalier, ſays Mr Wood, who further tells us, that Sir George was always eſteemed the beſt aſtrologer that wrote the Ephemerides of his time, and went beyond Lilly and Booker (11), the idols of the vulgar; was a boon companion, a witty droll, and a waggiſh poet. Beſides his aſtrological pieces, he publiſhed ſeveral others: the greateſt part of his pieces were reprinted in 1683, 8vo, by John Gadbury, the almanack-maker, who being born at Wheatly, near Oxford, in 1627, and bound apprentice to a Taylor in that city, left his maſter after the great fire there in 1644, and having a natural genius to almanack-making, improved it at London, under Lilly, and afterwards ſet up that trade, jointly with it's conſort of fortune-telling, for himſelf (12).

(11) See ſome account of Booker in Lilly's article.

(12) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 686.

One of our author's aſtrological pieces, intituled, *The cabal of the twelve houſes*, from Morinus (13), has a recommendation annexed to it, ſigned William Oughtred, and dated October 16, 1659, in theſe terms. 'The cabal of the celeſtial houſes, both for the number thereof, and for their ſignification, moſt accurately here firſt deſcribed by the learned author, being the 'greateſt ſcience aſtrological, I do very much applaud 'and admire, as having not thought that ſo much reaſon, and ſuch natural correſpondencies, could have 'been had in divers of theſe ſublime myſteries' We therefore take this firſt opportunity of acknowledging our miſtake in that eminent Mathematician's article (14).

(13) The La in title is, *Aſtronomicarum domorum Cabala deteſta*. Which ought to have been rendered thus: The Myſteries of the Aſtronomical Houſes revealed.

(14) Viz. in remark [N], note 13.

Morinus, or John Baptiſt Morin, who was born in France, in 1583, was undeniably one of the moſt infatuated aſtrologers of his time; he aſcribed all kinds of events to the influence of the ſtars; he even took a diſguſt to Phyſic, to which he was bred, becauſe of the uncertainty he found in it, and applied himſelf to Aſtrology, as abſolutely certain; and it is certain he made a good hand of the trade; for he acquired a fortune of 4000 livres * a year by it, which was a great eſtate at that time, and had a penſion of 2000 livres ſettled upon him by Cardinal Mazarin. It is worth obſerving, that he incurred the like ridicule to that of his brother Aſtrologer Lilly (15). The ſtory is this: Morin having ſucceeded Mr Sinclair in the poſt of Regius Profeſſor of Mathematics in 1630, reſolved to ſucceed him in his bed and money alſo, the widow being left rich. Accordingly he was upon his way to viſit the lady, in that deſign, for the firſt time; when he was ſtruck with great conſternation, on finding the gate hung with black, and learning from the neighbours, that the perſon he was enquiring after would ſoon be interred (16). Surely he had not conſulted the ſtars before he ſet out, or elſe he had not caſt his figure right.

* About 180 l. ſterling.

(15) See his article, in remark [N] at the end

[C] *His relation to Mr Stanley, was endeared by an affinity of ſtudies, &c.*] The relation between them probably aroſe by Sir Edward's mother, Frances, the ſecond daughter of John Stanley, ſome time of Roydon-Hall in the county of Eſſex, Eſq; deſcended from the Stanleys of Houghton in Cheſhire (17). The affinity of their ſtudies appears from the fruits of them, eſpecially in this interval. Mr Stanley's may be ſeen in his article; and thoſe of our author are, (1.) *Medea, a tragedy*. Lond. 1648, 8vo, tranſlated from the Latin of Seneca into Engliſh verſe, with annotations. (2.) *Seneca's Anſwer to Lucilius his Quære*, Why good men ſuffer misfortunes, ſeeing there is a divine Providence? Lond. 1648. The tranſlation is in Engliſh verſe, and was dedicated to King Charles the Firſt, during his captivity in the Iſle of Wight, who moſt graciouſly approved and accepted it *. (3.) *Salmacis, Lyrian and Sylvia, Forſaken Lydia, The Rape of Helen, A Comment thereon, with ſeveral other poems*. Lond. 1651, 8vo. The firſt three are tranſlations in verſe from the Italian of Preti, the French of St Amand, and the Italian of Morino. The Rape of Helen is from the Greek of Coluthus, and the annotations to it diſcover an ample fund of learning, which is very ingeniouſly applied. The Greek poet was a native of Lycopolis in the Thebaide, and flouriſhed under the empire of Anaſtaſius, between 491 and 518. All we have left of him is this poem, and it is no conſiderable performance (18). However, beſides the Engliſh verſion, it has been ſince tranſlated into French by M. du Molard, and publiſhed in 1742, with annotations; and ſince that, a new edition of the original was printed at Leyden, as I am informed, a few years ago. It was upon theſe tranſlations, that Mr Stanley complimented his friend, in the verſes mentioned above, which begin thus:

(16) Bayle's Dictionary, under his article.

(17) So it is in Wood, but perhaps it ſhould be Lancaſhire.

* Id. ibid.

(18) Suidas looks on Coluthus as a verſifier, rather than a poet; and Rapin obſerves, that the deſign is little, the ſtile trite and languiſhing, and that the Judgment of Paris is the beſt thing in it. Reflex. ſur la Poetique, Part II. rule 15.

Dear friend, I queſtion, nor can yet decide,
Whether thou more art my delight or pride.

And

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of Halifax, returning from his travels about the year 1651 or 1652, he was made ſuperintendant of his affairs [*D*], and by the recommendation of his mother the Lady Savile * ſome

* See an account of this lady, who was a very extraordinary perſon, in the Life of Dr John Berwick.

And the compliment had been firſt paid by our author, in ſome verſes to Mr Stanley, on his inimitable poems, which were likewiſe publiſhed in 1651. They end thus:

If 'bove all laurels then thy merits riſe,
What can this ſprig (which while 'tis offer'd dies)
Add to the wreath that does adorn thy brows?
No bays will ſuit with that but thy own bows †.

† Ethica, p. 154.

The reſt of Mr Sherburne's book is divided into what he calls *Ludicra* and *Ethica*, the former of which might have been entitled Love Poems, as well as Mr Stanley's, all the original pieces being ſuch; and in them he has ſhewn himſelf a great maſter of the rythmus: in the variety of his meaſures he even rivals Horace. The reſt are tranſlations from Theocritus, Horace, Martial, Auſonius, Marino, and ſome others. The laſt part is juſtly ſtiled *Ethica*, as conſiſting of ſerious poems both moral and divine. It will not be amiſs, as the book is ſomewhat ſcarce, to give the reader a ſpecimen, by way of taſte, of Mr Sherburne's poetry, as follows:

On Chloris eyes and breaſts.

Chloris, on thine eyes I gaz'd,
When amaz'd
At their brightneſs;
On thy breaſts I caſt my look,
No leſs took
With their whiteneſs:
Both I juſtly did admire;
Theſe all ſnow, and thoſe all fire.

Whilſt theſe wonders I ſurvey'd,
Thus I ſaid,
In much ſuſpence;
Nature could have done no leſs
To expreſs
Her Providence,
Than that two ſuch fair worlds might
Have two ſuns to give them light.

[*D*] *He was made ſuperintendant of Lord Halifax's, then Sir George Savile's, affairs.*] This nobleman, who was as great a Stateſman as any of his time ‖, was deſcended from a family of great antiquity in Yorkſhire, ſome of whom had matched with the heirs of Rochelas, Gother, Tankerſley, Rochdale, Latham, and Ruſhworth, and other worthy families, before the reign of Richard II. About which time Sir John Savile, the legal heir in the ninth generation, married Iſabel, daughter and heir to Thomas Eland, of Eland, in the ſame county, by whom he had diverſe ſons; but the line of the eldeſt failing, the deſcent was continued in Henry his ſecond ſon, who marrying the daughter and heir of Simon Thornhill, of Thornhill, had iſſue by her, Sir Thomas Savile, father of Sir John Savile, Lord of Thornhill, Eland, and Tankerſley. This Sir John, beſides others, had two ſons, the eldeſt of whom was Sir John Savile of Eland, of whom proceeded the Saviles Earls of Suſſex. The ſecond ſon was Thomas Savile of Lupſet, whoſe grandſon Henry was Sheriff of Yorkſhire, and of the council for the North in the time of Queen Elizabeth. This Henry, by the daughter and heir of William Vernon, of Barrowby in Leiceſterſhire, had iſſue Sir George Savile of Thornhill, Knight and Baronet, who by Mary, daughter to George Earl of Shrewſbury, had iſſue a ſecond Sir George, Knight, who dying in his father's life-time, had iſſue Sir George Savile, who ſucceeded to the title and eſtate; but dying without iſſue, was ſucceeded by his brother Sir William Savile This Sir William marrying Anne daughter of Thomas Lord Coventry, Keeper of the Great Seal, became father to Sir George Savile (19), the ſubject of the preſent remark; who was probably born about 1630, as is conjectured from the time of returning from his travels abovementioned. He contributed all he could to bring about the Reſtoration, and ſoon diſtinguiſhing himſelf after that æra by his great abilities, was created a peer, in conſideration of his own and his father's merits to the crown ‡. In 1668, he was appointed of that remarkable Committee, who ſat at Brook-hall for the examination of the accounts of the money, which had been given during the Dutch war (20), of which no member of the Houſe of Commons was admitted. In April 1673, he was called to a ſeat in the Privy-Council and in June following went into Holland with the Duke of Bucks and the Earl of Arlington, as Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary (21), to treat about a peace with France, when he met with great oppoſition from his colleagues. In 1675, he oppoſed with vigour the non-reſiſting teſt bill, and was removed from the council-board the year following, by the intereſt of the Earl of Danby the Treaſurer, whom he had provoked by a ſhaft of his wit. In the examinations before the council, concerning the revenue of Ireland, in which Lord Widdrington having confeſſed that he had made an offer of a conſiderable ſum of money to the Lord Treaſurer, and that his Lordſhip had rejected the offer mildly, in ſuch a manner as not to diſcourage a ſecond attempt; Lord Halifax obſerved upon this, that it would be ſomewhat ſtrange if a man ſhould aſk the uſe of another man's wife, and the other ſhould indeed refuſe it, but with great civility. His removal was very agreeable to the Duke of York, who at that time had a more violent averſion to him, than even to Shafteſbury himſelf, becauſe he had ſpoke with great firmneſs and ſpirit in the Houſe of Lords, againſt the declaration for a Toleration †. However, upon a change of the miniſtry in 1679, his Lordſhip was made a member of the new council (22). And the ſame year in the conſultations about the bill of excluſion, he ſeemed averſe to it, but propoſed ſuch limitations of the Duke's authority, as ſhould diſable him from doing any harm either in church or ſtate; ſuch as the taking out of his hands all power in eccleſiaſtical matters, the diſpoſal of the public money, and the power of making peace or war, and lodging theſe in the two Houſes of Parliament; and that the Parliament in being at the King's death, ſhould continue without a new ſummons, and aſſume the adminiſtration. But his Lordſhip's arguing ſo much againſt the danger of turning the monarchy by the bill of excluſion into an elective government, was thought the more extraordinary, becauſe he had made an hereditary King the ſubject of his mirth, heightened with this witty ſaw, 'Who takes a coachman to drive him, becauſe his father was a good coachman?' Yet he was now jealous of a ſmall ſlip in the ſucceſſion, though at the ſame time he ſtudied to infuſe into ſome perſons a zeal for a commonwealth, pretending to theſe that he preferred limitations to an excluſion, becauſe the one kept up the monarchy ſtill, only paſſing over one perſon, whereas the other really introduced a commonwealth, as ſoon as there was a Popiſh king upon the throne. And it was ſaid by ſome of his friends, that the limitations propoſed were ſo advantageous to public liberty, that a man might be tempted to wiſh for a Popiſh king in order to obtain them. Upon this difference of opinions, a faction was quickly formed in the new council, Halifax, Eſſex, and Sunderland, declaring for limitations, and againſt the excluſion, while Shafteſbury was equally zealous for the latter. When the bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords, Halifax appeared with great reſolution at the head of the debates againſt it: This ſo highly exaſperated the Houſe of Commons, that they addreſſed the King to remove him from his councils and preſence for ever. But he prevailed with his Majeſty ſoon after to diſſolve that parliament, and was created an Earl. However, upon his Majeſty's deferring to call a new parliament according to his promiſe to his Lordſhip, he fell ſick through vexation of mind, and expoſtulated ſeverely with thoſe who were ſent to him upon that affair, refuſing the poſt both of Secretary of State, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. A parliament being called in 1680, he ſtill oppoſed the excluſion bill, and gained great reputation by his management of the debates, though it occaſioned a new addreſs from the Houſe of Commons to

‖ For that reaſon we have taken this opportunity of ſupplying, in ſome meaſure, the omiſſion of his article in it's proper place.

(19) Baronettage of England, Vol. I. p. 162, & ſeq. edit. 1741.

† By the title of Baron Savile of Eland.

(20) The chairman was Lord Brereton, who ſpent all his life in ſearch of the Philoſopher's ſtone, by which he ruined his affairs; but was a man of great integrity, and proof againſt either the flatteries, hopes, or threatenings, of the following Court. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. fol. edit.

(21) Lewis XIV. was then at Utrecht, and they had ſome private inſtructions relating to the war; but they returned without doing any thing. General Hiſtory of England, and Sir William Temple's Memoirs.

† Burnet.

(22) It was upon this occaſion, that he publiſhed the character of a Trimmer, which was anſwered by the Earl of Mulgrave, in his Character of a Tory. See his article, remark [*N*].

ſome time after Mr Sherburne was appointed to attend her nephew Sir John Coventry, as his tutor or governor in his travels abroad. He left England with this charge in the beginning of March 1654, and having viſited all parts of France, proceeded to Italy, ſome part of Hungary, the greater part of Germany, Holland, and the reſt of the Low-Countries, and returned about the end of October, 1659, in the dawn of the Reſtoration. Mr Wood, who ſeems to have had ſome perſonal knowledge of him, tells us, that he made the beſt uſe of this tour in improving himſelf in polite literature, and leads us to infer, that he was a completely genteel ſcholar. When he put in his claim for his place in the ordnance the next year, the Oxford Antiquary, on this occaſion, treats with his uſual rudeneſs (*f*), Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, afterwards Lord Shafteſbury, who, he informs us, though a relation of Mr Sherburne's late pupil, had put another into his place, after his old ſequeſtrators were dead, ſo that he was obliged to be at the expence of pleading his right before the houſe of peers, before he could get readmittance. The ſame hiſtorian likewiſe informs us, that after ſome time of the King's ſettlement, Mr Sherburne

(*f*) He calls his Honour a buſy meddling fellow. Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 19.

to remove him. However, after rejecting that Bill in the Houſe of Lords, his Lordſhip preſſed them, though without ſucceſs, to proceed to limitations, and begun with moving that the Duke might be obliged to live 500 miles out of England during the King's life ‖. In Auguſt 1682, he was created a marquis; and ſoon after made Privy-Seal; and upon King James's acceſſion, Preſident of the Council: but on refuſing his conſent to the repeal of the teſts, he was told by that monarch, that though he could never forget his paſt ſervices, yet ſince he would not comply in that point, he was reſolved to have all of a piece, and ſo his Lordſhip was diſmiſſed from all public employments. He was afterwards conſulted by Mr Sidney, whether he would adviſe the Prince of Orange's coming over, but the matter being opened to him at a great diſtance, he did not encourage a further freedom; looking on the attempt as impracticable, ſince it depended on ſo many accidents ‡. Upon the arrival of that Prince, he was ſent by the King, with the Earls of Rocheſter and Godolphin, to treat with him, then at Hungerford. In that aſſembly of the Lords, which met after King James's withdrawing himſelf the firſt time from Whitehall, the Marquis was choſen their preſident; and upon the King's return from Feverſham, he was ſent together with the Earl of Shrewſbury and Lord Delamere, from the Prince, ordering his Majeſty to quit his palace at Whitehall, and retire to Hull *. In the Convention-parliament he was choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, and ſtrenuouſly ſupported the motion for the vacancy of the throne, and the conjunctive Sovereignty of the Prince and Princeſs, upon whoſe acceſſion he was again made Privy-Seal §; but in the ſeſſion of 1689, upon the enquiry into the authors of the proſecutions againſt Lord Ruſſel, Algernon Sidney, &c. the Marquis having concurred in theſe councils in 1683, now quitted the court, and became a zealous oppoſer of the meaſures of the government (23) 'till his death, which happened in April 1695, being occaſioned by a gangrene in a rupture that he had long neglected. When he ſaw death inevitably approaching, he ſhewed a philoſophical firmneſs of mind, and profeſſed himſelf a ſincere Chriſtian, lamenting the former part of his life, with ſolemn reſolutions of becoming a new man if God would raiſe him up †. Biſhop Burnet characterizes him as follows. 'He was a man of great and 'ready wit, full of life, and very pleaſant, much 'turned to ſatire; he let his wit turn upon matters of 'religion, ſo that he paſſed for a bold and determined 'atheiſt, though he often proteſted to me, ſays the 'Biſhop, that he was not one, and ſaid he believed 'there was not one in the world. He confeſſed he 'could not ſwallow down every thing that divines im'poſe on the world, he was a Chriſtian in ſubmiſſion, 'he believed as much as he could, and hoped that 'God would not lay it to his charge, if he could not 'digeſt iron as an oſtrich did, nor take into his be'lief things that muſt burſt him. If he had any 'ſcruples they were not ſought for, nor cheriſhed by 'him, for he never read an atheiſtical book. In a fit 'of ſickneſs, continues this prelate, I knew him very 'much affected with a ſenſe of religion: I was then 'often with him, he ſeemed full of good purpoſes; 'but they went off with his ſickneſs; he was conti'nually talking of morality and friendſhip. He was 'punctual in all his payments, and juſt in all private 'dealings: but with relation to the public he went 'backward and forward, and changed ſides ſo often, 'that in the concluſion no ſide truſted him. He 'ſeemed full of commonwealth notions, yet he went 'into the worſt part of King Charles's reign. The 'livelineſs of his imagination was always too hard for 'his judgment. A ſevere jeſt was preferred by him 'to all arguments whatever; and he was endleſs in 'council, for when after much diſcourſe a point was 'ſettled, if he could find a new jeſt, whereby he 'could make that which was digeſted by himſelf ſeem 'ridiculous, he could not hold, but would ſtudy to 'raiſe the credit of his wit, though it made others 'call his judgment in queſtion. When he talked to 'me, as a philoſopher, of his contempt of the world, 'I aſked him what he meant by getting ſo many new 'titles, which I called the hanging himſelf about 'with bells and tinſel; he had no other excuſe for it 'but this, that if the world were ſuch fools as to 'value thoſe matters, a man muſt be a fool for com'pany, he conſidered them but as rattles, yet rattles 'pleaſe children, ſo theſe might be of uſe to his fa'mily. His heart was much ſet on raiſing his family; 'but though he made a vaſt eſtate for them, he buried 'two of his ſons, and almoſt all his grandchildren. 'The ſon that ſurvived him was an honeſt man, but 'far inferior to him (24, and this ſon dying without 'iſſue male Aug. 31, 1700, the dignity became extinct 'in this family, and the title of Earl of Halifax was 'revived in the perſon of Charles Montague the ſame 'year (25).'

The Marquis was twice married, firſt to Dorothy, daughter of Henry Spencer Earl of Sunderland, by whom he had iſſue Henry, William, George, and Anne. Henry married Eſther, daughter and coheir of George de la Tour *, but died in his father's life time, without iſſue (26). Anne was married to John Baron Vaughan. The Marquis's ſecond wife was Gertrude, daughter to William Pierpoint, Eſq; of Thoreſby in Nottinghamſhire, ſecond ſon to the Earl of Kingſton; by whom he had iſſue only a daughter, heir apparent to her mother, married to Philip, eldeſt ſon of Philip Stanhope Earl of Cheſterfield, and father to the preſent Earl.

His ſon William ſucceeded him in the honour and eſtate, and married alſo two wives. 1. Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Samuel Grimſton of Gorambury in Hertfordſhire, Bart. ſiſter and heir to Sir Harbottle Grimſton, by whom he had iſſue George and other children, who died infants in their father's life-time. Alſo a daughter Anne, ſole heir to her mother, and married to Thomas Bruce, ſon and heir apparent to Thomas Earl of Aylesbury. His ſecond wife was Mary, daughter to Daniel Finch Earl of Nottingham (by Eſſex, daughter and coheir to Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick and Holland), by whom he left only two daughters, Dorothy, married to the Earl of Burlington, and Mary, married to the Earl of Thanet (27).

Beſides *the Character of a Trimmer*, the Marquis wrote *Advice to a Daughter*; *The Anatomy of an Equivalent*; *A Letter to a Diſſenter upon his Majeſty's late glorious declaration of indulgences*; *A rough draught of a new model at ſea in* 1694; *Maxims of State*: all which were printed together after his death, and the the third edition came out in 1717, 8vo. ſince theſe there was alſo publiſhed under his name, *The Character of King Charles II.* to which is ſubjoined Maxims of State, &c. (28) Lond. 1750. 8vo. All his pieces are wrote with ſpirit and elegance.

[*E*] *His*

‖ Birch's Lives of Illuſtrious Men, &c. Vol. I.

‡ The Duke of Bucks ſays, the Prince of Orange had always forbidden his agents ever to truſt him with their deſign. Account of the Revolution, in the Duke's Works, Vol. II.

* This is ſaid to be a ſort of tryal, before that party would entirely confide in him; and that he was added to the two other Lords, to be at the head of the Commiſſion, by the Prince himſelf, who could not help ſmiling, as he owned afterwards, to ſee him, who came a commiſſioner to him from the other ſide, accept to act ſo low a part ſo very willingly. Id. ibid.

§ He was offered to be Firſt Commiſſioner of the Chancery, but refuſed it. General Hiſtories of England.

(23) Ibid. where we find him to be one of the bail for the Earl, afterwards Duke, of Marlborough, accuſed of being engaged in the aſſociation plot by Young, in 1692.

† Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's Hiſtory of England.

(24) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. fol. edit.

(25) See his article.

* Marquis of Gouvernet in France.

(26) As did alſo George, the youngeſt, being ſlain at the ſiege of Buda in 1688. Mr Wood, in the liſt of creations of Doctors of Law at Oxford, anno 1683, mentions, by miſtake, among others, who were nominated May 23, but never appeared, George Savile, Lord Eland, eldeſt ſon of George Marquis of Halifax. Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 223.

(27) Baronettage of England, *ubi ſupra*.

(28) Theſe are more in number than thoſe which had been printed before.

Mr. Sherburne met with a diſcouragement worſe than the former: for by the politic reducers of the charge of his Majeſty's revenue, he was retrenched from the beſt perquiſites of his office to the value of no leſs than 500 *l. per annum*, and never received any conſideration more than what the King was pleaſed of his own bounty to confer upon him, which was 100 *l. per annum*, in compenſation of quadruple the loſs he ſuſtained. However, being unmarried, and bookiſhly inclined, he indulged that diſpoſition, and, by degrees, furniſhed himſelf with a large collection of curious books, ſo that his library was eſteemed one of the moſt conſiderable belonging to any gentleman in or near London (*g*). 'Twas here that he paſſed his happieſt hours, not without ſome emolument to the public. In 1675 he publiſhed at London in folio, *The Sphere of* Marcus Manilius, *made an Engliſh poem, with annotations, and an aſtronomical index.* It was intended chiefly for the uſe of the young gentry and nobility, to ſerve as an initiation in the firſt rudiments of ſpherical learning, and was thought worthy of a particular recommendation by the Royal Society [*E*]. In 1679 he printed likewiſe at London in 8vo, *Troades; or the Royal Captives, a Tragedy* (*b*), tranſlated from the Latin of Seneca, with annotations. About this time he ſuffered many indignities on account of the Popiſh plot, and ſeveral attempts were made to remove him from his place in the Ordnance, as a ſuſpected Papiſt. Theſe however proved ineffectual, and on the 6th of January 1682, his Majeſty, in conſideration of his loyalty and ſufferings, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, in his private bedchamber at Whitehall. But being at laſt deprived upon the Revolution, he retired, and paſſed the remainder of his days in a devout and ſtudious courſe of life near London, chearfully ſpending his time altogether in books and prayer. It appears from Mr Wood's account, that he probably ſurvived the cloſe of the laſt century, but how long is ſtill unknown (*i*).

He had a younger brother, Henry Sherburne, who was alſo created A. M. at the ſame time with himſelf, and was ſoon after made comptroller of the Ordnance in the army of Ralph Lord Hopton. While he reſided at Oxford he drew an exact Ichnography of that city, as it was then a garriſon for his Majeſty, with all the fortifications, &c. It was done for the uſe of Sir Thomas Glemham, then governour, who ſhewing it to the King,

(*g*) Faſti Oxon. as before.

(*b*) He had likewiſe in MS. a tranſlation of Seneca's tragedy of Hyppolitus. He was of opinion, and endeavoured to prove it, that theſe two, with the Medea before mentioned, were all that were genuine of Seneca.

(*i*) This misfortune happens from the Oxford Antiquary's carrying on his Work no longer than the year 1700. His diligence in procuring dates to facts is one very uſeful part of that work.

[*E*] *His Manilius was recommended by the Royal Society.*] Their account is printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 110, in theſe terms. 'The learned 'and intelligent author of this work, rightly conſider-'ing the great importance of the mutual helps which 'the knowledge of antiquity, and the pleaſure of the 'new diſcoveries of the preſent times may afford to 'one another, thought fit to employ part of his inge-'nious talent in rendering Engliſh this antient poem; 'the famous author whereof, deſirous to inculcate 'knowledge with delight, was pleaſed to exhibit to 'the age wherein he lived, the principles of aſtronomy 'in a poetical dreſs, in which ſeveral particulars oc-'cur, touching the nature of the heavens and the ce-'leſtial bodies, that agree with the aſſertions of ſome of 'the moſt eminent modern aſtronomers: as the fluidity 'of the heavens againſt the Ariſtotelian ſolidity of the 'orbs (28), the poſition of the fixed ſtars not in the 'ſame concave ſuperficies equally diſtant from the cen-'ter of the univerſe, but at unequal diſtances in the 'ætherial region (whence the difference of their ap-'parent magnitude and ſplendor) (29), the fiery na-'ture and ſubſtance of the fixed ſtars, and conſequently 'their being endued with native luſtre (30), and the 'galaxy's being an aggregate of numberleſs ſmall 'ſtars (31). The poem begins with a ſuccinct indi-'cation of the original and progreſs of arts and ſci-'ences, more particularly of Aſtronomy; of which 'laſt, beſides what the Engliſher hath noted in his 'not common marginal illuſtrations, he hath added 'for the ſatisfaction of the more curious, a compendious 'hiſtory continued to the time of Manilius, together 'with a moſt inſtructive catalogue of the moſt emi-'nent aſtronomers, from the firſt parent of all arts 'and mankind itſelf to this preſent time. Secondly, 'the poem being carried on with a deſcription of the 'mundane ſyſtem, and the celeſtial ſigns and conſtel-'lations; the former of theſe our interpreter hath 'explained according to the various hypotheſes both 'ancient and modern, the latter he hath deſcribed by 'the number of the ſtars that compoſe them, their 'ſeveral denominations in moſt of the learned lan-'guages, and as they are diſtinguiſhed into ſacred and 'profane figures, according to the different uranography of the ancient heathens, and ſome late 'chriſtian aſtronomers. The third part of the poem 'containing a deſcription of the celeſtial circles, for 'the better underſtanding of theſe, beſides the expla-'nations in the marginal notes, our author hath added 'a coſmographical aſtronomical ſynopſis moſtly from 'Merſennus, to which is annexed the twelve propo-'ſitions of Theodoſius de Habitationibus in Engliſh. 'And Manilius having touched upon the fiery nature 'of the fixed ſtars, this interpreter hath made ſome 'further and more curious inquiries about their ſub-'ſtance, light, colour, ſcintillations, number, figure, 'magnitude, place, and diſtance from the earth, or 'rather the ſun. In the next place, the planets are enu-'merated, and the ſeveral denominations by which 'they were known and diſtinguiſhed by the Ancients. 'The interpreter hath given in his notes, further en-'larging about the nature and ſubſtance of the ſun, 'his maculæ and fæculæ (which are likewiſe repre-'ſented in a particular ſcheme) ſomething alſo being 'ſaid of his vertiginous motion, magnitude, and diſ-'tance, as alſo of the moon and her ſpots, adding 'thereto the ſelenographical ſchemes of Hevelius and 'Grimaldi, with their reſpective nomenclatures; and 'withal exhibiting a brief account of the nature, ſub-'ſtance, ſtructure, figure, magnitude, and diſtance of 'the other planets. And becauſe this poem concludes 'with a corollray of fiery meteors and comets, our au-'thor hath in part explained them alſo in his notes, 'more fully diſcourſing in the appendix, of their 'names, kinds, and ſeveral ſpecies, their matter, 'place, and efficient cauſes, adding in the cloſe a 'chronological hiſtorical table of the moſt remarkable 'comets that have appeared ſince the Flood to this 'preſent. Having in the illuſtration of the whole 'obſerved the method expreſſed by Juſtinian. *Ita om-'nia videntur tradi commodiſſime, ſi primo levi ac ſim-'plici via, deinde diligentiori atque exactiori interpre-'tatione ſingula tradantur* (32). Nor hath the in-'terpreter omitted to inform his reader touching Ma-'nilius's life, country quality, ſtudies, writings, &c. 'In the doing of which, as well as in compoſing the 'whole work, he hath given ſufficient proof of his 'more than ordinary acquaintance both with ancient 'and modern writings.

'He adorns the whole as with many other very fair 'ſchemes, ſo with thoſe of the two hemiſpheres of 'the ſtars, one for the northern and the other the 'ſouthern conſtellations, wherein the ſtars are ex-'preſſed according to their magnitude, as appears in 'the ſcale thereof, inſerted in the Southern hemi-'ſphere. And the conſtellations are only pricked out, 'wherein with Gallucius, the middle way is taken be-'tween not placing them in any, or repreſenting them 'in too dark ſhadowed figures, as ſome have done.'

(28) This being embraced and demonſtrated by Tycho, Galilæo, Scheinerus, and others, paſſed for a modern diſcovery.

(29) Many had taken this alſo for a novel opinion, as being lately aſſerted and maintained by the famous Kepler, Epit. Aſtron. lib. i. and other modern Aſtronomers.

(30) The proof of this is particularly laboured by Galilæo, who firſt of the Moderns maintains them to be ſo many ſuns, conformably to our ſun.

(31) This was generally thought to have been a diſcovery owing to the teleſcope, from the obſervations made therein by the ſaid Galilæo, Kepler, and others.

(32) Inſtit. lib. i. tit. 1.

King, his Majeſty approved of it, and wrote in it the names of the baſtions with his own hand; and as a mark of his favour was pleaſed to confer upon him the poſt of his chief engineer, then void by the death of Sir Charles Lloyd. But he did not enjoy this favour long, being killed in a mutiny that happened among ſome of the ſoldiers in Oxford, on the 12th of June 1646; whereupon his body was interred the next day, in the church of St Peter in the Eaſt in that city (*k*).

(*k*) Faſti Oxon. col. 19.

P

SHERLOCK [WILLIAM] an eminent Divine, was born in the year 1641 (*a*), in Gravel-lane, Southwark (*b*), where his father was a tradeſman of good repute, and having a competent fortune, ſent his ſon, a boy of a promiſing genius, to Eton ſchool, where, being very induſtrious, he became remarkable for the ſtrength and vigour of his parts (*c*), ſo that at the age of fifteen years he was judged fit for the univerſity, and was accordingly admitted into Peter-houſe college in Cambridge in 1650 (*d*), where he behaved ſo well as to receive a particular encouragement in a benefaction ariſing from a ſcheme of Matthew Pool's, for maintaining young men of eminent parts at that univerſity in the ſtudy of divinity (*e*). With this advantage he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in the year of the Reſtoration (*f*), and entering into holy orders not long after, he exerciſed his faculty as a curate (*g*) and commenced Maſter of Arts in 1663 (*h*). He continued in the ſtation of a curate 'till 1669, when he was preferred to the rectory of St George's Botolph-lane, London (*i*). In this pariſh he diſcharged the duties of his function with a commendable zeal and piety, and was eſteemed one of the ornaments of the London Clergy [*A*], but being ambitious to make his character and talents more extenſively uſeful to the Church, he reſolved to expoſe in print the abſurdities of the Soliſidian and Antinomial Doctrines, which at that time ſtill prevailed among the ſectaries. To this purpoſe he publiſhed in 1673 (*k*), a treatiſe entituled, *A diſcourſe concerning the knowledge of Chriſt, and our union and communion with him*, &c. [*B*]. This attack upon their darling notions

(*a*) Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under the year 1707; where it is recorded, that he died that year in the 67th of his age.

(*b*) Preface to Dr South's Animadverſions, &c. p. 3. edit. 1693.

(*c*) Monthly Miſcellany, or Memoirs for the Curious, Vol. I. p. 293.

(*d*) From the College Regiſter. His tutor was John Standiſh, B. D. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1110.

(*e*) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, pa 256. edit. 1753.

(*f*) From the Univerſity Regiſter.

(*g*) South's Animadverſions, as before.

(*h*) Birch, as before.

(*i*) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 354.

(*k*) The imprimatur is dated May 30, 1673. The ſecond edition came out in 1674.

[*A*] *He was one of the ornaments of the London Clergy.*] Biſhop Burnet, ſpeaking of the different behaviour of the clergy in thoſe times, obſerves, that as there were many of that order, whom the heat of their temper and the hope of preferment drove to extravagancies [againſt the Diſſenters]; ſo there were ſtill many worthy and eminent men among them, whoſe lives and labours did in a great meaſure, reſcue the Church from thoſe reproaches that the follies of others drew upon it. Such, continues he, beſides thoſe whom I have often named, were Teniſon, Sharp, Patrick, Sherlock, Fowler, Scot, Calamy, Claget, Cudworth, the two Mores, Williams (1).

(1) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 461, 462. fol. edit.

[*B*] *Was exercited with that boldneſs which was natural to our author.*] The ſolifidian and antinomial principles, from their firſt appearance in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (2), took ſuch deep rooting, and ſpread ſo wide under Cromwell's uſurpation, that they were eſpouſed by great numbers, when our author undertook this treatiſe, where having ſhewn wherein the knowledge of Chriſt conſiſts, the ſum of which is, that to know Chriſt is to underſtand his goſpel, which contains all the revelations he made of God's will; he proceeds to examine another notion of the knowledge of Chriſt, very diſtinct, he ſays, from the former, and that is an acquaintance with the perſon of Chriſt, particularly as it is ſtated in Dr John Owen's book intituled, *Communion with God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, each perſon diſtinctly.* He declares, that in the management of it he had carefully avoided all perſonal reflections; while his adverſaries pretended to argue gravely, he had examined their arguments with all poſſible gravity and ſolemnity: But however where they plainly toy and trifle, he had ſo far complied with their humour as to ſmile ſometimes, though as modeſtly as any man could deſire. The drollery of his manner is ſomewhat entertaining, and therefore we ſhall give a ſpecimen of it as follows. In order to give his reader a clear underſtanding of the whole deſign and contrivance of this doctrine concerning an acquaintance with the perſon of Chriſt, he puts every thing into what he calls it's juſt and natural order. God then from the beginning deſigned to glorify his juſtice, and his mercy, and becauſe there had been no occaſion either to puniſh or pardon unleſs man had ſinned, he appointed and ordained ſin for the glory of his vindictive juſtice, and pardoning grace, and accordingly ſince nothing can withſtand the decrees and appointment of God, it pleaſed God that man ſhould ſin; but when he had ſinned, God is extremely diſpleaſed with it, and now his juſtice muſt be ſatisfied; for it is impoſſible for God to forgive the leaſt ſin, without a complete and perfect ſatisfaction. This falls hard upon thoſe miſerable wretches whoſe ill fortune it was, without any fault of theirs, to be left out of the roll of election, and who have no way to ſatisfy the divine juſtice but by their eternal torments. By this it appears how rigorouſly juſt God is, that he will never pardon the leaſt ſin, when he can ſerve his own glory by the miſery and confuſion of ſinners

(2) See Archbiſhop Whitgift's article.

But this is but one part of the glory of God, to be juſt in puniſhing ſin; the other is, to ſhew mercy in ſparing and rewarding the ſinners. Now here was the great difficulty, how God ſhould be juſt and merciful too, when juſtice requires a full ſatisfaction, and mercy excludes all deſert; for the demerit of ſin being infinite, no creature can expiate ſin but by enduring infinite, that is endleſs, torments; and thoſe who muſt be always miſerable, can never be the ſubjects of God's mercy.

To unite theſe two extremes, and reconcile ſuch contradictions, was a work of infinite wiſdom as well as goodneſs, and it was effected thus: God ſends his only begotten ſon, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, into the world, to fulfil all righteouſneſs in his life and to make a full ſatisfaction for ſin by his death; for his blood being of infinite value, (as being the blood of the Son of God) would expiate an infinite guilt, and ſo make a compleat ſatisfaction to juſtice, which is more glorified by the death of Chriſt, than by the eternal miſeries of all the ſinners in the world, becauſe it diſcovers the naturalneſs of juſtice to God, which is the poſition to be maintained, that he would not pardon without full ſatisfaction; that is, that he is ſo juſt that he hath not one dram of goodneſs in him 'till his rage and vengeance be ſatisfied, which, ſays he, is, I confeſs, a glorious kind of juſtice. But now the juſtice and vengeance of God having their actions aſſigned them to the full, that is, (for I can make no better of it) being glutted and ſatiated with the blood of Chriſt, God may pardon as many and great ſins as he pleaſes, without fear of the leaſt imputation of injuſtice; and now a glorious and more comfortable ſcene of mercy begins to appear, now God embraces ſinners as a kind father, and accounts them perfectly innocent in virtue of that ſatisfaction Chriſt hath made for their ſins; but this is not enough, the law of God muſt be fulfilled as well as his juſtice ſatisfied, we muſt be righteous as well as innocent, otherwiſe we may eſcape puniſhment but can expect no reward, though I confeſs I ſhould have thought that Chriſt had ſatisfied for ſins of omiſſion, together with ſins of commiſſion, and as by his ſatisfaction for our doing what we ought not to do, we are reputed by God as having never done any thing amiſs, ſo by his ſatisfaction for our neglecting what we ought to have done, we might by the ſame reaſon be reputed by

notions being executed with that boldneſs which was natural to our author's temper, preſently

by God perfectly righteous to have done all that we ought to have done, to have kept the whole law; but it ſeems this was not ſufficient, and therefore the ſatisfaction of Chriſt is imputed to us to make us perfectly righteous, and this makes the grace of God perfectly free, without any ſuſpicion of merit or deſert in us. And now God and ſinners may agree very well and walk comfortably together, for though they have guilt enough, and he juſtice enough to deſtroy a world, yet there is no danger, ſince Chriſt hath ſatisfied juſtice: and though he be infinitely holy and pure perfect light, and ſinners abominably filthy, yet there is no fear he ſhould loath and abhor them, when they are cloathed with the white and ſpotleſs robes of Chriſt's righteouſneſs; and they are ſo well acquainted now with the deſign of God to advance the glory of his free grace in their ſalvation, that they are very ſecure that neither their paſt ſins nor preſent habitual impurities can do them any hurt, but they ſhall be ſaved with a notwithſtanding their ſins (3).

(3) Union and Communion, p. 40, & ſeqq.

This is in his grave way, but his pleaſantry will perhaps be more entertaining to ſome people. Let us take that inſtance of it, where he rallies Dr Owen's manner of explaining the notion, that the perſonal righteouſneſs of Chriſt becomes our perſonal righteouſneſs, where though there be an union of perſons, yet is there no perſonal only a legal union; Chriſt as our Mediator having fulfilled for us all that righteouſneſs which is required of us (4). In ſhewing what this righteouſneſs is, the Doctor [Owen] having firſt excluded the habitual inherent righteouſneſs of Chriſt, or his perfect conformity to the law or will of God, and alſo his actual obedience to any peculiar law of the Mediator which reſpected himſelf merely, declares this righteouſneſs is that which concerns Chriſt in a private capacity as a man ſubject to the law, that is, whatever was required of us by virtue of any law, that he did and fulfilled; which is that actual obedience of Chriſt which he performed for us. In anſwer to this, our author remarks firſt, that it is ſtrange Chriſt ſhould do whatever is required of us by virtue of any law, when he was neither huſband nor wife, nor father, merchant, or tradeſman, ſeaman or ſoldier, captain or lieutenant, much leſs a temporal prince or monarch. However, continues he, ſetting aſide this difficulty of proving that Chriſt did what he never did. Let us conſider how the Doctor proves that what Chriſt did, he did for us and in our ſtead. And here he makes uſe of a little reaſon and a great deal of ſcripture to as little purpoſe (5). And to prepare the way for his reaſoning, I find, ſays he, the Doctor much puzzled, and don't wonder at it, to prove that Chriſt acted as Mediator in thoſe things which did not concern the law of his mediation, and which he did as a private man ſubject to the law. For he tells us, that of this expreſſion 'as Mediator' there is a double ſenſe, it may be taken ſtrictly as relating ſolely to the law of the Mediator, and ſo Chriſt may be ſaid to do as Mediator only, what he did in obedience to that law (that is only what he did as Mediator, which is a pretty obſervation) but in the ſenſe now inſiſted on (that is not ſtrictly as Mediator but as not Mediator). Whatſoever Chriſt did as a man ſubject to the law, he did as a Mediator, becauſe he did it as part of the duty incumbent on him who undertook ſo to be; the meaning of which is, that he who was Mediator, being bound to do ſuch things though not as Mediator, but as a man ſubject to the law, yet he did them as Mediator, becauſe he was a Mediator who did them; which is juſt as good an argument as it would be to prove, that every Embaſſador eats, and drinks, and ſleeps as an Embaſſador, becauſe though this be no part of his Embaſſy, yet he is an Embaſſador who does it; which is ſuch an expoſition of Chriſt's mediatorial office as the ſubtileſt ſchoolmen of them all never yet thought of. This difficulty of Chriſt's doing the things as Mediator, which did not belong to the laws of his Mediation, required great ſkill in logic to get rid of; but however it was wiſely done to make a ſhew of ſaying ſomething to that which cannot be anſwered. For he was ſenſible that what Chriſt did as Mediator, could not be imputed to us as though we had done it, though the fruits of it are; becauſe we were never deſigned to be Mediators, and the righteouſneſs of a Mediator is as improper to be imputed to thoſe who are not Mediators, as it is to impute the righteouſneſs of a prince to a beggar; and therefore that the righteouſneſs of Chriſt might be fit to be imputed to us as our righteouſneſs, he was forced to conſider him not as a Mediator, but as a private perſon ſubject to the law, who did whatever was required of us by virtue of any law; though this too was impoſſible, for he could not at the ſame time act ſo many different and oppoſite parts as there are relations and conditions of men in the world. And yet when he thought on it again, he found, that it was not the righteouſneſs of a private perſon that would avail us, though it were never ſo perfect, (becauſe we have no way to come at it to make it ours) but only the righteouſneſs of a Mediator, who did whatever he did, for us and in our ſtead. And ſo he wheels about again, and tells us, that though what Chriſt did as a man ſubject to the law, did not belong to the law of his mediation, yet he did it as Mediator, becauſe he was a Mediator that did it. And thus he is caught in the net and labyrinth of his own making, and the more he turns and winds himſelf the faſter it holds him. 'A Mediator who acts as a Mediator in a private capacity as a man ſubject to the law.' I ſhall certainly believe, as they ſay ſome country people do, that Logic is conjuring, if it can reconcile ſuch palpable contradictions (6). Our author, while he thus purſues Dr Owen, the then Captain of this new way of ſalvation, through all the ſhifts and ſophiſtries of an evaſive Logic, with all the nerves of reaſon and rhetoric, fails not up and down to throw a ſlight ſmile upon the under-workmen, who riſe not above the character of verbal triflers. Theſe were very numerous, as we have ſeen above. One of theſe explaining the riches of Chriſt in Epheſ. iii. 8. ſports and toys with words and metaphors in the following manner: That he is rich, becauſe he hath a rich dowry, having all the world given to him as his proper inheritance: 'That he keeps open houſe, and maintains all the creation at his own charge, and that he hath done this ſix thouſand years, which would have broken him long time ſince had he not been very rich, and that he does not enrich all the ſaints, but all of the ſaints, their underſtandings with glorious light, their conſciences with quickneſs, pureneſs, &c. And that after all this vaſt expence he is never the poorer, that he is not a penny the poorer for all that he hath laid out for the relief of thoſe that have their dependance on him. And that Jeſus Chriſt is generally rich, rich in houſes and lands, though he had not a place whereon to lay his head; in gold and ſilver, in cattle, in all temporals as well as ſpirituals, and that he hath a great tribute and rent due to him, that is the great Landlord and Owner of all that men poſſeſs above and below (7).' Another of the ſame ſtamp having publiſhed an invitation of young women to Chriſt, exhorts them to chuſe Chriſt for their huſband. 'You muſt be ſick of love, ſays he, of love to Chriſt, and let him be always as a bundle of myrrh between your breaſts. Chriſt is *maxime deligibilis*, as the ſchoolmen ſpeak. He is the very abſtract and quinteſſence of beauty. He is a whole paradiſe of delights. He is the flower of Charan, enriched with orient colours, and perfumed with the ſweeteſt ſavour; O! carry this flower not in your boſoms but in your hearts, and be always ſmelling to it, and ſhew your love to this lovely Saviour.' Theſe, ſays our author, are very fine things to perſuade young women to accept of Chriſt for their huſband, ſince they can never expect ſo rich and advantageous a match any where elſe. The doctor ſmiles at theſe pretty ſpiritual conceits, as modeſtly, to uſe his own words, as a man can deſire; ſo much at leaſt will be allowed, that theſe precious ſaints made as bold with their Saviour, as our author has done with them, and upon that account he was induced to give way to the natural bent of his genius with leſs reſerve, in a view of ſhaming them, if poſſible, out of that audacious confidence to which the doctrine of an intimate familiar acquaintance with Chriſt's perſon, of coming to and cloſing with him, and leaning, and reſting, and rolling their ſouls upon him, for ſalvation, had carried them. To be a match for ſuch men, required a ſuitable degree of hardineſs, and he did not ſpare to rouze the whole neſt of them, with their captain, Dr Owen, at their head, from whom, who he allows to write with learning and ſubtility, he deſcends to the inferior tribe, as Shephard's *Sincere Convert*, as alſo his *Sound Believer*; Watſon's Tracts, viz.

(4) Ibid. p. 178.

(5) Ibid. p. 182.

(6) Knowledge of Chriſt, p. 207, & ſeqq.

(7) Brooke's Riches of Chriſt, p. 73.

preſently drew upon him the rage of all thoſe who were writers among the Saints (*l*) [C]. In anſwer to whom, he publiſhed, in 1675, 8vo. *A Defence and Continuation of the Diſcourſe, &c. with a particular reſpect to the Doctrine of the Church of England* [D], beſides ſome other pieces the following year, which are mentioned below [E]. Having ſilenced theſe Antimoraliſts (*m*), it was not long before he engaged in the diſpute againſt the Non-conformiſts [F]; who taking advantage, from the ſituation of public affairs, began to be very

(*l*) i. e. The Independents; Theſe tenets were generally rejected by the Preſbyterians, and Mr Baxter particularly had wrote againſt them before this, as our author takes notice in the preface to this book.

(*m*) He aſſerts this expreſly in his defence of his notions of a Trinity, p. 98.

(1) *Chriſt's Lovelineſs*; (2) *The Chriſtian Character*; (3) The *Spiritual Vine*; (4) The *True brazen Serpent*; (5) The *Myſtery of the Lord's Supper*; to which muſt be added, The *Saint's Jewel*; and Dr Jacomb's *Diſcourſe on Romans the viiith*; W. B's. *Chriſt's perſonal excellency the object of our love*, &c.

[C] *The Rage of all the writers among the ſaints.*] Theſe were, (1) Dr Owen, in his *Vindication of ſome paſſages in a diſcourſe concerning communion with God, from the exceptions of* William Sherlock. (2) Mr Robert Ferguſon, a Scotch miniſter and ſchoolmaſter at Iſlington, in his *Intereſt of reaſon in religion* (3) Edward Polhill of Burwaſh in Suſſex, Eſq; in his *Divine will conſidered*. (4) Mr Benjamin (8) Alſop, a nonconformiſt miniſter, in his *Antijozzo, or Sherlocifmus enervatus*. (5) An anonymous author, ſuppoſed to be Mr Henry Hickman in *Speculum Sherlockianum*. (6) Mr Samuel Rolle, in his *Prodromus, or a character of Mr Sherlock's book called a Diſcourſe*, &c. all printed in 1674, 8vo.

(8) So he is called by Mr Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 893 to 896. but his true name (which he concealed) was Vincent Alſop. Our author contemptuouſly calls him the looking-glaſs maker; but he was undeniably a man of wit and learning. See his article, in this Work.

[D] *A vindication of his Diſcourſe*, &c.] This vindication was levelled chiefly againſt Mr Ferguſon and Dr Owen (9), who, among other expreſſions in that diſcourſe, had produced this as ſtrongly favouring Socinianiſm, viz. That the natural notions which men have of God aſſure them, that he is very good, and that it is not poſſible to underſtand what goodneſs is, without pardoning grace; whence he infers, that God could have pardoned ſin without ſatisfaction, and conſequently that the ſatisfaction of Chriſt was not abſolutely neceſſary in reſpect to God's juſtice. But that method of proceeding was choſen by him for other wiſe reaſons; ſeveral of theſe are mentioned, in which he obſerves he has pitched upon ſuch as are moſt ſuitable to the deſign of a treatiſe againſt the Antinomians: And in anſwer to the charge of his adverſaries, who had argued from this, that the Satisfaction of Chriſt could not be the meritorious cauſe of God's pardoning our ſins, if he was obliged to it by his eſſential goodneſs; our author aſks which of theſe he will reject, whether he will deny that the natural notion of a Deity, includes infinite goodneſs, or that the natural notion of infinite goodneſs includes pardoning grace, when there is a juſt and honourable occaſion for it, or that the merits of Chriſt's ſatisfaction, had purchaſed the grace and mercy of the goſpel. The denial of theſe he declared to be either Atheiſm, or Socinianiſm; and blaming his antagoniſt for charging him with aſſerting that God's eſſential goodneſs obliged him to pardon ſin; whereas, he ſays, that the eſſential goodneſs of God, only proves that he *may* pardon ſin without a ſacrifice; but not that he either *will*, or *muſt*. As to the nature of juſtification, he maintains, that our juſtification and acceptance with God, depends wholly upon the goſpel-covenant, which does not exact from us a perfect and ſinleſs obedience, but promiſes pardon of ſin and eternal life, upon the conditions of faith and repentance, and new obedience; that this goſpel-covenant is wholly owing to the merits of Chriſt, who by the ſacrifice of his death, hath wholly expiated our ſins, and both in his life and death hath given a noble demonſtration of his entire obedience and ſubmiſſion to the divine will: For God being well pleaſed with the obedience of Chriſt's life, and with the ſacrifice and expiation of his death, entered into a new covenant of grace and mercy with mankind; that the only way to partake of the bleſſings of this new covenant, is by believing and obeying the goſpel of Chriſt; that is, in other words, by acknowledging the divine authority of our Saviour, believing his revelations, obeying his laws, truſting to the merits of his ſacrifice, and the power of his interceſſion, and depending on the ſupplies and influences of his grace. So that, continues he, the righteouſneſs of Chriſt is not the formal cauſe of our righteouſneſs or juſtification, but the righteouſneſs of his life and death is the meritorious cauſe of that covenant, whereby we are declared righteous, and rewarded as righteous perſons. And as for the meaning of Chriſt's righteouſneſs being imputed to us, he aſſerts that our righteouſneſs is wholly owing to the righteouſneſs of Chriſt, which in this ſenſe may be imputed to us, becauſe without this covenant of grace, which is founded on the righteouſneſs of Chriſt, the beſt man living could lay no claim to righteouſneſs or future glory; and the righteouſneſs of Chriſt is our righteouſneſs, when we ſpeak of the foundation of the covenant, by which we are accepted: but if we ſpeak of the terms of the covenant; that is, what it is that will intitle us to all the bleſſings of the covenant; then we muſt have a righteouſneſs of our own, for the righteouſneſs of Chriſt will not ſerve the turn. Dr South, ſpeaking of our author's treatiſe of the knowledge of Chriſt, ſays, it is a book fraught with reflections upon God's juſtice, with reference to Chriſt's ſatisfaction; and that it may deſervedly paſs for a blaſphemous libel upon both. However our author, ſpeaking of this controverſy ſome years afterwards, intimates, that he had confuted his antagoniſts, and put them to ſilence; and aſſures Mr Baxter, that if he had a mind to revive that then old controverſy, which his other adverſaries had been pleaſed to forget, he is content to enter the liſts once more (10).

(9) In the concluſion, p. 534, 535. he excuſes himſelf for taking no notice of Mr Polhil and Alſop, as not worth notice.

(10) Preface to his Continuation and Vindication of Dr Stillingfleet, p. 4, 5.

[E] *Other pieces the following year.*] After his Vindication was finiſhed, Mr Danſon attacked his former book, in a piece, intitled, *A friendly debate between* Satan and Sherlock, *containing a diſcovery of the unſoundneſs of Mr* Will. Sherlock's *principles, in a book, intituled*, A diſcourſe concerning the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt, in 1676. Our author replied to it the ſame year, in his *Anſwer to a ſcandalous pamphlet, intituled*, A friendly debate between Satan and Sherlock. He alſo wrote *An account of Mr Ferguſon's common-place-book, in two letters to Mr Glanvil: and Mr* Danſon publiſhing, *A defence of the late friendly debate, &c. againſt Mr Sherlock's exceptions*, 1677, 8vo. our author was defended in a piece, intitled, *A vindication of Mr Sherlock, againſt the calumnies of Mr Danſon, &c.* 1677, 4to.

[F] *He engaged in the diſpute againſt the Non-conformiſts.*] Our author in this diſpute, being only Dr Stillingfleet's ſecond; his firſt deſign, if we may believe himſelf, was no more than a ſhort rebuke to ſome ſuch ſkulking pamphleteers as thoſe who don't fight with the Doctor's book, but with his reputation, and have no other way of anſwering arguments, but with picking up ſome by-ſayings, which, with the help of an ingenious comment, may expoſe the author, and then there is no need of anſwering his book. Among others, he takes notice of one whom Dean Stillingfleet had charged with having in the firſt edition of a tract, publiſhed in 1675, pleaded for an univerſal toleration, ſo as to have it granted to Papiſts, as well as other Diſſenters; but printing it again in 1680, he denied them the liberty of that toleration, becauſe they were idolaters, and only allowed them the private exerciſe of their religion. The reaſon of which difference, the Dean ſuppoſes to be, that in 1675, they were willing to conſent to a toleration, tho' Papiſts reaped the advange of it, as well as themſelves; but after the Popiſh plot broke out, they thought it unſeaſonable to make ſuch a propoſal. The paſſage in the edition of 1675, runs thus; *The Papiſts in our account, are but one ſort of recuſants, and the conſcientious and peaceable among them, muſt be held in the ſame predicament with thoſe among ourſelves that likewiſe refuſe to come to common-prayer.* Again, *but as for the common Papiſt, who lives innocently in his way, he is to us as other ſeparatiſts, and ſo comes under the like toleration.* Again, *He is to us, in regard of what he does in private, in the matter of his God, the ſame as thoſe who likewiſe refuſe to come to common-prayer.* Whereas in the edition of 1680, the words are, *The Papiſt is one whoſe worſhip is to us idolatry, and we cannot therefore allow them the liberty of publickly aſſembling themſelves as others of the ſeparation.* Stillingfleet, in his animadverſions on this alteration, was very ſedate, and indeed cooler than his uſual temper. 'Now, 'ſays he, if there be any difference between the public 'and private exerciſe of religion. Here ſeems to be a 'plain alteration of his opinion; but he ſays, he ex- 'plains himſelf therefore by way of ſupply, ſignifying 'that

very troubleſome in defending their ſeparation (*n*). In anſwer to thoſe principles, our author publiſhed *Reaſons for non-conformity examined*, in 1679, 4to. which was followed by *A defence of Dr Stillingfleet's Unreaſonableneſs of ſeparation* in 1681, and *A vindication of that defence* in 1683, both in 8vo. In the mean time he had taken the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1680 (*o*), and been married ſome few years before (*p*). He had alſo been collated to the Prebend of St Pancras in the cathedral of St Paul London, November 3, 1681 (*q*). After the diſcovery of the Rye-houſe plot in 1683 (*r*), the Doctor obſerving, that the principles of reſiſtance to a Popiſh Prince were warmly abetted by ſome eminent perſons, and were alſo frequently urged in vindication of rebellious practices againſt the government (*s*), drew up a ſet of arguments in ſupport of the court doctrine of abſolute non-reſiſtance, which he publiſhed the following year under the title of *The caſe of reſiſtance to the ſupreme powers ſtated and reſolved, according to the doctrine of the holy ſcriptures* [G], and he continued to preach the ſame doctrine after King James IId's acceſſion

(n) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 461. fol. edit.

(o) Life of Tillotſon, as before.

(p) His eldeſt ſon was born before this time.

(q) Newcourt, ubi ſupra, p. 297.

(r) In a ſermon preached at St Botolph's this year on that occaſion, he lays this plot to the charge of the Diſſenters but at the ſame time appears full in the belief of the truth of the Popiſh plot likewiſe.

'that what he ſaid at firſt, ſhould be taken in regard 'as his meaning really was then, and now is, but fuller 'expreſſed (11). We have no way, continues our au'thor, to diſprove what his meaning was, but by his 'words; and if they deſired a public toleration for 'themſelves, they did ſo for the Papiſts, who were *to 'come under the like toleration*; and I think Mr H—— 'might as well have let it alone, unleſs he could have 'made a better defence.'

(11) Anſwer to Dr Stillingfleet, p. 7.

[G] *The caſe of reſiſtance.*] Our author in defending this doctrine, did no more than concur with the general voice of his order; Burnet and Tillotſon, both gave into it (12): And as we have ſeen, he was not of a diſpoſition to be ſparing of his pen; he ſtept out boldly and confidently, as his manner was, in the open defence of this principle. It will not be amiſs, for a reaſon we ſhall ſee preſently, to give a ſketch of his way of arguing upon the ſubject. After a ſhort eſſay to prove it by the common arguments then in vogue, he proceeds to anſwer objections. The firſt is, of thoſe who urging, that 'they are bound by no law to ſuffer againſt law, 'ſuppoſe, as a late author (13) does, that a Popiſh Prince 'ſhould perſecute his Proteſtant ſubjects in England, 'for profeſſing the Proteſtant religion, which is eſta'bliſhed by law, by what law muſt he die? not by the 'law of God, for being of that religion which he ap'proves, nor by the laws of our country, where Pro'teſtancy is ſo far from being criminal, that it is death 'to deſert it, and turn Papiſt. By what law then? by 'none that I know of, ſays the author; nor do I, ſays 'the Doctor, know of any, and ſo far we are agreed: 'but then both the laws of God and of our country, 'command us not to reſiſt; and if death, an illegal 'and unjuſt death, follow upon that, I can't help it; 'God and our country muſt anſwer for it.' Agreeable to this is his anſwer to the next objection; that a Prince has no authority againſt law; 'that is true, ſays he, 'but then 'tis as true, that he is accountable only to his 'ſuperior, that is God alone, and not to his inferior; 'that being a principle which is contradictory to the 'very notion of power, and deſtructive of all order 'and government.' In the further proſecution of this argument, he maintains that the authority of the Sovereign is in his perſon, and not in the law: that there muſt be in him a perſonal power and authority antecedent to all civil laws, ſince the law is nothing but the public declaration of the law maker, whether ſovereign Prince, or the people. Hence it neceſſarily follows, that the ſovereign Prince does not receive his authority from the laws, but laws receive their authority from him; and this he will have to be the conſtitution of England, againſt Bracton's rule, that *Lex facit Regem, The law makes the King*; by which he tells us, that the author means only that he is no King, as King ſignifies a juſt and beneficent power and authority, who governs by arbitrary will, and not by law, as appears from his own words, *non eſt enim Rex ubi dominatur voluntas & non Lex*; not that he is no ſovereign Prince, but he is a tyrant and not a King. And hence, continues he, it evidently follows, that the being of a ſovereign power, is independent on laws; and the ſame is evident from the allowed maxim, that the perſon of the king is ſacred and inviolable; but what makes his perſon ſo, but his inviolable authority? *In a word, ſays he, it does not become a man who can think three conſequences off, to talk of the authority of laws, in derogation to the authority of the ſovereign power.* In the further proſecution of this argument, he declares, that of the long ſucceſſion of Princes in this kingdom, there had been no Prince that had caſt off the authority of laws, or uſurpt an abſolute or arbitrary power; whence he ſhews how vain the fears of thoſe are, who pretend this, only to diſturb the public peace. Laſtly, in anſwer to the objection, that granting abſolute non-reſiſtance, the miſchiefs and inconveniencies to mankind may be intolerable: he declares that no miſchiefs, even of the moſt mercileſs tyrant, can be ſo bad as thoſe of confuſion and a civil war. And in reconciling the doctrine of abſolute non-reſiſtance to a limited monarchy, he obſerves very curiouſly, that tho' a Prince may break the laws, yet he cannot make or repeal them, and therefore can never alter the frame and conſtitution of the Government; tho' he may at preſent interrupt the regular adminiſtration of it: and this, ſays he, is both a great ſecurity to poſterity, and a preſent reſtraint upon himſelf; comfort enough (for ſo he intimates by his ſilence) for whatever miſeries the preſent race of his ſubjects may groan under, who muſt ſtill lie faſt bound by the indiſſoluble iron chain of paſſive-obedience. Sam. Johnſon, a writer well matched for hardineſs to the Doctor, in his remarks upon this piece, very ſhrewdly obſerves, that the lawfulneſs of defending ourſelves againſt illegal violence, is a truth ſo obvious, and ſo agreeable to the common ſenſe of mankind, that even thoſe men who ſet themſelves to oppoſe it, do oftentimes aſſert it unawares, and give unanſwerable reaſons for it. He then proceeds to ſet down thoſe conceſſions, which the force of truth has extorted from our author. (1) *No man wants authority to defend his life againſt him, who has no authority to take it away*, p. 96. *But no man whatſoever has any juſt and legal authority to take it away contrary to law*, p. 190, 191. (2) *He that reſiſts the uſurpations of men, does not reſiſt the ordinance of God, which alone is forbidden to be reſiſted. But acts of arbitrary and illegal violence are the uſurpations of men*, p. 128, and 211; and in p. 212, he acknowledges, that the aſſuming of an abſolute and arbitrary power in this kingdom, would be uſurpation; tho' he ſays at the ſame time, that no Prince in this kingdom, ever uſurped ſuch a power, which, ſays Johnſon, is notoriouſly falſe, for Richard the ſecond by name did, not to mention any other. (3) A third argument, which the Doctor furniſhes againſt himſelf, is this, p. 164, 165. *The reaſon why we muſt ſubmit to Governors, or ſubordinate Magiſtrates, is, becauſe they are ſent by our Prince, and act by his authority; and we muſt never ſubmit to them in oppoſition to our Prince.* Now, ſays Johnſon, nothing is better known in this kingdom, than that thoſe who commit illegal violence, do not act by the Prince's authority; for, as our author ſays, p. 190. he himſelf *has no juſt nor legal authority to act againſt law*, and therefore we need not ſubmit to them in ſuch acts. Nay, further, according to this author, *we muſt never ſubmit to them in this caſe, becauſe they are in oppoſition to our Prince*; for they act againſt the peace of our ſovereign Lord the King, his crown and dignity, as the law has evermore interpreted ſuch acts. (4) Our author, p. 126. has theſe words, *Every man has the right of ſelf-preſervation, as intire under civil Government, as he had in a ſtate of nature. Under what government I live, I may ſtill kill another man, when I have no other way to preſerve my life from unjuſt violence by private hands.* Now the hands of ſubordinate magiſtrates, employed in acts of illegal violence, are private hands, and act with no manner of authority at all; of which this is a moſt convincing proof, that they may be hanged by law for ſuch acts; which no man can or ought to ſuffer for what he does by authority: they are no officers at all in ſuch acts; for illegal violence is no part of their office. This, concludes Mr Johnſon, is ſuffi-

(12) See the article of William Lord Ruſſell.

(13) Sam. Johnſon, in his Julian.

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acceſſion to the throne [*H*]. However, though he maintained that neither Popery nor tyranny in the Prince could excuſe the ſubject from the duty of paſſive-obedience, yet he entered with the firſt into the controverſy againſt the Papiſts, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a great variety of performances publiſhed on that occaſion [*I*], and he is allowed by his warmeſt

cient to ſhew, that this author holds ſo much truth, *as would have led him to his own conviction, if he had but attended to the immediate conſequences of it*, inſtead of blending it with a great many falſhoods (14). Theſe remarks, tho' written in 1683, were not publiſhed 'till 1689; and it is obſervable, that if Mr Johnſon had happened to defer the publication a very little longer, he would have ſeen the Doctor actually *led to his own conviction*.

(14) Remarks on Dr Sherlock's Caſe of Reſiſtance, printed among Johnſon's Works, p. 251, 252. edit. 1710, fol.

We muſt not conclude this remark, without informing the reader, that *The Caſe of Reſiſtance* had the honour of being tranſlated into French, by Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roſcommon; whoſe father James Dillon, being reclaimed, when young, from Popery, by Primate Uſher, was ſent by him into England, and committed to the care of Dr George Hakewell, who placed him in Exeter College, Oxford, under the tuition of Lawrence Bodley, B. D. a nephew of Sir Thomas Bodley: here he continued ſome years, became a perſon of ſeveral accompliſhments, and afterwards Earl of Roſcommon in Ireland, his native country. He was ſucceeded in that dignity by his ſon Wentworth Dillon, who was educated in all kinds of polite literature: and about the time of the Duke of York's marriage to the Princeſs of Modena, was made Captain of the band of Penſioners to King Charles the ſecond, and afterwards Maſter of horſe to the ſaid Ducheſs of York. He publiſhed ſeveral pieces of poetry, among which his Eſſay on tranſlated verſe is eſteemed a maſter piece; it has gone thro' many editions; to one of which he added a ſpecimen of blank verſe, being the battle of the Angels in Milton's Paradiſe loſt. He alſo tranſlated Horace's Art of Poetry, into Engliſh blank verſe, printed at London, 1680, 4to. Beſides ſeveral Prologues and Epilogues to plays, printed with the reſpective plays; as alſo divers copies of verſes and tranſlations, printed in the Miſcellanies, by Jacob Tonſon, in 1684; and in the collections of Poems, in 1693, 1694, 8vo. Since which, his works have been printed together, among thoſe of the minor poets, in 1749, and 1750, vol. i. and iii. This ingenious nobleman paid his laſt debt to nature, in his houſe near St. James's palace, Jan. 1684, and was buried in Weſtminſter abbey. To the dignity ſucceeded his uncle, Cary Dillon, Colonel of a regiment, in the war between King James the ſecond, and William the third in Ireland; from whence going into England, he was ſeized with a diſtemper which brought him to his grave at Cheſter, in Nov. 1689 *: And the title has been extinct many years.

* Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 225.

[*H*] *He continued to preach the ſame doctrine after the acceſſion of King James the ſecond.*] In a ſermon before the houſe of Commons, May 29, 1685, he has theſe remarkable words upon the duty of loyalty. 'To 'this, ſays he, we owe the preſent ſecurity and pro'tection of the Church of England: For if there were 'nothing elſe to be looked on, yet a jealous Prince 'cannot but look on and reward it's loyalty; and it 'would ſeem very harſh for any Prince, to deſire that 'a religion ſhould be turned out of the Church, which 'ſecures him in a quiet poſſeſſion of his throne; and 'therefore to conclude, I deſire you to obſerve, that 'it is a Church of England loyalty which I perſuade 'you to. This the King relies on as a tried and ex'perienced loyalty, which has ſuffered with it's Prince, 'but never yet rebelled againſt him; a loyalty upon 'firm and ſteady principles, and without reſerve: And 'therefore to keep us true to our Prince, we muſt be 'true to our church and our religion, and it's legal ſecu'rity. It is no act of loyalty to court and compliment 'away our religion and it's ſecurity. For if we change 'our religion, we muſt change the principles of our 'loyalty; and I am ſure the King and the crown will 'gain nothing by it: for there is no ſuch laſting and 'immoveable loyalty as that of the Church of England. 'I deny not, but ſome of our Papiſts, in ſome junc'tures may, and have been very loyal; but I am ſure 'the Popiſh religion is not. The Engliſhman may be 'loyal, but not the Papiſt: And yet there can be no 'ſecurity of thoſe men's loyalty, whoſe religion teaches 'them, in any caſe, to rebel.' Soon after there came out a humorous remonſtrance, by way *of addreſs from the Church of England to both houſes of parliament, upon the account of religion, together with ſome remarks upon Dr* Sherlock's *ſermon, preached May* 29. 1685. Wherein the author animadverts upon this laſt charge upon Popery, as groundleſs and uncharitable. In anſwer to which, Dr Sherlock publiſhed, *A vindication of a paſſage in a ſermon before the Houſe of Commons*, where he aſſerts the doctrine of depoſing Princes, on account of their religion, to be maintained by the Church of Rome in her public inſtruments as a Church.

[*I*] *A great variety of performances on that occaſion.*] He publiſhed more treatiſes in the Popiſh controverſy, than perhaps any other of the diſputants, as will appear from the following liſt of them. (1) *A Diſcourſe of the object of religious Worſhip.* (2) *A vindication of the Rights of eccleſiaſtical Authority, in anſwer to* Dr Whitby's Proteſtant Reconciler, both in 1685, 8vo. before the death of King Charles the ſecond. After the acceſſion of King James the ſecond, his pieces are, (1) *Notes on* Lucilla and Elizabeth, 1686. (2) *A Diſcourſe of a judge of Controverſies in Matters of Religion.* (3) *Proteſtant Reſolution of Faith.* (4) *A Papiſt not miſ-repreſented by Proteſtants, being a Reply to the* Reflections upon the anſwer to a Papiſt miſ-repreſented, and repreſented. (5) *An anſwer to a Diſcourſe, intituled* Papiſts proteſting againſt Proteſtant Popery; *being a Vindication of Papiſts not miſ-repreſented by Proteſtants; and containing a particular Examination of Mr de Meaux, late Biſhop of Condom, his Expoſition of the Doctrine of the Church of Rome, in the Articles of the Invocation of Saints, and the Worſhip of Images, occaſioned by that Diſcourſe*, all theſe in 1686, in 4to. (6) *An anſwer to the Requeſt of Proteſtants, to produce their plain Scriptures, directly authorizing their tenets.* (7) *A ſhort ſummary of the principal Controverſies between the Church of England, and the Church of Rome*; being a *Vindication of ſeveral Proteſtant Doctrines, in anſwer to a late Pamphlet, intituled*, Proteſtancy deſtitute of Scripture Proofs. (8) *An anſwer to a late Dialogue between a new Catholic Convert, and a Proteſtant, to prove the Myſtery of the Trinity to be as abſurd a Doctrine as Tranſubſtantiation; by way of Notes on the ſaid Dialogue.* (9) *A brief Diſcourſe concerning the Notes of the Church, with ſome Reflections on Cardinal Bellarmine's Notes.* (10) *A Vindication of the brief Diſcourſe, concerning the Notes of the Church, in anſwer to a late Pamphlet, intituled*, The Uſe and great Moment of the Notes of the Church, as delivered by Cardinal Bellarmine; theſe all in 1687, 4to. (11) *An anſwer to the amicable Accommodation of the Difference between the Repreſenter and the Anſwerer.* (12) *A Vindication of ſome Proteſtant Principles of Church Unity, and Catholic Communion, from the charge of Agreement with the Church of Rome, in anſwer to a late Pamphlet, intituled*, An Agreement between the Church of England, and the Church of Rome; evinced from the concertation of ſome of her Sons, with their Brethren the Diſſenters. (13) *A Diſcourſe concerning the Nature, Unity, and Communion of the Catholic Church, wherein moſt of the Controverſies relating to the Church, are briefly and plainly ſtated*, part i. (14) *The ſame*, part ii. (15) *A Preſervative againſt Popery, being ſome plain Directions to unlearned Proteſtants, how to diſpute with Romiſh Prieſts*, part i. (16) *The ſecond Part of the Preſervative againſt Popery; ſhewing how contrary Popery is to the true ends of the Chriſtian Religion; fitted for the Inſtruction of unlearned Proteſtants.* (17) *A Vindication of both Parts of the Preſervative againſt Popery, in anſwer to the cavils of Lewis Sabran, a Jeſuit.* The Jeſuit hereby procured himſelf an antagoniſt that he will be always famous for, who made him this following reply; 'A defence of Dr Sherlock's Preſervative againſt Popery, in reply to a Jeſuit's anſwer, 'wherein the rev. father's reaſonings are fully confuted, by William Gyles, a Proteſtant footman †.' We are aſſured by the editor of this piece, that it was brought to his hands by the young man himſelf, who wrote it, and to remove all ſuſpicion of fraud, or foul play, he profeſſes upon the word of a Chriſtian, that he has committed it to the preſs, as it was delivered to him by the young man himſelf, in his own hand-writing, without the addition or taking away of one word, or

† In the ſecond edition there is added, living with Madam H. in Mark Lane.

altering

warmeſt adverſary (*s*) to have wrote well upon this ſubject. After the Revolution he remained for ſome time under the influence of his former principles, and refuſing to take the new oath of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, was, with other Non-jurors (*t*) ſuſpended in 1689 from all his preferments: The chief of theſe was the Maſterſhip of the Temple, which had been conferred upon him in 1685. During his ſuſpenſion he publiſhed his celebrated treatiſe intituled, *A practical diſcourſe concerning death* [*K*] in 1690. But before the expiration of the year he complied with the new-eſtabliſhed government, and taking the oaths, was reinſtated in all his preferments; of which, though forfeited, yet by the lenity of the adminiſtration he had not been deprived. Great clamours were raiſed againſt this ſtep in his conduct by his old friends whom he had left: Whereupon he thought proper, for the ſatisfaction of the whole party, to publiſh his reaſons for it, and the piece came out the ſame year (*u*), intituled, *The caſe of the allegiance due to Sovereign Powers, ſtated and reſolved according to Scripture and reaſon, and the principles of the Church of England; with a more particular reſpect to the Oath lately enjoined of allegiance to their preſent Majeſties, King William and Queen Mary* [*L*]. The Doctor having in this book aſcribed

(*s*) Dr South: who obſerves that there is hardly any one ſubject which he has wrote upon, that of Popery only excepted, but he has wrote both for it and againſt it. Preface to South's Animadverſions, p. 18.

(*t*) Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that he was one of the moſt conſiderable and eminent among the Non-jurors. Hiſt. Vol. II.

(*u*) The title page ſays 1691, but the Printers begin the year at Michaelmas. And it is remarkable that a piece intituled, a True Vindication of the Rev. Dr Sherlock's Caſe was publiſhed in 1690, againſt five or ſix pamphlets; and his imprimatur to his Vindication by himſelf is dated Jan. 14, 1690 9/0.

altering one ſentence or line; ſo that, continues he, the reader will have it juſt as I had, excepting the falſeneſs of the Engliſh, which is pardonable enough in a poor ſervant, that was very young deprived of his parents, and never had more learning than to read Engliſh. However, upon this, I ordered the bookſeller to ſpeak to his compoſitor at the preſs, to correct the Engliſh as he ſet it.

[*K*] *He wrote his Practical Treatiſe on Death.*] It has been obſerved, that our author was as remarkable for his writings in controverſial Divinity in his own time, as he will be eminent for his practical treatiſes in all times; and it may with equal truth be ſaid, that if he had wrote none but this upon Death, it would have been enough for his fame, *ſatis pro fama*. All his practical pieces were well received by the publick, but they all fall greatly ſhort of this on Death, which has gone through almoſt thirty editions. I fancy the reader will be beforehand with me, in obſerving the ſuitableneſs of the ſubject to the then preſent ſtate of the Doctor's affairs, as well as the melancholy proſpect he had for the future in this world. Such a ſituation would naturally inſpire thoughts of another world; but ſuch thoughts, and cloathed in ſuch expreſſions, are then only produced, when a genius happens to be luckily hit with his ſubject. The whole piece is a compleat inſtance of the true ſublime in writing: And nothing but a genius too could have produced the following, I had almoſt ſaid, equally ſublime deſcription of it:

Thy even thoughts with ſo much plainneſs flow,
Their ſenſe, untutor'd, infancy may know;
Yet to ſuch height is all that plainneſs wrought,
Wit may admire, and letter'd pride be taught.
Eaſy in words, thy ſtile, in ſenſe ſublime,
On it's bleſt ſteps each age and ſex may riſe;
'Tis like the ladder in the Patriarch's dream,
It's foot on earth, it's height beyond the ſkies.
Diffus'd it's virtue, boundleſs is it's power,
'Tis publick health and univerſal care.
Of heavenly manna 'tis a ſecond feaſt,
A nation's food, and all to every taſte (15).

(15) Commendatory verſes by Mr Prior, preſixed to every edition of this piece.

Another genius, ſpeaking of this treatiſe, writes thus: 'Dr Sherlock has repreſented, in very ſtrong and 'lively colours, the ſtate of the ſoul on it's firſt ſeparation from the body, with regard to that inviſible 'world which every where ſurrounds us, though we 'are not able to diſcover it through this groſſer world 'of matter, which is accommodated to our ſenſes in 'this life; and obſerves, that our leaving this world is 'nothing elſe but the putting off this body (16).'

(16) Mr Addiſon in Spectator, No. 513, for October 18, 1713.

[*L*] *The Caſe of Allegiance, &c.*] In the preface he declares, 'That he had ſome of the thoughts contained in the book long before, which he drew up in writing, and ſhewed them to ſome of his friends, and diſcourſed with others about them, and told them where he ſtuck. But, continues he, ſtick I did, and could find no help for it; and there I ſhould have ſtuck to this day, had I not been relieved by Biſhop Overal's Convocation book, which not only confirmed my former notions, and ſuggeſted ſome new thoughts to me which removed thoſe difficulties I could not conquer, but alſo, by the venerable authority of a Convocation, gave me greater freedom and liberty of thinking, which the apprehenſion of novelty and ſingularity had cramped before.' As the Doctor aſcribes his conviction to Biſhop Overal's Convocation-book, it will not be amiſs to give the following account of that book from Biſhop Burnet. 'There was a book, ſays this author, drawn up by 'Biſhop Overal, fourſcore years ago, concerning Go-'vernment, in which it's being of a divine inſtitution 'was poſitively aſſerted: It was read in Convocation, 'and paſſed by that body, in order to the publiſhing it, 'in oppoſition to the principles laid down in that famous 'book of *Parſons* the Jeſuit, publiſhed under the name of 'Doleman*. King James I. did not like a Convocation's 'entering into ſuch a theory of Politics, ſo he wrote a 'long letter to *Abbot*, who was afterwards Archbiſhop of 'Canterbury, but was then in the lower houſe I had 'the original wrote all in his own hand in my poſſeſſion: 'By it he deſired that no farther progreſs ſhould be made 'in that matter, and that this book might not be offered 'to him for his aſſent; there that matter ſlept. But *Sancroft*, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, had got Overal's own 'book into his hands; ſo in the beginning of this [K. 'William's] reign, he reſolved to publiſh it, as an authentic declaration that the Church of England had made 'in this matter, and it was publiſhed ‖ as well as licenſed 'by him a very few days before he came under ſuſpenſion for not taking the oaths ‡. But there was a paragraph or two in it that they had not conſidered, 'which was plainly calculated to juſtify the owning the 'United Provinces to be a lawful Government; for it 'was there laid down, that when a change of Govern-'ment was brought to a thorough ſettlement, it was 'then to be owned and ſubmitted to as a work of the 'providence of God, and part of King James's letter 'to Abbot related to this. The Biſhop then goes on 'to tell us, that when this was obſerved by Sherlock, 'he had ſome conferences with the [Jacobite] party, 'in order to convince them by that, which had con-'vinced himſelf (17).' What his Lordſhip here aſſerts we have ſeen confirmed by Dr Sherlock, but he has not informed us of the exact time when he thought ſuch a ſettlement as Biſhop Overal mentions, was made by the Revolution: indeed he tells us, he was always diſpoſed to receive ſatisfaction in his ſcruples, and wiſhed he could have got over them; nay, that he complied with the new government ſo far, as not only to live quietly and peaceably, but even prayed for King William and Queen Mary by name, according to the Apoſtle's direction, to pray for all that are in authority, which they viſibly were in: that he likewiſe always oppoſed a ſeparation, and adviſed not a few, who thought fit to conſult with him, to keep to the communion of the Church, and not to entertain prejudices againſt their Miniſters for taking the oaths; 'for, continues he, I did not refuſe the oaths out of any fondneſs for the government of King James, nor zeal for his return, which the preſent proſpect of affairs gives no man who loves the Church of England, and the liberties of his country, any reaſon to wiſh; nor yet out of any averſion to the government of King William and Queen Mary; But againſt my own inclinations and intereſt, out of pure principles of conſcience to comply with the obligations of my former oaths, and that duty which ſubjects owe to their Prince, which I then apprehended irreconcileable with the new oath.' In all this there is not the leaſt hint that any new advantage lately obtained by the Prince of Orange had any ſhare in his converſion, but rather the contrary; it being inſinu-

* See an account of it in his article.

‖ In the title-page it is ſaid to be publiſhed by the New Obſervator.

‡ He was ſuſpended October 13, 1689. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. for that year.

(17) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 212, folio edition.

aſcribed the change of his political opinions chiefly to a paſſage which he had not before obſerved in Biſhop Overal's Convocation-book. There was printed the following year, *An*

ated, that, in ſettling his conſcience, he never looked any further than to King James's firſt leaving the kingdom; and that this was actually the caſe, we have his own expreſs words in the body of the book, where he aſſerts, that *Allegiance was no longer due to King James when he had withdrawn his perſon and left his Crown* (18). So that what the forementioned Right Reverend hiſtorian tells us, muſt reſt on his ſole authority, concerning our author's declaration, which is, that 'upon King James's going out of Ireland, Dr Sherlock 'thought that this gave the preſent Government a 'thorough ſettlement, and, in that caſe, he thought 'it lawful to take the oaths, and not only took them 'himſelf, but juſtified what he had done.' This hiſtorian had, however, undeniable authority for what he aſſerts afterwards, *viz* 'that upon this account our author was ſeverely libelled by thoſe from 'whom he withdrew (19).' An anonymous author, remarking the words abovecited, that 'twas not out of fondneſs for King James, nor deſire of his return, &c. that the Doctor ſo long refuſed the oaths, interprets them thus: That is, ſays he, that he [the Doctor] did not ſwear all that while, becauſe he had hopes of King James's return; but how juſtly this pamphleteer may be called a libeller, appears from his idle ſtory of the Doctor's converſion being the meer effect of his wife's ill uſage, in reſpect to his table, 'till he had complied (20). In the ſame licentious ſpirit, another of theſe libellers obſerves, that it was the battle of the Boyne that ſatisfied the Doctor's conſcience (21). However, the Doctor found a vindicator of himſelf from theſe aſperſions, who ſhews that he ſtates allegiance to be due to King William as ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion (22). Finally, our author ſoon after expreſsly, and at large, declares againſt this ill-natured cenſure of Biſhop Burnet in theſe words: (1) The Prince of Orange undertook to ſettle the Government upon the ancient bottom, not diſliked by the Nonjurors at that time. The great body of the nation ſtood ſtill looking on, and wiſhing well to the Prince, without wiſhing ill to the King's perſon, or to the juſt exerciſe of his authority. Very few of the active ones thought of any thing more than to obtain a free Parliament; but the King would not ſtand this trial, diſbands his army, withdraws his perſon, without leaving any authority behind him to adminiſter the Government: Nobody ever thought that this was a perfect free and voluntary act; but however gone he was, and had left nobody behind him to govern by his authority: and then the Government was either diſſolved, or the power muſt reſt in the States of the realm. The States upon this exigency aſſembled, but did not pretend to aſſert the authority of the People over the King, and their power to judge, depoſe, and baniſh him; they only undertook to judge what properly falls under their cognizance in ſuch caſes, *viz.* Whether the Throne were vacant? and if it were, how it muſt be filled? And when thoſe who were the ſole and proper judges had once determined it, private ſubjects (according to the forementioned rules of all Governments) were bound to acquieſce, whatever their private opinions were; or elſe ſuch ſtate diſputes can never be determined, but we muſt neceſſarily diſſolve into anarchy and confuſion. Where there is no determination of the law of nature, or the law of God againſt it (as there is none about meer legal rights) the reſolution of Governors muſt determine the conſciences of private ſubjects; for the power of judging muſt extend as far as the power of governing goes (23).' By this time we ſee the Doctor convinced of the parliamentary right which was then the Court doctrine: the great difficulty was to ſupport the reputation of his having changed his former principles of indefeaſible hereditary right in the Stuart family, our natural Princes (24); in reſpect to which family, he had carried theſe principles to the greateſt height, and preſſed them, as his manner was, with a contemptuous confidence of all oppoſers. But here he *acted ingenuouſly and openly*, confeſſing himſelf miſtaken in that point. 'I muſt, 'ſays he, add one thing more, that I have renounced 'no principle that ever I taught excepting one, in 'the caſe of reſiſtance, which is the only material paſ-'ſage I know any reaſon to retract in that book, *viz.* 'That when St Paul ſays, All power is of God, he 'means only legal powers, but that in an hereditary 'monarchy, where the right heir is living, uſurped 'powers are not of God, nor the ordinance of God, 'as I proved by the example of Joaſh: The reaſon 'and the example you will find ſufficiently anſwered 'in the following diſcourſe, and the doctrine itſelf rejected by the Convocation. Though it has been of 'late years ſo prevailing a miſtake, and impoſed by 'ſuch great authorities, that it is very pardonable, 'eſpecially when it is ſo freely acknowledged (25).' It will perhaps be thought by ſome the moſt ſurpriſing effect of this change, that it ſhould even carry him into an attempt to reconcile it with what he had before taught, *viz.* the doctrine of abſolute Non-reſiſtance: but this taſk was now for the eaſe of it become irreſiſtible to let it paſs unperformed; for ſince a *de facto* King was the ordinance of God, he muſt derive his authority from the ſame divine fountain, which conſequently muſt not be reſiſted. Upon this principle he has theſe words in the diſcourſe already cited: 'So that whatever diſpute there may be about other matters, the late Revolution has made no alteration in the principles of Government and obedience; it does not oblige us to own the ſuperior power of the People over the King, which would be a very tottering foundation for monarchy, and could never ſupport it long. *Thoſe who believed the doctrine of Non-reſiſtance and paſſive Obedience to be a good doctrine before, may think ſo ſtill, and be never the worſe friends to the preſent Government.* And I have often thought it a wonderful Providence of God, that in an age wherein the ſtricteſt loyalty and obedience had been ſo earneſtly preſſed on men, ſo great a Revolution ſhould be brought about, while the generality of the ſubjects were merely paſſive, and ſurprized into a deliverance (26).' Whence it is evident, that, in his opinion, the wonder at laſt of this providence conſiſted in ſecretly inſpiring King James with a reſolution to withdraw his perſon, diſband his army, and leave nobody in authority to adminiſter the affairs of the Crown. Otherwiſe, that the active party ſhould prevail over the other who were merely paſſive, *is ſo far from being* wonderful, that the contrary would have been the only, and indeed a moſt ſurprizing wonder.

As this revolution, in the Doctor's principles, was ſo wonderfully wrought by Biſhop Overal's book, the reader will naturally be inquiſitive after ſome further account of that Prelate; which curioſity we are able to gratify ſo far as to inform him, that Dr John Overal was bred at Cambridge, where, from being a Fellow of Trinity-college, he became Maſter of Catharine hall, and Regius Profeſſor of Divinity. *In* 1601-2 he was promoted to the deanery of St Paul's * by Queen Elizabeth, at the recommendation of Sir Fulke Greville, afterwards Lord Brooke, his patron; and in the beginning of King James's reign he was choſen Prolocutor of the lower Houſe of Convocation. In April 1614, he was advanced to the biſhopric of Coventry and Lichfield, from which he was tranſlated in 1618, to that of Norwich, where he died on the 12th of May following, and was interred in that church; where Dr Coſins, Biſhop of Durham, who had been bred under his counſels †, in gratitude erected an elegant monument to his memory, after the Reſtoration ‖. He is ranked amongſt the beſt Divines of his time, and particularly excelled in ſcholaſtic Theology. He held a correſpondence with Gerard Voſſius, and Hugo Grotius, to whom ſeveral of his letters are publiſhed in that uſeful Collection, intituled *Præſtantium & eruditorum Virorum epiſtolæ eccleſiaſticæ & theologicæ* ‡, in which he declares himſelf in favour of Arminianiſm; however, he thinks St Auſtin's opinion of the irreſiſtibility of Grace may be tolerated, but abſolutely condemns the doctrine of confining Grace to the Elect alone. He laboured heartily to accord the diſputes in Holland upon the points of the quinquarticular controverſy, and expreſſes great concern for the ill treatment which the ſtudies and propoſals of Grotius, for peace, met with. Laſtly, in the ſame ſpirit of peace, he held the expediency of an hypothetical re ordination, in the caſe of admitting foreign Proteſtant Divines to the benefices of the Church of England; wherein his opinion very probably influenced Archbiſhop Tillotſon § ſeveral years afterwards.

(18) P. 43. the firſt edition, in 1691, 4to.

(19) The titles of ſome of theſe were, 1. A Letter to Dr S. 2. Modeſt Remarks, &c. 3. Remarks on the Doctor's Caſe, &c. 4. The Two Kings of Brentford. 5. Sherlock upon Sherlock. 6. Another that printed part of his own Book, to put a Cheat upon the World.

(20) Anſwer to Dr S——'s Caſe of Allegiance, &c. by a London Apprentice, in a ſingle ſheet, 1691.

(21) Modeſt Remarks, &c. p. 21.

(22) True Vindication of the Rev. Dr Sherlock, being a Reply to the printed Anſwers of his late Book, intituled, The Caſe of Allegiance, &c. p. 17, 18.

(23) Caſe of Allegiance.

(24) Caſe of Reſiſtance, p. 128, & ſeqq.

(25) Caſe of Allegiance, ſect. iv. in particular; but, indeed, as this principle is the grand pillar on which the whole edifice ſtands, the force of it ſpreads itſelf through every part of that treatiſe.

(26) Sermon preached before the Houſe of Commons, July 30, 1691.

* In this Deanery he ſucceeded the famous Alexander Nowell.

† See his article.

‖ Smith's Life of Biſhop Coſins. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 702. and Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 170. 2d edition.

‡ This collection was publiſhed by Limborch and Haruſoeker, as an Hiſtorical Account and Defence of Arminianiſm. Moreri's Diction. under Limborch's article.

§ See his article.

[M] *Vindication*

An anſwer to a late pamphlet, intituled, Obedience and Submiſſion to the preſent government demonſtrated from Biſhop Overal's Convocation-book, *with a Poſtſcript in an anſwer* to Dr Sherlock's caſe of allegiance (*w*). To this our author replied, in his *Vindication of the caſe of allegiance to Sovereign Power, in reply to an anſwer in a late Pamphlet*, &c. *with a Poſtſcript*, &c. [*M*] In 1691, he publiſhed his *Vindication of the doctrine of the holy and ever-bleſſed Trinity* [*N*]. In this book he ſtarted a new method of explaining that myſtery [*O*], the danger of which novelty was taken notice of the ſame year. However,

(*w*) This was ſuppoſed to be writ by Biſhop Ken, to whom, according to his uſual warmth, he has once ſaid he would be crucified before he would take theſe oaths. South's Animadverſions, &c.

[*M*] *Vindication of the Caſe of Allegiance.*] A copy of King James's letter to Abbot, mentioned by Biſhop Burnet, as above cited, was publiſhed in the New Obſervator of Friday December 5, 1690 (27), where that writer declares, that the original was communicated to him by an eminent perſon in whoſe hands it was. If this be the Biſhop, he differs from his Lordſhip with regard to it's being writ all in the King's own hand, whereas the author ſays this only of the four laſt lines, the reſt, as he conjectures, being writ by the then Secretary of State. The words alluded to by the Biſhop are theſe, 'You have dipped too deep in what all Kings reſerve as the *Arcana Imperii*, and whatever averſion you may profeſs againſt God's being the author of Sin, you have ſtumbled upon the threſhold of that opinion, in ſaying upon the matter, that even tyranny is God's authority, and ſhould be reverenced as ſuch. If the King of Spain ſhould return to claim his old pontifical right to my kingdoms, you leave me to ſeek for others to fight for them, for you tell me, upon the matter before-hand, his authority is God's authority if he prevail.' In this vindication Dr Sherlock ſuppoſes King William's authority to be unjuſtly gotten, and that the means of bringing about the Revolution were wicked and unjuſtifiable, but he changed this opinion ſoon, as appears from his ſermon abovecited in 1691.

(27) No. 12: in Vol. III. This paper was taken up in contraſt to one publiſhed by Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, under the ſame title, in the preceding reign.

The Doctor's picture, as drawn by S. Johnſon, on this occaſion, is not a little entertaining. The reaſon, ſays that writer, why the Clergy were ſo zealous for tyranny in King Charles IId's time, was, becauſe it was a tyranny on their ſide: That made them ſo very liberal of the Engliſh rights, and to ſacrifice them all at once in a peace-offering to Moloch; and it was a true act of worſhip, for it ſignalized their loyalty. *But when Judgment began at the Houſe of God*, as Dr Sherlock preached upon the Biſhops being ſent to the Tower, then their note was quite altered. *King James had forfeited and ought to be depoſed*, with a great deal more to that purpoſe. But afterwards, when they grew jealous of this Revolution, and could not tell what to make of it, having miſſed two hits, both of having King James, and afterwards of having his intended Deputy the Prince of Orange, in their hands, and wanted a third hit; then the words were theſe, *Well, will not the Convention fetch the King back again? If they will not we have forty thouſand Men to fetch him back.* Dr Sherlock beſt knows where thoſe forty thouſand men now are, but I believe King James would be very glad of half the number. To proceed in my ſtory, the very man that had aſſerted that King James had forfeited, and ought to be depoſed long before he was, or even before the Prince of Orange was expected, began with change of intereſt to have change of thoughts; and then he could not allow King James to be lawfully ſet aſide, nor would ſwear to this preſent Government, and his forfeited place at the Temple was ſupplied by I know who. At laſt, after he had ſtuck as himſelf ſays, a great while, *for ſtick he did*, he was happily relieved by a lucky coincidence of Biſhop Overal's canons, and the victory of the Boyne; and then he ſettled the Government upon it's own ſettlement, which we that pretend to dull reaſon, do ſay is a circle, and proving a thing by itſelf. It is true he called Providence in aid of this ſettlement; but they have talked of late as meanly of Providence, as ever mankind did of the *Swiſs*, who are of all ſides, and in French and Dutch ſervice both at once; he then proceeds to harangue in proof of that maxim as he calls it, *that Providence thus divided againſt itſelf cannot ſtand.* After which, returning to his preaching, he maintains that Judgment began at the Houſe of God, not when the Biſhops were in the Tower, but when Stephen College was murdered, who was a true firſt martyr Stephen.

But for quietneſs ſake, continues Mr Johnſon, it ſhall be his *own Houſe of God*, the Biſhops; for I grant that *that* word, and the true Religion, and the like, are doubtful words, and ſignify nothing till we know of what religion the man himſelf is. Theſe are by-matters; but the queſtion is, how a man that had a right notion before, came to loſe it the next year, and has not been able to recover it to this day? For if he had ſtuck to his own occaſional *Engliſh* principle, (but then was then, and now is now) *That King* James, *being a Tyrant, had forfeited, and, having broke with the nation, ought not to reign*, he had not ſtuck at all among Jacobite principles, which however are forty times better than his own hypotheſis of uſurpation: for the Jacobites, though miſtaken, pretend to right, but he proceeds upon avowed, barefaced, open, impudent, outrageous wrong; as uſurpation either is, or there is no ſuch thing in the world: it is all that either the giants or the devils ever attempted againſt heaven. But he had no other way to make a *Caſe of Allegiance* to King William, to chime in with his unretracted *Caſe of Reſiſtance*, written heretofore in favour of Tyranny: For though paſſive obedience had no hand in the Revolution, yet perhaps he was informed it might be a grateful preſent to a Settlement. However, I muſt tell him, that paſſive obedience muſt be crooked and bent like a ninepence, and look contrary ways, before he can make a token of it to this Government; for actual reſiſtance of Tyranny gave this Government it's birth and being, and it ſtands, and can ſtand, upon no other bottom (28).

(28) Notes on the Phœnix edition of the [Burnet's] Paſtoral Letter, p. 307, 308. among S. Johnſon's Works, as before.

[*N*] *Vindication of the Trinity.*] Biſhop Burnet (29), as it ſhould ſeem for the ſake of an opportunity to indulge his ill-nature in party matters, has antedated the time of our author's publiſhing this treatiſe. That hiſtorian aſſerts, that it was writ while our author was under ſuſpenſion for refuſing the oath of allegiance; that tho' his doctrine was looked on as plain Tritheiſm, yet all the party applauded him and his book; that upon his taking the oath of allegiance ſoon after, and publiſhing an account of his reaſons for it, his former party being highly exaſperated, purſued him with the clamour of Tritheiſm, which, ſays he, was done with much malice by the ſame perſons who had highly magnified the performance while he was of their party. That the Biſhop has antedated this treatiſe is manifeſt, by comparing the Imprimatur of it, January 9, 1690-1, with that of his Caſe of Allegiance, which is dated October 17, 1690, ſo then he muſt have taken the oaths before he publiſhed his Vindication of the Trinity; what then muſt we think of the Biſhop's aſperſion, which is pointed at the end too with this virulent exclamation, So powerful is the biaſs of intereſt and paſſion in the moſt ſpeculative and moſt important doctrines. I own the miſtake in the date is ſmall, but not ſo is the wound given by it; the point of a dagger too is ſmall, but for that very reaſon it pierces more ſurely to the heart.

(29) In the Hiſtory of his own Times, p. 212.

[*O*] *A new Method of explaining that myſtery.*] His explanation was thus: He thought there were three eternal Minds, two of theſe iſſuing from the Father, but that theſe three were one by a mutual conſciouſneſs in the three to every of their thoughts. The opinion was generally cenſured, as tending to Tritheiſm. We ſhall give what Dr Wallis ſays, as it is ſpoken with candour in a letter to Mr William Jane, with whom the Doctor had then a controverſy upon this ſubject of the Trinity. 'Now, ſays he, as to what you obſerve, 'concerning the learned author, Dr Sherlock, I ſhall 'begin where you end, and agree with you that the 'treatiſe to which you refer contains many excellent 'things; the ſtrength and weight of his arguments, 'as to thoſe whom he undertakes to anſwer, does not 'depend upon theſe expreſſions to which you object, 'but his arguments are of equal force, though theſe 'expreſſions were ſpared. As to thoſe expreſſions of 'his by you noted, that the three divine perſons are 'three beings, three intelligent beings, three ſubſtantial 'beings, three Holy Spirits really diſtinct as *Peter*, '*James*, and *John*, and one God only as they are 'mutually conſcious: I was I confeſs diſſatisfied there-

'in

(x) Life of Tillotſon, as before.

ever, upon the promotion of Dr Tillotſon to the ſee of Canterbury, our author ſucceeded him, by his Grace's recommendation and intereſt (x), in the Deanery of St Paul's, and was inſtalled into that dignity on the 15th of July this ſame year [P]. So conſiderable a preferment in the Church, treading as were upon the heels of his compliance to the State, furniſhed an inexhauſtible fund of common-place wit to his adverſaries, and particularly Dr South was too liquoriſh of ſarcaſm (y) not to hitch upon it [Q], as he too frequently, for

(y) He was as ſeverely handled by South, who complied with the new government, as he was either by Hickes or Collier, both Nonjurors. Burnet.

' in (as you are) from the firſt, looking upon them as ' expreſſions too hardy for him to venture upon, (and ' ſo I find are moſt others with whom I have diſcourſed ' about them) and wiſh he had declined them; yet I ' did not think it neceſſary for me to write againſt ' them (though I did not like them) but choſe rather ' to wave them, and expreſs myſelf otherwiſe; nor ' ſhall I aggravate the objections which you have urged ' againſt them, but leave them as they are. That ' learned author may, if he think fit, ſo vindicate or ' explain thoſe expreſſions as he ſhall judge convenient; ' or he may (which I had rather he ſhould) decline ' them, without prejudice to his main cauſe, which ' (in my opinion) he may as well defend without them, ' and thereby leſs expoſe himſelf to the cavils of the ' Anti-Trinitarians, who are catching at every colour-' able pretence of objecting, though not againſt the ' main cauſe concerning the Trinity, if but againſt ſome ' expreſſions of thoſe who maintain it. Now, Sir, if ' you look back upon your own diſcourſe, you will find ' that the whole edge of your arguments is directed ' againſt thoſe expreſſions, three Beings, three Sub-' ſtances, three Spirits: and I do acknowledge, that ' as to theſe, the arguments ſeem to me ſharp enough ' and to do their work: but if, inſtead of theſe, he ' ſay, as I think he ſhould, that the three Perſons are ' one Being, one Subſtance, one Spirit, like as he ſays ' they are one God, the edge will be taken off. That ' which I conceive did impoſe upon him in this point, ' is the forced ſenſe which, in our language, we ſome-' times put upon the word *perſon* (for want of another ' Engliſh word anſwering to *homo*) which might indif-' ferently reſpect man, woman, or child, and a like ' forced ſenſe put by the ſchoolmen upon the word *per-' ſona*, for want of a Latin word which might equally ' relate to men and angels, as ſignifying an intelligent ' Being; whence he was induced to think that three per-' ſons muſt needs be three intelligent Beings: Whereas ' *perſona* in it's true and ancient ſenſe, before the ' ſchoolmen put this forced ſenſe upon it, did not ſig-' nify a man ſimply, but one under ſuch and ſuch and ' ſuch circumſtances or qualifications; ſo that the ſame ' man, if capable of being qualified thus, and thus, and ' thus, might ſuſtain three perſons, and theſe three ' perſons be the ſame man.'

Now, if (as he ſays himſelf elſewhere in a like caſe) ' he have not been taken to be a fool, yet a wiſe man ' may ſometimes, upon ſecond thoughts, ſee reaſon to ' change his opinion (as in that caſe he did) or rectify ' his expreſſions; and it then be conſidered how much ' eaſier it will be, and leſs obnoxious to exceptions, ' to maintain his hypotheſis thus rectified, he may think ' I have done him no ill office; thus to ſuggeſt (30).'

(30) Letters concerning the Trinity, Letter 7. p. 17, & ſeqq. by Dr Wallis.

N B. Dr Wallis is generally cenſured for running into the other extreme of Sabellianiſm, and we need not obſerve that the latter part of the paſſage here cited, is an inſtance of it.

[P] *He was made Dean of St Paul's by the intereſt and recommendation of Archbiſhop Tillotſon.*] Dr Birch, to whom we owe this particular, has likewiſe given us an inſtance of our author's gratitude. Every body knows in what indifferent circumſtances that excellent Archbiſhop left his family, and the following letter is at once both a proof of it, and of this friend's endeavours to procure a proper relief; The deſign of the letter is ſufficiently explained in the contents, which run thus.

Deanery, Sept. 25, 1697.

' Dear Hobbs *,

* A Phyſician and intimate friend of Lord Somers.

' That kindneſs which was deſigned to Archbiſhop ' Tillotſon's nephew, for maintaining him at the Uni-' verſity, and was then refuſed, is now become neceſ-' ſary; and your reſpect for the Archbiſhop's memory, ' which was your motive then, I hope continues ' ſtill, eſpecially conſidering the nephew was in no ' fault. Mrs Tillotſon had ſuch a regard for the ho-' nour of my Lord, and ſuch a kindneſs for his rela-' tions for his ſake, that ſhe would gladly maintain him ' if ſhe could, but ſhe is reduced herſelf to thoſe nar-' row circumſtances, by the unexpected death of Mr ' Chadwick †, and that leſs expected condition he has ' left his family in, that ſhe is utterly diſabled She ' came to me before I went to Tunbridge, to deſire ' me to recommend him to ſome family to be tutor to ' ſome young gentleman, where he might ſupport ' himſelf; and upon that occaſion acquainted me with ' her condition: that Mr Chadwick had ſpent all his ' eſtate, but what was ſettled upon his wife in marriage, ' which comes to her eldeſt ſon: that the younger ſon ' and daughter had not one farthing to maintain them, ' but depended wholly upon her; that he had put a ' thouſand pounds of her money into the bank in his ' own name. and had given her no declaration of truſt, ' though ſhe had often deſired it of him, which by this ' means is loſt to her, and muſt pay his debts; that ' his eſtate in the Foreſt *, where ſhe has built her houſe, ' and which I think is copyhold, was purchaſed for ' his life at 300l. which muſt now be paid again; ' that upon his great importunity ſhe built that houſe ' at great expence, which is now much too big for her. ' I was extremely concerned to hear this ſad account, ' and promiſed I would do what I could to maintain her ' nephew in the Univerſity; for to take him ſo young ' from thence would be his ruin; and for this reaſon ' have repreſented the caſe to you, preſuming upon ' your old friendſhip, but have not the confidence to do ' ſo much to ſome great men you know, for it muſt be ' great kindneſs or great virtue that recovers a baulk'd ' charity. But this good Lady's condition is ſo very ' pitiable, that I wiſh you could perſuade my Lord ' Chancellor ‖ to repreſent it to his Majeſty, who, I ' am perſuaded after all his generous behaviour to her, ' would ſtill be inclined to compaſſionate her new miſ-' fortunes.

† He had married the Archbiſhop's eldeſt daughter. See his article.

* Valentines near Wanſtead in Eſſex.

‖ Lord Somers.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt affectionate friend and ſervant,

W. Sherlock (31).

(31) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 346 to 348.

The Archbiſhop's nephew mentioned in this letter, Mr *Robert Tillotſon*, ſon of his brother *Joſhua*, was educated at Clare-hall, in Cambridge, and became afterwards a Fellow there. During the courſe of his education he was honoured with the favour of Lord Somers, out of regard to his uncle's memory, which was acknowledged by him in a Latin letter to his Lordſhip ſtill extant. Upon entering into Orders, he was preſented to the fine-cure of Elme of conſiderable value in the iſle of Ely, by the executors of the Archbiſhop, to whoſe diſpoſal that option was left (32). He lived, being unmarried, in private lodgings at Cambridge, in 1724 (33).

(32) Ibid.

(33) From my own knowledge.

(Q) *Dr South hitched upon it*] We ſhall give the following inſtance for a ſpecimen of the Doctor's manner in this way. ' The fable, ſays he, tells us of a ' cat once turned into a woman, but the next ſight of ' a mouſe quickly diſſolved the metamorphoſis, caſhier-' ed the woman, and reſtored the brute; and ſome vir-' tuoſi ſkilled in the philoſophy of alterations, have ' thought her much a gainer by the latter change, ' there being ſo many unlucky turns in the world, ' in which it is not half ſo ſafe and advantageous to ' walk upright, as to be able to fall always upon one's ' legs.' The unpleaſing coarſeneſs in the thread of this ſarcaſm, immediately gave my eyes a turn from it to thoſe lines in the Duke of Buckinghamſhire's Eſſay on Satire, where this fable, a little differently couched, is applied with a much more ſtabbing keenneſs, as it is pointed with ſuch a genteel ſpirit and delicacy as cannot but be admired. The ſubject of it is a ſtateſman of diſtinguiſhed abilities for buſineſs, but too fond of mirth and wit, as follows:

When

for his own credit does in his *Animadverſions upon Dr Sherlock's book intituled*, a Vindication of the doctrine of the holy and ever-bleſſed Trinity, &c. *humbly offered to his admirers and to himſelf*, (ſo the title concludes) *the greateſt part of them.* This was publiſhed in 1693, after our author had printed his *Apology for writing againſt the Socinians in defence of the doctrines of the holy Trinity and Incarnation*, in which he aſſerts his firſt opinion (z), and declares his reſolution to proceed in defence of thoſe important articles (*aa*). Accordingly in 1694 he publiſhed *A defence of Dr Sherlock's notion of a Trinity in Unity, in anſwer to the* Animadverſions upon his vindication of the doctrine of the holy and ever bleſſed Trinity, *with a Poſtſcript relating to the calm diſcourſe of a Trinity in the Godhead.* In this piece he explained his opinion in the generally received terms, ſo as there appeared no material difference from what was called the orthodox faith (*bb*) [*R*]: But the affair was not ſo determined. For in anſwer to this laſt-mentioned piece, Dr South publiſhed his *Tritheiſm charged upon Dr Sherlock's new notion of the Trinity, and the charge made good, &c.* in 1695. and the ſame year the Doctor's notion being aſſerted in a ſermon preached at Oxford, by a Fellow of Univerſity-college, was cenſured by an expreſs decree of that learned body, as falſe, impious, and heretical, and all perſons under their juriſdiction warned not to preach or maintain any ſuch notion [*S*]. This decree of the Univerſity being publiſhed in the weekly news-papers, with a Poſtſcript, ſignifying, that the doctrine ſo cenſured was that of Dr Sherlock, in his Diſcourſe on the Trinity. Our author, by way of reply, printed in 1696 (*cc*), *A modeſt Examination of the authority and reaſons of the late decree of the Vice-chancellor, and ſome heads of Colleges and Halls, concerning the hereſy of three diſtinct infinite minds in the holy and ever-bleſſed Trinity.* This piece producing another, intituled, *Remarks upon a book lately publiſhed by* Dr William Sherlock, Dean of St Paul's, *&c. intituled*, A modeſt examination of the Oxford decree, *&c* (*dd*). And the whole controverſy being managed with unbecoming heat and acrimony on both ſides, his Majeſty, at the motion of the Biſhops (*ee*), thought fit to interpoſe, by putting out *Directions to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, for the preſerving of unity in the Church, and the ſupport of the Chriſtian Faith concerning the holy Trinity*, wherein it was ordained, that in the explication of the Trinity, 'all preachers ſhould carefully avoid all new terms, 'and confine themſelves to ſuch ways of explication as have been commonly uſed in the 'church (*ff*).' So that our author's conduct in this point was finally condemned [*T*]. Before

(z) Dr South, however, declares, that in this apology he had changed his opinion in ſome things. Preface to Animadverſions.

(*aa*) It was writ in anſwer to an earneſt and compaſſionate ſuit for forbearance to the learned writers of ſome controverſial papers, by a melancholy ſtander by. Our author obſerves, that Dr Wallis and himſelf were immediately concerned in this ſuit. Apology, p. 2. and in 1694 he publiſhed a defence of this Apology.

(*bb*) In the beginning he appeals to his friend, that he had not been idle; and it appears, that he publiſhed his Practical Diſcourſe concerning a Future Judgment, in 1692, in 8vo. and A Diſcourſe concerning Providence, in 1694, in 4to.

(*cc*) So it is in the title-page; apparently from the cuſtom of the London-Printers, in beginning the year at the Michaelmas preceding the eſtabliſhed æra; but it muſt be printed before March 25, 1696, as is plain by the date of the King's directions, Feb. 3, 1695; and the anſwer to it is alſo printed, according to the title page, in 1695, at Oxford, where the Printer follows the eſtabliſhed æra.

(*dd*) The author was ſuppoſed to be Dr Jonathan Edwards, Principal of Jeſus-college in Oxford, where the book was printed.

(*ee*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 213.

(*ff*) The directions are printed at length in Burnet, and the general hiſtories of England.

When ſerious, few for great affairs more fit,
But ſhew him mirth, and bait that mirth with wit,
That ſhadow of a jeſt ſhall be enjoy'd,
Though he left all mankind to be deſtroy'd.
So Puſs transform'd ſat like a mumping bride,
Penſive and prudent till the mouſe ſhe ſpy'd,
But ſoon the Lady had him in her eye,
And juſt as oddly from the board did fly.

[*R*] *No material difference from the Orthodox faith.*] He followed the advice ſuggeſted, as we have ſeen, by Dr Wallis. For, in ſpeaking of the word *perſon*, he obſerves, 'that it is not in the Trinity taken in the 'common ſenſe of the word, as three perſons who ſub'ſiſt apart, but three ſubſiſtences are three perſons who 'ſubſiſt diſtinctly without ſeparation; for ſubſiſtence 'neceſſarily ſignifies a diſtinct and real, but not ſe'parate ſubſiſtence, and the uſual orthodox way, if I 'miſtake not, is, that the perſon is really diſtinct from 'the *modus ſubſiſtendi*; and thus the orthodox faith is 'diſtinguiſhed from Sabellianiſm, according to which 'the perſon is nothing elſe but the *modus exiſtendi*. 'Now, continues he, what I have ſaid of the word '*perſon*, is with equal reaſon applicable to the word '*mind*.' The animadverter objects againſt the Dean, 'That a mind or ſpirit is an abſolute Being, Nature, 'or Subſtance, and I grant it is ſo in the common 'uſe of the word, as applied to created minds and ſpi'rits, but ſo is perſon alſo as much as mind; and if 'we allow of a theological uſe of the word perſon, why 'not of mind too to ſignify an intelligent ſubſiſtence? 'which is a mind too, but not a ſeparate mind, and 'therefore not ſuch an abſolute Being, Nature, and 'Subſtance as a created mind is.—And when the Dean 'ſpeaks of three diſtinct infinite minds, which are eſſen'tially and independently one, he could mean nothing 'more than three diſtinct, intelligent, but not ſeparate 'ſubſiſtencies; and I need aſk no other pardon for the 'uſe of a term which the ſchools have not conſe'crated (34).

(34) Defence of Dr Sherlock's Notion, &c. p. 15, 16. edit. 1694, 4to.

[*S*.] *Was cenſured by a Decree of the Univerſity of Oxford.*] The decree was drawn up in theſe terms: *In Conventu D. Vicecancellarii & Præfectorum Collegiorum & Aularum Univerſitatis Oxon. die viceſimo quinto Novembris*, 1695. *Cum in concione nuper habita coram Univerſitate Oxon. in Templo* S. Petri in Oriente, *in feſtum* SS. Simonis & Judæ *proxime elapſum, hæc verba inter alia publice prolata & aſſerta fuerunt*, viz.

There are three infinite diſtinct Minds and Subſtances in the Trinity.

Item. That the three Perſons in the Trinity are three diſtinct infinite Minds or Spirits, and three individual Subſtances.

Quæ verba multis juſtam offenſionis cauſam & ſcandalum dederè.

Dominus Vicecancellarius & Præfecti Collegiorum & Aularum in generali ſuo Conventu jam congregati judicant, declarant & decernunt, prædicta verba eſſe falſa, impia, & hæretica, diſſona & contraria doctrinæ eccleſiæ catholicæ & ſpeciatim doctrinæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ publice receptæ.

Quapropter præcipiunt & firmiter injungunt omnibus & ſingulis eorum fidei & curæ commiſſis, ne tale aliquod dogma in Concionibus, aut aliàs, in poſterum proferant.

Ex decreto Domini Vicecancellarii & Præfectorum.

B. Cooper, Not. Pub. & Regiſt. Univ. Oxon.

[*T*] *Our Author's doctrine was finally condemned.*] Biſhop Burnet in the place cited above, tells us, that theſe directions put a ſtop to the debates upon this ſubject, and that Mr Firmin's death [in 1698] put a ſtop to the printing and ſpreading of Socinian books. This laſt remark muſt not be underſtood abſolutely, and can only mean that Mr Firmin was the chief propagator of Socinianiſm; for that it continued afterwards in a high degree is apparent from this among other inſtances, that notwithſtanding this, our author in 1696 publiſhed a piece, intituled, *The Diſtinction between real and nominal Trinitarians* ‡ *conſidered*; and the following year, *Vindication of a Sermon concerning corrupting Faith by Philoſophy*, to which he added, *The preſent State of the Socinian Controverſy in* 1698, all in 4to; and in 1701 he preached a *Concio ad Clerum* before the Convocation (35), where he earneſtly and warmly, as his manner was, exhorts and invites his brethren to oppoſe thoſe heretical, as he calls them, and viperous tracts, which then threatened ſo much danger to the Church. In the ſame view he likewiſe publiſhed *Proofs of Chriſt's Divinity*, in 1706, 8vo.

‡ The Doctor was called a real Trinitarian.

(35) It was preached on the 30th of December that year.

fore this, in the same year, he preached a remarkable sermon in the Temple-church, on the death of Queen Mary, by which it appears that he did not disapprove of the then intended Comprehension [*U*] But this did not hinder him from employing his pen to reconcile Dissenters to the Church upon the present state of it's establishment [*W*]. In 1704. he published the *The distinction of high and low Church considered*, in 4to. And the same year came out his discourse upon the Immortality of the Soul, in which he attacked Mr. Lock's opinion concerning innate ideas [*X*]. He was presented to the rectory of Therfield in Hertfordshire some time before his death, which happened on the 19th of June, 1707, in the 67th year of his age (*gg*). He died at Hampstead, near London, and was interred in the Cathedral of St Paul's. Besides the numerous books already mentioned in the course of this memoir, he printed several sermons, which after his decease were collected and published in two volumes, 8vo. (*hh*). He was survived by two daughters, and as many sons, to the eldest of which, Thomas, he left a considerable fortune; having in his life-time resigned the Mastership of the Temple in the view of procuring it for him. Accordingly this gentleman succeeded his father in that honourable post, which he discharged to the great satisfaction of those societies a great number of years. He was likewise made Dean of Chichester, and afterwards promoted successively to the sees of Bangor and Salisbury, and, upon the death of Dr Edmund Gibson, in 1748, succeeded him in the Bishopric of London; to which high and arduous province he does honour, and, though upwards at present of fourscore years of age, enjoys the full vigour of his excellent parts. Having lately (*ii*) published a most excellent charge to his Clergy, wherein that masterly knowledge in the laws of both Church and State, for which he is eminently distinguished, is applied with a paternal affection to their use and service (*kk*).

(*gg*) Salmon's Chron. Hist. under the year 1707; and Le Neve's Fasti, p. 185.

(*hh*) He had also a share in Archdeacon Gregory's pompous edition of the Greek Testament; printed in 1703, at Oxford, in folio. Advertisement prefixed to that book. Mr Wood also mentions some controversial writings between him and one Thomas Vincent a Nonconformist Conventicler at Hogsden, near London. Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 623.

(*ii*) In July, 1759.

(*kk*) Since the preceding sheet was printed off, there hath come to our knowledge these two particulars concerning Bishop Overal, viz. That he was first admitted of St John's college in Cambridge; and that he died in the sixtieth year of his age. Carter's History of Cambridge; and the Bishop's epitaph, printed at the end of Bish p Cosins's life, by Dr Smith.

[*U*] *He did not disapprove the intended Comprehension with the Dissenters.*] The Doctor, it seems, run with the current of his friends at different times, in respect to this project. In the reign of King Charles the Second, he treated the Dissenters roughly and rudely, with disdain and contempt: speaking of Baxter, the head then of that sect, and, as he declares, the wisest head amongst them, he says, 'As for Mr Baxter, I am 'mightily inclined to pity him, he has disputed him-'self out of all sense and all good manners, and I think 'there is the least reason to answer any of his books, of 'any man's I know; for I believe very few people un-'derstand what he would have himself (36):' Thus it is evident he had at that time no opinion of a Comprehension. But in the succeeding reign, when a scheme was laid for one by Archbishop Sancroft in 1687, he preached a sermon, wherein, to use Dr South's expression, he opened both his arms to embrace the Dissenters. And how much he approved of Archbishop Tillotson's design of introducing it after the Revolution, appears from a passage in the above-mentioned sermon on the death of Queen Mary, where, speaking of her Majesty's piety, and noble designs for the Church of England, he proceeds thus: 'I have reason to say this from those 'frequent intimations I have had from our late admi-'rable Primate [Tillotson] who had great designs him-'self to serve the Christian Religion and the Church 'of England, in it's truest interest; and had interested 'their Majesties, and particularly the Queen, who had 'more leisure for such things, with the same great and 'pious designs. It may be no churchman ever had, I 'am sure none more deservedly had, a greater interest 'in his Prince's favour; and the great use he made of 'it was to do public service to religion; and, whatever 'some men may suspect, to the Church of England, 'though it may be not perfectly in their way (37).'

(36) Preface to the Continuation and Vindication of the Defence of Dr Stillingfleet, &c.

(37) Sermon on the Death of Queen Mary, preached at the Temple church, p. 6, 7. the 3d edition, 1694, 4to.

[*W*] *The present state of it's establishment.*] It was with this view that he published the following pieces. (1) *Cases about Church Communion*, &c. in 1698, folio, which being attacked by Mr N. Taylor, was defended in a piece intituled, *A Vindication of Dr Sherlock, Dean of St Paul's, in Answer to* Mr Nathaniel Taylor's *Treatise, intituled*, Dr Sherlock's Case of Church Communion and his Letter to Anonymous, considered, *&c. Together with a Reply to his* Vindication of the Dissenters from the Charge of Schism, 1702, 4to. (3) *New Danger of Presbytery*. Lond. 1703, 4to. (4) *Of Religious Assemblies*, the same year, in 8vo, to which may be added, (5) *Distinction of High and Low Church considered*, in 1704, 4to.

[*X*] *Innate ideas, against Mr Locke.*] It is introduced by way of digression into his third section of the third chapter, where he endeavours to prove the natural Immortality of the Soul, from universal consent, which he thought irreconcileable to the opinion maintained by Mr Locke, that we have no innate ideas; for so he argues, 'if the soul of man has no inbred know-'ledge, it is in vain to talk of the light, and voice, and 'sense of nature; if it has, then the universal consent 'of mankind, can be reasonably attributed to no other 'cause'. He then observes, that 'Mr Locke's hypothesis 'that all *our* ideas come from without, is the same with 'the old atheistical hypothesis that *nihil est in intellectu, quod non fit prius in sensibus*,' yet he does not charge Mr Locke with those principles because that writer disowns them, but he asserts that the hypothesis can serve no other end. In order to prove these ideas connate, and that there is some inbred knowledge in the mind, our author argues thus against Mr Locke, upon his own concession that there is a God, and that he made the world. '1. Knowledge is before the things known, and 'is the maker of them; for God knew what he would 'make before he made the world, and therefore the 'ideas of all things were originally in the divine mind, 'before any thing was made. Hence it follows, that 'ideal knowledge is essential to a mind. It is found no 'where originally, but in the eternal mind, and it is es-'sential to the very notion and idea of a mind, for what 'is a mind without the images and ideas of things, which 'is a good argument that created minds, as far as they 'partake of the eternal mind, have the natural ideas of 'things interwoven in their frame and constitution, if I 'may so speak, for a mind is a mind whether created or 'uncreated, and if created minds are made after the 'pattern of the divine mind (and there is no other pattern 'for minds) natural ideas must be as essential to created 'minds, as they are to the uncreated mind, for there is 'no notion of a mind without them.' Every body sees the ridicule our author lies open to, in begging the question that the soul always thinks, which is controverted by Mr Locke; as also, that God must make minds after a pattern, and that too of his own mind. Accordingly Mr *Locke* made himself very merry with it (38). It must not be denied that our author's reasoning upon this point, is contemptibly weak, and much beneath his character, being built upon a mistake, in confounding truth itself with our perception of it. But how much soever he falls short in the philosophical part, his motives for opposing Mr *Locke* were pious and not unbecoming the Divine. He was apprehensive, with many others, that the modern Atheists would espouse and magnify Mr Locke's hypothesis, and, whether he would or no, make use of it, or as much of it as they pleased, to confute those principles of religion and virtue which he owned. The objection that mankind were made without any connate ideas of good and evil seemed very formidable to him, for he observes, that the general reason why men are so zealous against these ideas being innate, is to deliver themselves from the necessity of believing any thing of God or Religion.

(38) See his article.

P

SHOVEL [Sir CLOUDESLEY], one of thoſe brave Admirals, who, from the loweſt birth and beginning, raiſed himſelf, by the ſole weight of perſonal merit, to the firſt honours of his profeſſion. He was born at a ſmall town near Clay in Norfolk (*a*), in 1650 (*b*); and, after ſuch an education as was ſuitable to the circumſtances of his family, was bound apprentice, it is ſaid, to a ſhoemaker, or ſome ſuch mechanic trade (*c*). However that be, it is certain the youth had always a ſtrong inclination for the ſea; and happening to be ſent upon ſome buſineſs to one of the maritime towns upon the Norfolk-coaſt; the ſight of the ſhipping, &c. fired his fancy to ſuch a degree, that he never ceaſed intreating his parents to let him try his fortune in the Navy, 'till he obtained their conſent (*d*): one principal motive to which ſeems to have been, the conſideration how little they were able to do for him in any way. 'Tis ſaid, they had directed him to be chriſtened Cloudeſley, in the view of recommending him to the notice of a relation of that name (*e*); and, perhaps, this kinſman might now be a means of procuring a recommendation to the famous Sir John Narborough, who thereupon preſently made him his cabin-boy (*f*). Thus were fulfilled the fondeſt wiſhes of his heart. This was a very promiſing way of entering into the Navy; the birth gave him all the opportunities he could deſire of engaging his maſter's regard, and he did not fail to make the beſt uſe of them. Sir John had raiſed himſelf from the ſame ſtation, and was a generous patron of all who diſcovered any extraordinary ſymptoms of maritime worth (*g*). He ſaw with pleaſure the fidelity and affection which the boy expreſſed towards his perſon upon all occaſions; and after ſome time, having had ſufficient proofs of his talents and aſſiduity, he ordered him to be thoroughly inſtructed in Navigation, and in every other requiſite to make a compleat ſeaman, and then procured him a Lieutenant's commiſſion (*b*). He was in this rank at the cloſe of the ſecond Dutch war, when our trade to the Levant being diſtreſſed by the corſairs of Tripoli and Algiers, a ſquadron was ordered to ſuppreſs their inſolence, under the command of Sir John Narborough; who, arriving before Tripoli in the ſpring of 1675 (*i*), found every thing ready to give him a warm reception. The Algerines, upon his firſt appearance, drew up their ſhips of war under the cannon of their mole, and the pirates of Tripoli following the example of their confederates, had brought their ſhips under the walls of their town, and the artillery of a fort that commanded the harbour (*k*). The appearance of the enemy's ſtrength, joined to the tenor of Sir John's inſtructions, by which he was directed to try negotiation rather than force, determined him to find a perſon in whom he could confide to the *Dey* of Tripoli, to propoſe an accommodation, upon receiving ſatisfaction for what was paſt, and ſecurity for the future. The Admiral pitched upon our Lieutenant, who attended this expedition, to carry the meſſage. Accordingly he went on ſhore, and delivered it with great ſpirit. But the *Dey* deſpiſing his youth, treated him with much diſreſpect, and ſent him back with an indefinite anſwer. Mr Shovel, on his return to the Admiral, acquainted him with ſome remarks he had made on ſhore: Sir John ſent him back with another meſſage, and well furniſhed with proper rules for conducting his enquiries and obſervations. The *Dey*'s behaviour was worſe the ſecond time; but Mr Shovel bore it with patience, and made uſe of it as an excuſe for ſtaying ſome time longer on ſhore: And when he returned, he aſſured the Admiral that it was very practicable to burn the ſhips in the harbour, notwithſtanding their lines and forts. Accordingly, in the night on the fourth of March, Lieutenant Shovel, at the head of all the boats (*l*) in the fleet filled with combuſtible matter, went boldly into the harbour, and deſtroyed the enemy's ſhips, with a degree of ſucceſs ſcarce to be conceived [*A*]; and Sir John Narborough gave ſo honourable an account of it in all his letters, that the next year our Lieutenant was rewarded with the command of the Sapphire, a fifth rate; from whence he was not long after removed into the James Galley, a fourth rate, in which he continued 'till the death of King Charles the Second; who firſt raiſed and had always a great kindneſs for him (*m*). Whatever grateful ſenſe he might have of this kindneſs, yet he did not think it ſufficient to juſtify a compliance with the arbitrary and illegal meaſures of the ſucceeding reign. He appeared among thoſe ſea commanders, who, at the riſque of their poſts, bravely rejected every attempt that was made upon them in that deſign; and the event is a remarkable proof of the high eſteem he was then in. When threatenings failed, it was reſolved to try what favours would do; in that view King

(*a*) Secret Memoirs of the Life of Sir Cl. Shovel, Knt. &c. p. 3. edit. 1708, 8vo. By a gentleman who was ſeveral years under the command of that Admiral.

(*b*) Inſcription on his monument in Weſtminſter-abbey, where his ſhipwreck is dated October 22, 1707, in the 57th year of his age.

(*c*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 266. Lond. 1750, 8vo.

(*d*) Secret Memoirs, &c. p. 4, 5.

(*e*) Lives of the Admirals, as before.

(*f*) Secret Memoirs, &c. p. 7. Mr Campbell, indeed, tells us, he was cabin-boy to Sir Chriſtopher Mynns, but gives no authority; and the author of the Secret Memoirs, &c. p. 8. obſerves, that Sir John Narborough ſerved Sir Chriſtopher Mynns in that ſtation.

(*g*) See his article in the appendix.

(*b*) Secret Memoirs, &c. p. 8, 9, 10.

(*i*) I. e. according to the new ſtyle, or in the latter end of 1674 of the old ſtyle.

(*k*) Secret Memoirs, &c. p. 10

(*l*) Ibid. where it is obſerved, that he commonly led the van in all the engagements of which he had a ſhare afterwards.

(*m*) Compleat Hiſtory of England; and Burchet's Memoirs.

[*A*] *A degree of ſucceſs ſcarce to be conceived.*] The veſſels burnt, which were all that lay in the harbour, were the *White Eagle crowned*, of 50 guns, the *Looking-glaſs*, of 36, the *Santta Clara*, of 24, and a *French* veſſel, of 20: After which he returned ſafe to the fleet, without the loſs of ſo much as a ſingle man (1). This extraordinary action ſtruck the *Tripolines* with amazement, and made them inſtantly ſue for peace. Yet when they came to treat, refuſing to make good the loſſes ſuſtained by the Engliſh, Sir John cannonaded the town; and finding that ineffectual, landed a body of men about 20 leagues from the town, and there burnt a vaſt magazine of timber, provided for building ſhips. When all this failed of reducing theſe people, Sir John ſailed to *Malta*; and after remaining there for ſome time, returned ſuddenly upon the enemy, and diſtreſs'd them ſo much, that they were glad to conclude a peace on the terms preſcribed. Yet ſoon after the concluſion of the peace, ſome of their *corſairs* returning into port, not only expreſſed a great diſlike thereto, but actually expelled the *Dey* for making it, and began to take Engliſh ſhips as before. Sir John being ſtill in the Mediterranean, and having notice of what paſſed, preſently appeared with eight frigates before *Tripoli*, and began with ſuch violence to batter the place, that the inhabitants were glad once more to renew the peace, and to deliver the authors of the late diſturbances to condign puniſhment (2). Tho' our young hero is not particularly mentioned in theſe ſubſequent actions, yet no doubt he had a good ſhare in them, as he was all the while in the ſquadron with Sir John.

(1) Sir John Narborough's Letter to Sir Paul Rycaut.

(2) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory.

[*B*] *Spectators*

King James preferred him to the command of the Dover, a fourth rate (*n*). He accepted the commiſſion, without changing his principles; by which means, he was luckily poſſeſſed of this command at the Revolution: When, cloſing heartily with the new government, he was very active in the ſervice, and rendered himſelf ſo conſpicuous, that his riſe in the Navy was as quick as he could wiſh. We find him in the command of the Edgar (*o*), a third rate, at the battle of Bantry Bay, in 1689; where he gave ſuch ſignal marks of his courage and conduct (*p*), that, when King William went to Portſmouth, in order to reward the ſeamen for their ſervice in that action, he dined on board the Elizabeth with Admiral Herbert; and having created him Earl of Torrington, he conferred the honour of knighthood upon Captain Shovel (*q*). During the winter of the year 1690, he was employed in cruizing in the Soundings, and on the coaſt of Ireland, to prevent the enemy from landing any recruits. He had not been long upon this ſtation, when he received advice, that there were ſeveral ſhips of war, French and Iriſh, which at low water lay dry on the ſand in Dublin Bay. Sir Cloudeſly immediately ſtood into the Bay, and ſoon diſcovered, a conſiderable way in, an Engliſh ſhip of good force, a ſmall French man of war of twelve guns, and two or three other ſhips filled with ſoldiers, thought to be a ſufficient guard to ſecure them from any danger. But all theſe precautions were not proof againſt the reſolution of Sir Cloudeſley; he determined to reduce them to aſhes, in the ſight of King James's capital, and in the preſence of a numerous garriſon. To carry this project into execution, he left his flag, and went on board the Monmouth yacht; and at a little more than half flood, the wind being northerly, with that yacht, two hoys belonging to men of war, a ketch, and the pinnaces, he paſſed the bar with a ſurprizing bravery. The ſmall armada of the Iriſh ſeeing this, and perceiving his intention, cut their cables, and ſailing as cloſe to the ſhore as the bank of ſand would permit, fired ſeveral guns at him, and called for aſſiſtance from the garriſon at Dublin, and did all that was poſſible to ſecure themſelves from ſo unexpected an attack. Sir Cloudeſley preſſed forward, in ſpight of all oppoſition, expoſed to the fire of the ſhips, and of the ſmall-ſhot, which flew very thick from King James's militia. As ſoon as he was near enough, he gave a ſignal for a fireſhip, which waited his orders to come in: this being obeyed, the ſoldiers in the largeſt ſhip, which Sir Cloudeſly firſt attempted, deſerted her, and the others ran themſelves aground. Hereupon he ordered the largeſt ſhip to be boarded; which being executed with all imaginable briſkneſs, every thing, that might retard her being conveyed away, was thrown overboard, and the ſailors, with the aſſiſtance of their pinnaces, towed her off; to the inexpreſſible confuſion of the perſons who ſtood on ſhore, ſad ſpectators of this daring action [*B*]. But Fortune had cut out more work for the courage of Sir Cloudeſley, before ſhe permitted him to return to his ſquadron. In turning out of the Bay, the wind veered from the ſea, and drove one of the hoys aground; ſo that it was impracticable to bring her off, before the water fell away from her. Sir Cloudeſley was unwilling to leave her behind him; he ordered her to be lightned as much as poſſible, and all the veſſels and boats that went in to take her, remained as her guard, 'till the return of the tide ſhould admit the carrying of her away. All this while he continued in the Monmouth yacht. At the loweſt ebb, the hoy was upon dry ground, and many thouſand people crowded upon the ſtrand, where was alſo King James and his guards. The Engliſh lay in their boats armed, and ready for the rencounter. The Iriſh battalions advanced with a pretended bravery, and made a diſcharge or two, but quickly retired, and permitted the Engliſh to do the ſame with their prize, as ſoon as a ſufficient quantity of water gave them leave (*r*). In June this year, 1690, Sir Cloudeſley was pitched upon to convoy King William and his army into Ireland. With this important charge, he ſet ſail on the 11th from Highlake, attended with five men of war, ſix yachts, and a great number of tranſports. The wind and weather was ſcantly favourable at firſt, but ſoon after a freſh gale ſprung up, and he ſet his Majeſty ſafe a ſhore at Carrickfergus, on the 14th (*s*). In matters of this nature, Sir Cloudeſley, without queſtion, was one of the ableſt commanders that ever put to ſea; and the King was ſo highly ſatisfied with his diligence and dexterity on this occaſion, that he made him Rear-Admiral of the Blue, with this particular mark of eſteem, that he delivered him the commiſſion with his own hands (*t*). After performing this ſervice, it was intended he ſhould join the grand fleet [*C*]; but on the 10th of July, King William receiving information, that the enemy intended to ſend upwards of twenty ſmall frigates, the biggeſt not above thirty-ſix guns, into St George's-Channel, to burn the tranſport-ſhips, he was ordered to cruize off Scilly, or in ſuch a ſtation as he ſhould judge moſt proper to prevent ſuch a deſign; and to ſend frigates to ply eaſtward and

(*n*) Burchet's Memoirs.

(*o*) So called from that King, who firſt aſſerted the Engliſh dominion on the Narrow Seas, as 'tis ſaid, in this very ſhip, which had continued the ſame, according to the rule of preſerving one plank at leaſt of the old ſhip, as often as it becomes neceſſary to rebuild her. I need not obſerve, that ſhe is ſtill exiſting in the navy.

(*p*) The number killed on both ſides was pretty much upon a par; but the loſs ſuſtained by the Edgar, which bore the hotteſt brunt of the engagement, was nearly equal to the whole number ſlain on board all the other Engliſh ſhips. Secret Memoirs, p. 19.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 20. Captain Aſhby of the Defiance was alſo knighted at the ſame time.

(*r*) Secret Memoirs, p. 21 to 26.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 27. and Burchet's Naval Hiſtory.

(*t*) Burchet.

[*B*] *Spectators of this daring action.*] This frigate, which Sir Cloudeſley brought away with him, was the *Pelican*, ſhe carried 20 guns, and was the largeſt man of war then in King James's poſſeſſion; ſhe had been taken from the Scotch the preceding year, by the French, when they conducted ſome forces to Scotland, for the aſſiſtance of the Highlands, then in rebellion (3).

(3) Secret Memoirs, &c. p. 24.

[*C*] *It was intended he ſhould join the grand fleet.*] Accordingly, Lord Torrington was waiting for him with the Plymouth ſquadron, and ſome other ſhips, when he received the news of the Breſt fleet's arrival upon our coaſt, which brought on the battle of *Beachy-head*. As this was one of the moſt diſgraceful actions in our naval hiſtory (4); the writer of the ſecret Memoirs, having given a particular account of it, obſerves, that Sir Cloudeſley was very fortunate in being abſent from an engagement, where his obeying orders, would have expoſed him to the hazard of his reputation, or the diſobeying them, called him to a court-martial. This then muſt be ranked among thoſe lucky incidents which neceſſarily concur in the raiſing and forming of an illuſtrious character.

(4) It is well known, that Lord Torrington was tried, and tho' cleared by the Court, yet he was ſoon after diſmiſſed the ſervice. General Hiſtories of England.

[*D*] *To*

and weſtward, to gain intelligence of the body of the French fleet, ſo that he might be the better able to provide for his own ſafety. And they, upon meeting with Vice-Admiral Killigrew in his return from the Streights, were to give him notice of all circumſtances, that ſo he might likewiſe take care not to be intercepted. Sir Cloudeſley cruized up and down in the aforeſaid ſtation, 'till the 21ſt of July, without meeting any thing remarkable; and then the Dover and Experiment joined him from the coaſt of Ireland, with a ketch that came out of Kingſale, on board of which was Colonel Hacket, Captain John Hamilton, Archibald Cockburn, Eſq; Anthony Thompſon, Eſq; Captain Thomas Power, Mr William Sutton, and ſix ſervants, who were following King James to France, in order to accompany him in his intended expedition to England. They gave Sir Cloudeſley an account, that King James took ſhipping at Duncannon, and ſailed to Kingſale; but after ſtaying there a little above two hours, he proceeded to France, with two Spaniſh Frigates, that had lain there for that purpoſe a conſiderable time; and that he carried with him the Lord Powis, Sir Roger Strickland, and Captain Richard Trenavion (*u*). Hereupon Sir Cloudeſley returned to Plymouth, where he found the Mediterranean ſquadron juſt arrived from Cadiz, under Vice-Admiral Killigrew; who having there received letters from the Lords of the Admiralty, informing him that the French, after an engagement [at Beachy-head], had obliged our fleet to retire, and were with their own about Rye, Dover, and thoſe parts, and that therefore he was to take care of his ſquadron, he called a council of war, at which were preſent the Dutch Admirals, Allemonde and Evertzen, and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel; when it was determined, as the ſafeſt courſe to ſecure them from any attempts of the French, to proceed with the ſhips into Hamoze, within Plymouth Sound (*w*). But here our Rear-Admiral received orders to proceed, with the ſhips under his command, for Kingſale, to intercept ſome French frigates, that were ſaid to be on that coaſt. Arriving at Waterford-river, he received the agreeable news of General Kirke's having made himſelf maſter of the town of Waterford; but was at the ſame time informed, that Duncannon-caſtle, which by it's ſituation commanded the river, ſtill held out, and that the General, for want of cannon, was not likely to take it. Upon this, conſidering the importance of the place, and that no uſe could be made of the port of Waterford, while this caſtle remained in the hands of the enemy, he ſent the General word, on the 27th of July, that he was ready to aſſiſt him, by ſending ſome frigates up the river, and landing all the men he could ſpare out of his ſquadron, under the protection of their guns: accordingly the next day he ſent in the Experiment and the Greyhound, two ſmall ſhips, to batter the caſtle, and under their fire landed between ſix and ſeven hundred men, all the boats of the fleet being employed in this ſervice. The caſtle all this time thundered upon them, though to little purpoſe; but when once General Bourk, who commanded there, ſaw the men landed, he thought fit to capitulate (*x*), and marched out of the caſtle, with 250 men, with their arms and baggage; leaving to the Engliſh the fortreſs, which was furniſhed with forty-two pieces of cannon, a noble reward for one day's hard duty (*y*). After this ſucceſs, the Rear-Admiral ſailed for Limerick, where he was informed the French had a conſiderable number of ſhips; but finding ſoon after that the enemy was retired, and that his own ſquadron began to be in want of proviſions and ſea-ſtores, he came to a reſolution of retiring to Plymouth, where he received a conſiderable reinforcement, with orders to proceed in queſt of the enemy; but theſe orders, which came from the Lords of the Admiralty, were countermanded, on the 18th of September, by a freſh order from the King (*z*), directing him to detach ten ſhips into the Soundings for the protection of the trade, and to ſail with the reſt for the Downs; which he accordingly did. The remainder of the year 1690 was ſpent by Sir Cloudeſley for the moſt part in cruizing, 'till he was ordered to make part of Sir George Rooke's ſquadron, which eſcorted the King from Holland, and from which ſervice he did not return into the Downs 'till Jan. following. The naval operations of the year 1691, ended very little to the profit, honour, or ſatisfaction, of the nation, which occaſioned attempts in the Houſe of Commons, to faſten upon Ruſſel the miſcarriages, as they were called, at ſea (*aa*) [*D*]. But it was Sir Cloudeſley's felicity, that as his ſervices were well intended, ſo, generally ſpeaking, they were well received; and if Sir Cloudeſley Shovel at any time miſſed of ſucceſs,

(*u*) Lives of the Admirals, as before, p. 270.

(*w*) Burchet's Memoirs, and Naval Hiſtory.

(*x*) Bourk had declared his reſolution to defend both town and fort, as long as one ſtone remained upon another, but ſurrendered before there was ſo much as one ſtone beat from another. Burchet's Naval Hiſtory.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 432.

(*z*) Who after raiſing the ſiege of Limerick, had returned to England on the 5th of September. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under that year.

(*aa*) Lives of the Admirals, p. 271.

[*D*] *To faſten upon Ruſſel the miſcarriages as they were called at ſea.*] Upon the diſmiſſion of the Earl of Torrington, Ruſſel, afterwards Earl of Orford, was appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief: who, in purſuance of his inſtructions, aſſembled a fleet, conſiſting of ninety-one ſhips, of which fifty-ſeven were of the line of battle; and the whole being divided into two ſquadrons, commanded by the Admirals of the red and blue flags, Sir Cloudeſley was conſequently included in it. The grand deſign was to attack the French fleet under Tourville. Accordingly, Ruſſel being joined, tho' late, by the Dutch, bent his courſe to the French coaſt, in purſuit of their fleet; and arriving in that ſtation in July, he ſent Sir Coudeſley Shovel to look into Breſt, where he ſaw about forty ſail coming out of that port; which proved to be a fleet of merchant-ſhips from Bretagne, eſcorted by three men of war. Sir Cloudeſley to decoy theſe ſhips into his hands, made uſe of an excellent ſtratagem: He knew the French had intelligence that a ſmall ſquadron of their fleet had made prize of ſeveral Engliſh merchantmen; laying hold therefore of this piece of falſe news, he ordered part of his ſquadron to put out French colours, and the reſt to take in theirs. By this method he thought to deceive the the French, who might naturally ſuppoſe it to be that ſquadron with their prizes. This ſucceeded in part, tho' the enemy diſcovered the trick before he was near enough to do much miſchief. Admiral Ruſſel being ordered to keep abroad later than he wiſhed, for the ſafety of the fleet, met with a ſtorm, in September, by which ſeveral capital ſhips were greatly damaged. He came to an anchor in the Sound, gave orders for repairing theſe damages, and left Sir Cloudeſley at Plymouth, to ſee it performed (*s*).

(*s*) Burchet's Memoirs, p. 87. N. B. Here we have another atteſtation of what has been before obſerved, that Sir Cloudeſley excelled in ſuch kind of ſervices.

ſucceſs, no body ever pretended to fix imputations upon his conduct; his courage and his ſincerity were alike unqueſtionable; and though this was not the moſt credulous age, yet there was never heard of ſuch an infidel, as one who did not believe Shovel had both. On this account, moſt people were very well ſatisfied, when the King, juſt before he ſet out for Holland (*b b*), in the ſpring of the year 1692, declared him Rear-Admiral of the Red, and at the ſame time commander of the ſquadron that was to convoy him thither (*c c*). On his return from thence, he joined Admiral Ruſſel [*E*] with the grand fleet, and had a great ſhare in the glory of the famous victory at La Hogue. For the French, after an engagement for ſome hours, breaking their line, and Tourville being diſcovered to tow away northward, when the weather cleared up, the Engliſh Admiral gave the ſignal for chacing, and ſent notice to all his ſhips, that the enemy was retiring. At the ſame time, ſeveral broadſides were heard to the weſtward; and though the ſhips that fired could not be ſeen, it was concluded they were the blue ſquadron, that by a ſhift of wind had weathered the French. It proved, however, to be the brave Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, Rear-Admiral of the Red, who had with wonderful pains and diligence weathered their Admiral's own ſquadron, and got between them and their Admiral of the Blue; but after he had fired upon the French for ſome time, Tourville, as well as the Admiral of that ſquadron, came to an anchor, with ſome of the ſhips of their diviſion, but could not diſcover one another by reaſon of the thickneſs of the weather (*d d*) [*F*]. In 1693, the heat and animoſity of parties produced an extraordinary change in the command of the fleet; when, inſtead of appointing an Admiral, the King, by way of compromiſe, granted a commiſſion to Henry Killigrew, Eſq; Sir Ralph Delaval, and Sir Cloudeſley, to execute that office. The two former were declared Tories, and Shovel a determined Whig, though without any party ſpirit; yet this proved a bad expedient. They were indeed all good ſeamen, and probably meant their country well; but not agreeing in the manner of ſerving it, the conſequence proved the deſtruction of the Smyrna fleet, which ſo much diſgraces our annals of this year [*G*]. However, upon the enquiry of the Parliament into that affair, Sir Cloudeſley,

(*b b*) He embarked on the 5th of March, 1691-2. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt.

(*c c*) Lives of the Admirals, as before; and Secret Memoirs.

(*d d*) Ibid. p. 271, 272.

[*E*] *He joined Admiral Ruſſel.*] At this time a report was bruited about, that the officers of the navy were bribed by the emiſſaries of France, to betray the fleet into the poſſeſſion of King James; and the forces which now began to draw together, and were to be commanded by him, gave further uneaſineſs to our Court; whereupon the following addreſs was preſented to her Majeſty, ſigned by Sir *John Aſhby*, Admiral of the Blue, Sir *Ralph Delaval*, Vice-admiral of the Red, Mr *Rooke*, Vice admiral of the Blue, Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, Rear-admiral of the Red, and Mr *Carter*, Rear-admiral of the Blue, beſides ſeveral Captains. 'We your 'Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, Flag-officers 'and Captains of your Majeſty's fleet, out of that deep 'and grateful ſenſe we have of your Majeſty's good 'and juſt opinion of our loyalty, and fidelity, imparted 'to us by the Right honourable the Admiral Ruſſel, 'in a letter to to him from the Earl of Nottingham, 'in behalf of ourſelves, and all the other officers 'and ſeamen; humbly preſume to addreſs ourſelves to 'your Majeſty at this juncture, to undeceive the world 'in thoſe falſe and malicious reports that have been 'lately ſpread, in prejudice of your Majeſty's ſervice, 'by people of unreaſonable diſaffection to your Maje'ſty's government, and an abſolute averſion to the 'quiet, and good of their country; that there are ſome 'among us, who are not truly zealous for, and entirely 'devoted to your Majeſty's ſervice (6): We therefore 'muſt humbly beg leave to add to our repeated oaths, 'the aſſurance of our fidelity, that we will with all 'imaginable alacrity and reſolution, venture our lives in 'defence of your Majeſty's undoubted rights, and the 'liberty and religion of our country, againſt all fo'reign and Popiſh invaders whatſoever; moſt heartily 'beſeeching the great God Almighty, to preſerve your 'Majeſty's moſt ſacred perſon, direct your councils, 'and proſper your arms both by ſea and land (7).'

(6) The Queen declared, ſhe did not believe theſe reports, and that ſhe would diſplace no body from their poſts on that account. General Hiſtories of England.

(7) The Gazettes for this year.

Sir Cloudeſley was as forward to promote this addreſs as any gentleman in the navy, tho' he was far from being ſuſpected either by the Queen or Miniſtry. Admiral Carter was the perſon particularly ſtruck at; but without any foundation.

[*F*] *By reaſon of the thickneſs of the weather.*] King James bore the loſs of all his hopes, in this defeat, with inconſolable grief, as appears by the following letter which he wrote to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

'Monſieur, my Brother;

'I have hitherto, with ſome conſtancy and reſo'lution, ſupported the weight of all the misfortunes, 'which it has pleaſed Heaven to lay upon me, ſo 'long as myſelf was the only ſufferer; but I muſt 'acknowledge this laſt diſaſter utterly overwhelms me, 'and I am altogether comfortleſs, in reference to what 'concerns your Majeſty, thro' the great loſs that has be'fallen your fleets. I know too well, that my unlucky 'ſtar it is, that has drawn down this misfortune upon 'your forces; always victorious, but when they fought 'for my intereſts: And this is that which plainly tells me, 'that I no longer merit the ſupport of ſo great a Mo'narch, and who is always ſure to vanquiſh, when he 'fights for himſelf; for which reaſon it is, that I re'queſt your Majeſty no longer to concern yourſelf for 'a Prince ſo unfortunate as myſelf, but permit me to 'retire with my family, to ſome corner of the world, 'where I may ceaſe to obſtruct the uſual courſe of your 'proſperities and conqueſts, which only my misfor'tunes could interrupt. It is not juſt that the potenteſt 'Monarch in the world, and the moſt flouriſhing above 'all others, ſhould ſhare in my diſgrace, becauſe you 'are too generous: 'tis better much that I ſhould re'tire, 'till it ſhall pleaſe omnipotent Providence to be 'more propitious to my affairs. But, howſoever it pleaſe 'over-ruling Heaven to diſpoſe of me and mine, or into 'whatſoever receſs I may be thrown, I can aſſure your 'Majeſty, that I ſhall always preſerve to the laſt gaſp 'of my expiring breath, that due acknowledgment, 'which I ſtill retain for your favour and conſtant friend'ſhip; nor can any thing contribute more to my con'ſolation, than to hear, as I hope to do, when I have 'wholly quitted your dominions, of the quick return 'of all your wonted triumphs, both by ſea and land, 'over your enemies and mine, when my intereſt ſhall 'no longer be intermixed with your's.

I am,

Monſieur,

my Brother,

your's, &c.

JAMES Rex (8).'

(8) From a copy preſerved in the Secret Memoirs of our Admirals, P. 55, 56.

[*G*] *Which ſo much diſgraces our annals.*] The Dutch upon this occaſion played off their wit in a picture, wherein the taking of the Smyrna fleet was repreſented at a diſtance, and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel on board his own ſhip, with his hands tied behind him, the two ends of the cord being reſpectively held by his colleagues; to inſinuate that he would have prevented this misfortune, if the Admirals Killigrew and Delaval, had not hindered him.

[*H*] *The*

Sir Cloudesley, at the bar of the House, defended his colleagues as well as himself, and gave so clear and plain an account of the matter, that it satisfied all people, who were capable of being satisfied, of the innocence of the commanders; that is, in point of treachery, which, though it had been asserted by a vote of the House of Commons, yet the proposed resolution to censure them passed in the negative (*ee*). In the year 1694, Admiral Russel was replaced in the chief command of the fleet; and the character of Sir Cloudesley remaining absolutely unimpeached, we find him again at sea this year, acting in the Channel, and on the French coast; where he had the honour to command as Vice-Admiral of the Red, under Lord Berkeley Admiral of the Blue, in the famous expedition to Camaret-Bay, which, unfortunate as it proved *, yet Sir Cloudesley distinguished himself, by his speedy and dextrous embarkation of the land-forces, when they sailed upon it: as he did also, when, on their return to England, it was thought necessary to send the fleet again upon the coast of France, to bombard Diep and other places (*ff*). On the 27th of August, Lord Berkeley returning to London, the command of the squadron, which consisted now only of frigates and small ships, devolved upon Sir Cloudesley, who received express instructions to undertake the bombardment of Dunkirk at all events. Accordingly he attempted it, though without any good effect, through the fault of the engineer, who probably, for want of sufficient intelligence of the preparations which the French had made against this design, had promised more than either he or any other man could perform [*H*]. Sir Cloudesley, however, took care to demonstrate from his conduct, that no fault lay in him; for he went with a boat within the enemy's works, and so became an eye-witness of the impossibility of doing what his orders directed to be done; and therefore, on his coming home, he was perfectly well received, and continued to be employed, as a man who would command success where it was possible, and omit nothing in his power where it was not (*gg*). The remaining part of this war was carried on at sea, chiefly by bombarding the towns and forts on the French coast; in which Sir Cloudesley had his share: and after the peace of Ryswick he was always consulted by his Majesty, whenever maritime affairs were under consideration †. After the declaration of war against France and Spain by Queen Anne, the ministry setting their eyes upon the galleons, a squadron consisting of twenty men of war was fitted out, in order to intercept them, under the command of Sir Cloudesley, then Admiral of the White. And when this design had been luckily anticipated (*hh*), he was sent to Vigo, after the taking that place by Sir George Rooke, to bring home the spoils of the Spanish and French fleet. This was in the latter end of the year 1702, and he performed all that was expected from him with that zeal and expedition which he had formerly shewn upon all occasions: for, arriving at Vigo on the 16th of October, he got things into such forwardness, that he carried off whatever could possibly be brought home, burnt the rest, and notwithstanding the stormy season of the year, the foulness of his ships, and his being embarrassed with prizes, arrived safely in the Downs on the seventh of November [*I*]; which the Court considered as so remarkable a service,

(*ee*) Chandler's Debates.

* General Histories of England.

(*ff*) Admiral Benbow was constantly employed in executing these bombardments. See his article.

(*gg*) Burchet's Naval Memoirs.

† Upon Lord Berkeley's resigning in Feb. 1697, his regiment of marines was given to Sir Cloudesley. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, Vol. I. p. 350. note (6).

(*hh*) See Sir George Rooke's article.

[*H*] *The engineers promised more than they could perform*] This attempt had been resolved on before Lord Berkeley's departure, and Mr Meesters, who is said to be the inventor and manager of the machines, called infernals (9), went to Flanders, in order to procure such pilots as were able to carry the squadron into the harbour of Dunkirk, or at least so far into the road, as might enable them to destroy the enemies ships. Sir Cloudesley sailed to the Downs in the beginning of September, and on the 7th was joined by Mr Meesters, with twenty-six pilots; when Captain Benbow was appointed to command the small ships, and to follow the directions of Mr Meesters, whose pilots did not perform what was expected from them. On the 12th however, Sir Cloudesley Shovel appeared before Dunkirk, with thirteen English, and six Dutch men of war, two bomb-vessels, seventeen machines, and other small craft. In the evening, Capt. Benbow went in and sounded the western channel, between the Brake and the Main, notwithstanding a prodigious fire from the ships and the citadel. The next day all the boats and small vessels were sent in again, with the Charles galley, two bomb-vessels, and some of the machines. In the afternoon, two of the machines were sent in. The first took fire before she was near enough to do execution; whether it was that the cannon of the place set fire to it, as some of the French writers say, or that those on board finding it impossible either to bring it nearer, or to get it off, were obliged to let it burn there. The other, which was the biggest, went in boldly, and advanced very near the mole-head; but the tide set her on one side, so that she drove a cable's length, and then blew up (10). It was found, that the French had, according to custom, early intelligence, and by driving piles before the pier-head, and sinking ships on the back of the westermost pier, had secured themselves against all attempts of this nature. Sir Cloudesley being informed of this, and knowing that the spring tides were over, failed away for Calais, and on the 17th sent the bomb-vessels in, and threw so many shells into the town, that about forty houses were ruined; but the wind blowing hard that night, and a great swell of the sea happening, the Admiral was forced to bear away: And the storm continuing two days, he thought it not convenient to stay any longer, but returned with his whole squadron into the Downs, from whence the bomb-vessels and machines were sent into the river Thames (11).

(9) See an account of these machines in Admiral Benbow's article. But Stephen-Martin Leake, in the Life of Sir John Leake, ascribes this invention to that Admiral's father. See Sir John Leake's article.

(10) Campbell's Naval History of King William III. from the French accounts, in Histoire Militaire, Tom. III. and Journal Historique de Louis XIV. p. 197.

(11) Life of King William.

[*I*] *He arrived in the Downs on the 7th of November.*] Sir Cloudesley, in the space of a week, put the French men of war and other prizes, into the best condition possible; took out all the lading from a galleon, which was made prize by the Mary, and brought along with him the Dartmouth, which had been taken from us in the last war, and was now made prize by captain Wyvill; but as there was another ship of that name in the navy, the prize was called the Vigo. He also took out of the French ships that were run on shore, fifty brass guns, and brought off sixty more from the forts and batteries; after which, on the 24th of October, he set fire to the ships he could not bring away. The next day he left Vigo, but it proving calm, he anchored in the channel between that port and Bayonne, where he sent several prisoners on shore, with a flag of truce, and had ours returned in their stead. On the 27th of October he was again under sail, intending to have passed thro' the north channel; but the wind taking him short, he was obliged to pass thro' that which leads to the south, where the galleon which was the Monmouth's prize struck upon a rock and foundered; but there being several frigates on each side of her, all her men were saved except two. He was this day joined by the Dragon, a fifty gun ship, commanded by Captain Holyman, which had been attacked by a French man

service, that it was immediately reſolved to employ him in affairs of the greateſt conſequence for the future (*i i*). Accordingly he commanded the grand fleet up the Streights in 1703, where he did every thing that was poſſible for an Admiral to do, whoſe inſtructions were very large, and who yet wanted force to accompliſh almoſt any part of thoſe inſtructions [*K*]; ſo that, notwithſtanding the management of our affairs at ſea was very ſeverely cenſured that year in the Houſe of Commons (*k k*), yet all parties agreed, that Sir Cloudeſley Shovel had done his duty in every reſpect, and very well deſerved the high truſt and confidence that had been repoſed in him *. In 1704, Sir George Rooke commanded the grand fleet in the Mediterranean; to reinforce which, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel was ſent with a powerful ſquadron, and he took ſuch care, not only to execute his orders, but to diſtinguiſh in what manner they ought to be executed, that by joining the fleet in the middle of June, he was very inſtrumental in the ſucceſs that followed [*L*]; as by that very action, he effectually diſappointed all the French ſchemes, though that Court had boaſted, they ſhould be able to reſtore their maritime power, and give law to the confederates at ſea this ſummer. He aſſiſted in the reduction of Gibraltar (*l l*), and had a very conſiderable ſhare in the action off Malaga, in which he behaved with the utmoſt bravery [*M*]. But he was very far from taking to himſelf what ſome afterwards endeavoured

(*i i*) The Queen had before made a promotion of ſea-officers, in which Sir Cloudeſley was left out. General Hiſtories of England.

(*k k*) The Dutch were well contented with what was done, imagining the protection of their own trade was a matter of as great importance, at leaſt to them, as the ſupport of King Charles's title to the Crown of Spain, which the Court of Vienna at this time left entirely to the Confederates. Ibid.

* The blame fell upon thoſe who framed the project, and gave the Admiral his inſtructions. Ibid.

(*l l*) See the account of that action in Burchet's Memoirs, &c.

man of war of much greater force, and the captain and twenty-five men killed; but his lieutenant fought her bravely, and at laſt brought her ſafe into the fleet. In their paſſage they had extreme bad weather; and tho' the Naſſau had the good fortune to make a very rich prize, which was coming from Morlaix, yet it foundered the next morning; and the weather was then ſo bad, that the ſquadron ſeparated, every ſhip ſhifting for itſelf; tho' all had the good luck to get ſafe to England, but in a very ſhattered condition (12).

(12) London Gazette, No. 3683. where it is ſaid, the remainder of the fleet came in under the command of Sir Stafford Fairborne.

[*K*] *He did all that could be done in his circumſtances.*] The fleet conſiſted at firſt of twenty-ſeven ſhips of the line, and the Admiral had under him, Rear-admiral Byng, and Sir Stafford Fairborne; and being afterwards reinforced with eight ſhips more, theſe were commanded by Vice admiral Leake. His inſtructions were very large, but all of them might be reduced to theſe three heads, viz. annoying the enemy, aſſiſting our allies, and protecting our trade. He waited 'till the middle of June for the Dutch, and then was joined only by twelve ſhips of the line, carrying three flags; and it is certain, that if the force he had with him had been better adjuſted than it was to the things he had orders to perform; yet the time allowed him, which was only to the end of September, was much too ſhort, ſo that it was really impoſſible for him to execute the ſervices that ſeemed to be expected. He repreſented this (13); but being however ordered to obey, he did ſo, but was not able to get clear of the land 'till the middle of July, having alſo a fleet of upwards of 230 merchant-men under his convoy. On the 24th he arrived off the rock of Liſbon, where he called a council of war, at which the rendezvous was appointed to be held in Altea bay. He purſued his inſtructions as far as he was able; and having ſecured the Turkey fleet, he intended to have ſtaid ſome time upon the coaſt of Italy. But the Dutch Admiral informed him, that both his orders, and his victuals required his thinking of a ſpeedy return; and it was with much ado that Sir Cloudeſley prevailed upon him to go to Leghorn *. In the mean time, the inſtructions he had to ſuccour the Cevennois, then in arms againſt the French King, were found impracticable; and therefore the Admiral contented himſelf with doing all that could be done, which was to ſend the Tartar and the Pembroke upon that coaſt, where they found it impoſſible to do any thing. The Admiral then detached Capt. Swanton to Tunis and Tripoli, and ſent Rear-admiral Byng to Algier, to renew the peace with thoſe ſtates, and on the 22d of September arrived off Altea, from whence he ſoon after ſailed for England. On the 27th, in the Streights mouth, he met with an Algerine man of war becalmed, which he immediately took under his protection, 'till all the Dutch ſhips were paſſed; in which he certainly performed the part of an Engliſh Admiral, preſerved the reputation of our Flag, did great ſervice to our trade, and put it out of the power of the French to practiſe upon thoſe piratical ſtates, as they had done formerly. Having intelligence that a fleet of merchant-ſhips waited for a convoy from Liſbon, he ſent Sir Andrew Leake thither with a ſmall ſquadron, who convoyed them ſafe into the Downs. On the 16th of November, the fleet being off the Iſle of Wight, the Dutch crowded away for their own ports, and left the Admiral to ſteer for the Downs, which he did; but before he he made land, Captain (afterwards Sir John) Norris, in the Orford, a third rate, together with the Warſpright of 70 guns, and the Litchfield of 50, being a-head of the fleet, gave chace to a French ſhip of war, and beginning to engage about eight at night, the diſpute continued 'till two in the morning, when, having loſt her fore-top-maſts, and all her ſails, and her ſtanding and running rigging being much ſhattered, ſhe ſtruck. This ſhip came from Newfoundland, was commanded by Monſieur de la Rue, was named the *Hazardous*, and had fifty guns mounted, with 370 men; but had more ports, and was larger than any one of our ſixty gun ſhips, ſo that ſhe was regiſtered in the liſt of our royal navy (14).

(13) Burnet commends him for it, Hiſt. of his own Time, under this year; but he had cenſured another Admiral for the ſame thing. Such is party-ſpirit.

* Upon his arrival there, the Governor refuſing to give him a royal ſalute, he exerted himſelf in honour of the Union Flag, and uſed ſuch means, as ſoon brought the haughty magiſtrate to a compliance. Tindal's Continuation, &c. under this year 1703.

(14) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 656.

Sir Cloudeſley had been only a few days in the Downs, when the great ſtorm happened, which began on the 26th of November, this year, 1703, about eleven in the evening, the wind W. S. W. and continued with dreadful flaſhes of lightning 'till about ſeven the next morning. Sir Cloudeſley cut his main maſt by the board, which ſaved the ſhip from running on the Galloper, of the breach of which ſhe was then in view. Sir Stafford Fairborne had his flag as Vice-admiral of the Red flying in the Aſſociation, in which he was driven firſt to Gottenburgh, and then to Copenhagen, from whence he did not get home 'till the next year. The Revenge was forced from her anchors, and with much ado, after driving ſome time on the coaſt of Holland, got into the river Medway; the Ruſſel, Capt. Townſend, was forced over to Holland; and the Dorſet, Captain Edward Whitaker, after ſtriking twice on the Galloper, drove a fortnight at ſea, and then got ſafe to the Nore (15).

(15) Gazette, No. 3928.

[*L*] *He was very inſtrumental in the ſucceſs that followed.*] After Sir George Rooke was ſailed, the Court received intelligence, that the French were very buſy in fitting out a great ſquadron at Breſt. Upon this news it was thought proper to equip, with the utmoſt expedition, a good fleet; which was put under the command of Sir Cloudeſley, Admiral of the White, who had under him Sir Stafford Fairborne, Vice-admiral of the Red, and George Byng, Eſq; Rear-admiral of the ſame ſquadron. The Admiral was inſtructed, if he found the Breſt ſquadron ſtill in port, to ſend away the trade, ſtoreſhips, and victuallers, under a proper convoy to Liſbon, and to remain before Breſt himſelf, to endeavour to keep in the enemy; or if that was found impracticable, to burn and deſtroy them if they came out. But in caſe he found the Breſt ſquadron ſailed, then he was to call a council of war, in order to judge what ſtrength might be neceſſary to be ſent to Sir George Rooke, and if it amounted to twenty-two ſhips, then he was to ſail with them himſelf; that our fleet might at all events be ſtronger than that of the enemy. Sir Cloudeſley executed his inſtructions punctually; and finding the Breſt ſquadron were gone, and therefore that a great ſtrength was neceſſary in the Mediterranean to oppoſe the French, he ſailed thither about the latter end of May, and on the 16th of June joined Sir George Rooke, with his ſquadron off Lagos. When a council of war being called to conſider what ſervice ſhould be proceeded on, it was at length, after a long debate, carried, to make a ſudden and vigorous attempt upon Gibralter (16).

(16) The writer of the Secret Memoirs, &c. ſays, the Council was determined to this reſolution by Sir Cloudeſley's arguments, p. 90, 91. See ſome account of the affair in Sir George Rooke's article.

[*M*] *He behaved with the utmoſt bravery in the action off Malaga.*] In order to a clear underſtanding of Sir Cloudeſley's

endeavoured to confer upon him, the glory of beating the French fleet, while Sir George Rooke only looked on, or fought at a diſtance (*m m*). This was not at all Sir Cloudeſley's nature; he would no more be guilty of an action of that ſort, than he would have been patient in bearing it. He knew very well his own merit, and his Admiral's; and he did juſtice to both in the letter he wrote on that occaſion, a copy of which is inſerted below [*N*].

(*m m*) They are the words of Biſhop Burnet, in the Hiſtory of his own Times.

Upon his return home, he was preſented to the Queen by Prince George, Lord High-Admiral of England, and met with a very gracious reception. As Sir Cloudeſley had no concern in the arts made uſe of to leſſen the reputation of Sir George Rooke, in order to pave the way for laying him aſide; ſo, after this was done in 1705, being made Rear-Admiral of England, and Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet, he made no ſcruple in accepting a commiſſion to act jointly with the Earl of Peterborough, as Admiral of the fleet deſtined for the Mediterranean. Accordingly he arrived at Liſbon with this fleet, conſiſting of twenty-nine line of battle ſhips, on the 22d of June. From thence he ſailed to Altea-Bay, and there took in his Catholic Majeſty; who preſſing the Earl of Peterborough to make an immediate attempt on the city of Barcelona, and the province of Catalonia, where he was aſſured the people were well affected to him, it was agreed to, and the fleet ſailed accordingly to Barcelona on the 12th of Auguſt; where after ſome diſputes the ſiege was undertaken, and the city ſurrendered in the end of September [*O*].

On

Sir Cloudeſley's part in this important action, it will be neceſſary to give a ſhort account of the ſtrength of the two fleets, and the form in which they were drawn up. The French line, which conſiſted of fifty-two ſhips, and twenty four gallies, was very ſtrong in the center, but weaker in the van and rear; to ſupply which, moſt of their gallies were placed in thoſe ſquadrons. In the center was the Count de Toulouſe, High-Admiral of France, with the white ſquadron, having behind him the Marquis du Roy with four gallies. In the van was the white and blue flag, commanded by the Marquis de Vilette, with ſeven French, and five Spaniſh gallies, and the blue ſquadron formed the rear, commanded by the Marquis de Langeron, having behind him eight French gallies, under the command of the Marquis Ferviſle. The line of the confederate fleet conſiſted of fifty-three ſhips, Sir George Rooke, the Rear-Admirals Byng and Dilkes, being in the center, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel and Sir John Leake, leading the van, and the Dutch ſhips forming the rear. A little after ten o'clock, Admiral Shovel, with the van, bore down upon the enemy, and was at ſome diſtance from our center; which the Marquis de Vilette obſerving, thought he might get a-head of that ſquadron with his foremoſt ſhips; and in that view made a ſignal to the head moſt ſhips of the French line, to croud all the ſail they could. Admiral Shovel ſtill bearing down upon the enemy, inſenſibly found himſelf in their line a-head of them; which the French judging to be a favourable opportunity, reſolved to make their advantage of it, by keeping their wind, and crowding all the ſail they were able, in order to cut off our van from the reſt of the fleet; hoping with reaſon, that if it grew calm, which uſually happens in a ſea-fight, their gallies might tow them off, ſo that they might make a double, and weathering Sir Cloudeſley, might put him between two fires. But the Admiral perceiving the deſign, immediately clapt upon a wind; and Sir George Rooke foreſeeing what would be the conſequence, if his van was intercepted, bore down upon the enemy with the reſt of the confederate fleet, and put out the ſignal for the fight, which was immediately begun by Admiral Shovel, and was continued with equal reſolution on both ſides, 'till about two in the afternoon; when Sir Cloudeſley having diſabled ſeveral ſhips of the enemy's van, obliged them to make out of the reach of his cannon. But Sir George Rooke had not the like ſucceſs in the center, where the enemy being very ſtrong, and ſeveral of our ſhips forced to go out of the line for want of ſhot, the battle fell hard upon the Admiral's ſhip the St George, and the Shrewſbury. This being obſerved by Sir Cloudeſley, he immediately tacked a-ſtern, and reinforced the Admiral, by cloſing the line of the center; which excellent piece of ſeamanſhip decided the fate of the day (17). The Count de Tholouſe ſhared the like fate with his van, and about ſeven o'clock was obliged to tow out of danger. The Dutch in the rear, continued indeed firing ſomewhat longer than the reſt, but night coming on put a period to that diſpute alſo.

(17) See more of this in Sir John Leake's article.

[*N*] *The letter is inſerted below*] This moſt admirably honeſt plain letter, which gives us a true picture of our Admiral, is as follows. 'This brings the news 'of my health, and that we are in our way homeward: 'That which ſends us home ſo ſoon, is a very ſharp 'engagement we have had with the French. Our 'number of ſhips that fought in the line of battle, were 'pretty equal, I think they were forty-nine, and we 'fifty-three; but Sir George Rooke reſerved ſome of 'the fifty gun ſhips, to obſerve if they attempted any 'thing with their gallies, of which they had twenty-'four. Their ſhips did far exceed in bigneſs; I judge 'they had ſeventeen three deck ſhips, and we had but 'ſeven. The battle began on Sunday the 13th inſtant, 'ſoon after ten in the morning; and in the center and 'rear of the fleet, it continued 'till night parted them: 'But in the van of the fleet, where I commanded, we 'having the weather-gage, gave me an opportunity of 'coming as near as I pleaſed, which was within piſtol-'ſhot, before I fired a gun; thro' which means, and 'God's aſſiſtance, the enemy declined us, and were up-'on the run in leſs than four hours; by which time we 'had little wind, and their gallies towed off their lame 'ſhips, and others as they pleaſed: For the Admiral 'of the white and blue, wtih whom we fought, had 'ſeven gallies attending upon him. As ſoon as the 'enemy got out of the reach of our guns, and the bat-'tle continuing pretty hot a-ſtern, and ſome of our ſhips 'in the Admiral's ſquadron towing out of the line, 'which I underſtood afterwards was for want of ſhot; 'I ordered all the ſhips of my diviſion to ſlack all their 'ſails, to cloſe the line in the center. This working 'had that good effect, that ſeveral of the enemies ſhips 'a-ſtern, which had kept their line, having their top-'ſails and foreſails ſet, ſhot up a-breaſt of us, as the 'Rear Admiral of the white and blue, and ſome of his 'diviſion, and the Vice-Admiral of the white and ſome of 'his diviſion; but they were ſo warmly received before 'they got a-broadſide, that with the boats a-head, and 'their ſpritſails ſet, they towed from us, without giving 'us the opportunity of firing at them.

'The ſhips that ſuffered moſt in my diviſion, were 'the Lenox, Warſpright, Tilbury, and Swiftſure, the 'reſt eſcaped pretty well, and I the beſt of all, tho' I 'never took greater pains in my life to be ſoundly 'beaten; for I ſet all my ſails, and rowed with three 'boats a-head, to get along ſide with the Admiral of 'the white and blue, but he out-ſailing me, would not 'fight, and lay along ſide of the little ſhips.

'Notwithſtanding the engagement was very ſharp, 'and I think the like between two fleets never hath 'been in any time, there is hardly a ſhip that muſt 'not ſhift one maſt, and ſome muſt ſhift all: A great 'many have ſuffered much, but none more than Sir 'George Rooke, and Captain Jennings, in the St 'George. God ſend us well home; I believe we have 'not three ſpare top-maſts, nor three ſiſhes in the fleet; 'and I judge there is ten jury-maſts now up. After 'the fight, we lay two days in ſight of the enemy, pre-'paring for a ſecond engagement, but the enemy de-'clined, and ſtood from us in the night (18).'

(18) From a copy in a piece intituled, The Other Side of the Queſtion, wrote in an Anſwer to the Conduct of the Ducheſs of Marlborough. This letter was alſo printed in Compleat Hiſtory of Europe, for 1704.

[*O*] *Barcelona ſurrendered in the end of September*, 1705.] The reduction of Barcelona has been always conſidered as one of the moſt extraordinary events of this war, and one may venture to affirm that nothing but the aſſiſtance of the fleet could have reduced it. In ſupport of this aſſertion, we ſhall lay before the reader part of a letter written by Sir Cloudeſley to his Royal Highneſs the Lord High-Admiral, dated October 12, 1705,

On the firſt of October, it was reſolved in a Council of War, that Sir Cloudeſley ſhould proceed for England, with the beſt part of the fleet. In purſuance of which reſolution, he paſſed the Streights, with nineteen ſhips of the line, and part of the Dutch fleet, on the 16th of October, and arrived happily at Spithead on the 26th of November following, after as glorious a ſea-campaign as either ourſelves or our allies could expect (*n n*). The next year, 1706, Sir Cloudeſley again commanded the fleet which ſailed from St Helens on the 10th of Auguſt, with ten thouſand land-forces, in the deſign of making a deſcent ſomewhere on the French coaſt; but not being joined time enough by the Dutch, this project proved abortive [*P*], and it was reſolved that the fleet ſhould proceed to Liſbon, with theſe forces on board, and that they ſhould be employed in the ſervice of his Catholic Majeſty. But not ſailing 'till the ſixth of September (*o o*), and meeting with very bad weather, it did not reach the river of Liſbon 'till the month of November; and even then, the diſputes which aroſe in King Charles's Council, with the delays of the Portugueze, who were far from being hearty in his cauſe, diſappointed all the deſigns of the maritime powers. In this uneaſy ſituation, Sir Cloudeſley did all that could be expected from a wiſe and vigilant commander. He ſent Colonel Worſley to Valencia [*Q*], in order

(*n n*) This was owing to the great things performed by Sir John Leake, for an account of which we refer to his article.

(*o o*) Being in the Soundings on the 10th, the Barfleur, a ſecond rate, ſprung a dangerous leak, which obliged the Admiral to ſend her home, and to take the Earl Rivers and his principal officers into his own ſhip the Aſſociation. Burchet.

1705, containing an account of what paſſed in the laſt days of the ſiege (19), in the following terms: 'The '17th, our battery of thirty guns was opened, and 'fourteen of them began to play with very great exe'cution upon that part of the wall where the breach 'was deſigned; the *Earl of Peterborough* came a-board 'and repreſented to us the great neceſſity he laboured 'under for want of money for ſubſiſting the army, and 'carrying on the ſiege of *Barcelona*, and the ſervices in '*Catalonia*, and, in very preſſing circumſtances, deſired 'the aſſiſtance of the fleet; upon which our flag-officers 'came to the incloſed reſolution, to lend the *Earl of* '*Peterborough* forty thouſand dollars out of the contin'gent and ſhort-allowance money of the fleet. The 19th, 'we came to theſe reſolutions, *viz.* to remain longer be'fore *Barcelona* than was agreed on at the firſt, to give 'all the aſſiſtance in our power, and to lay a fire-ſhip 'aſhore, with two hundred barrels of powder; and a 'further demand being made for guns for the batteries, 'we landed fourteen more, which made up in all ſe'venty-two guns, whereof thirty were twenty-four 'pounders that we landed here, with their utenſils 'and ammunition. We continue to bombard the town 'from the ſea as our ſmall ſtore of ſhells, and the wea'ther will permit. The 20th a demand was made for 'more ſhot, and we called together the Engliſh flag'officers, and came to a reſolution to ſupply the bat'teries with all the twenty-four and twenty-eight 'pound ſhot, except a very ſmall quantity, which was 'accordingly done.

'The 22d the Prince of *Lichenſtein*, and the Earl 'of *Peterborough* having deſired, at the requeſt of his 'Catholic Majeſty, that the town of *Lerida* might for 'it's ſecurity be furniſhed with about fifty barrels of 'powder; and a further ſupply of ſhot being demanded 'for the batteries aſhore, it was conſidered at a coun'cil of war, and we came to the incloſed reſolutions, '*viz.* To furniſh fifty barrels of powder for *Lerida*, 'and to ſend ſo many more twenty-four and twenty'eight pound ſhot aſhore, as would reduce the Engliſh 'to thirty rounds; as likewiſe to be further aſſiſtant 'upon timely notice.

'The 23d at night, our breach being made, and all 'things prepared for an attack, the town was again 'ſummoned, and they deſired to capitulate, and hoſ'tages were exchanged; on our ſide Brigadier *Stan'hope*, and on the enemy's the Marquis *de Rivera*; 'and all hoſtilities ceaſed (20.)'

(19) The trenches were opened on the 9th of September. Burchet.

(20) Burchet.

It muſt be confeſſed that Don *Velaſco*, Governor of *Barcelona* for the Duke of *Anjou*, and the garriſon, ſubmitted to the arms of Lord *Peterborough*, but it was to the clemency and good-nature of Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, that the ſame gentleman, the Duke of *Popoli*, the French and Italian ſoldiers who had ſerved againſt the Allies in that ſiege, confided their lives, fortunes, and their honours; from his goodneſs they fought a protection, when even heaven and earth, the miquelets, the remainder of the garriſon, and the burghers of *Barcelona* had declared againſt them; and 'twas by his juſtice and ſtrict obſervance of the capitulation, they enjoyed a freedom, of which they had criminally deprived ſeveral perſons who expreſſed their zeal a little too warmly for the houſe of Auſtria.

After the town had ſurrendered, a quarrel happened between the townſmen and the Viceroy, which had near proved fatal to the latter. He had uſed the burghers both before and during the ſiege with an unreaſonable ſeverity, eſpecially thoſe that were the leaſt inclined to favour the cauſe of King Charles the Third; he preſerved the ſame auſterity even in the reverſe of his fortune, and to his ſour and moroſe deportment gave a further ſuſpicion to the inhabitants, that he deſigned to carry along with him ſome priſoners of the ſtate which were of their number: His haughty carriage, and theſe ſurmiſes, true or falſe, and the general odium he lay under, incited ſome of the meaner ſort of citizens to draw into a body, who, being aſſiſted in a little time by others of the better ſort, and ſeveral hundred miquelets, violently broke open the priſons, and boldly charged the garriſon, who were then iſſuing out at the breach, and threatened to ſacrifice the Governor to their reſentment; the tumult was at length appeaſed, by the prudence of his Excellency. In the mean time, the chiefeſt of the garriſon, with their ladies, and the Governor himſelf, had taken ſanctuary in a monaſtery, and at their earneſt requeſt, in the cloſe of the evening they were carried on board Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, from whom they received a treatment civil and honourable, attended with all the offices of compaſſion and humanity (21).

(21) Secret Memoirs, &c. p. 108, 109.

[*P*] *The project proved abortive.*] The deſign was framed upon the repreſentation of ſome French Hugonots, particularly of the famous Marquis *Guiſcard*, who was afterwards engaged in a deſign to aſſaſſinate the Queen. The land-forces for this ſervice conſiſted of very near ten thouſand men, which were to be commanded in chief by the Earl *Rivers*, and under him by the Lieutenant-Generals *Earle* and *de Guiſcard*; the Earl of *Eſſex* and Lord *Mordaunt*, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of *Peterborough*, were to ſerve as Major-generals (22.)

(22) Campbell's Naval Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 444.

[*Q*] *He ſent Col. Worſley to Valencia.*] While this gentleman was gone, and before the Admiral had it in his power to take any ſettled reſolution, the King of Portugal died; which threw the affairs of that kingdom into ſome confuſion; and that could not happen without affecting us. We have obſerved already (23), that the Portugueze Miniſtry acted in a manner no ways ſuitable to the ſtrict alliance which then ſubſiſted between our Court and theirs. But now things grew worſe, and whatever ſentiments the new King might be of, his Miniſters ventured to take ſome ſuch ſteps as were not to be borne with patience by an Admiral of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel's temper, of which we ſhall give the following inſtance.

(23) In Sir John Leake's article.

In the beginning of December, the Admiral having appointed ſome cruizing ſhips to proceed to ſea, as they were going out of the mouth of the river, the *Portugueze* fired firſt at leaſt threeſcore ſhot at them to bring them to an anchor, which he perceiving, ſent orders to our captains to puſh their way through; and accordingly they did ſo without ſo much as returning a ſingle ſhot at the forts. The Court of *Portugal*, upon his repreſentation of this uſage, pretended, that the officers of the fort had done it without orders, being only directed to fire at and detain a *Genoeſe* ſhip, whoſe maſter was indebted to the King. But the Admiral being certainly informed, that this very ſhip was at the ſame time lying before the walls of Liſbon, and that the maſter of her was aſhore tranſacting his buſineſs, he let them know, in a manner which became a perſon in his poſt, thus affronted,

order to receive from the King himſelf and the General a certain account of their affairs, and a true ſtate of the ſervices they expected from him (*p p*). The Colonel returned with letters from the King and the Earl of Galway, informing him, that unleſs he could bring the forces, and land them ſo as that they might come to their aſſiſtance, things were likely to fall into as great confuſion as they were in the winter before; whereby all the advantages would be loſt, which had been procured at ſo vaſt an expence both of blood and treaſure by the maritime powers. Theſe advices gave the Admiral ſo much more concern, as he knew the ſhips were ſo much damaged by the rough weather they had met with in their paſſage, that it was impoſſible to fit them ſpeedily for the ſea; and that the land-forces were likewiſe ſo much reduced by ſickneſs, death, and other accidents, that inſtead of ten there were ſcarce ſix thouſand effective men. He reſolved, however, to do the beſt he could to comply with the King's and the General's deſires, the rather, becauſe he ſaw that nothing but ſpirit and diligence could poſſibly recover thoſe advantages, which had been loſt through diviſions and neglect of duty. He gave orders, therefore, for repairing with the utmoſt diligence the miſchief that had been done to his ſhips, ordered the tranſports to be victualled, and made the other neceſſary diſpoſitions for proceeding with the fleet and army for the Spaniſh coaſt, and was on the very point of embarking the troops, when he was reſtrained by an order from England. This order was obtained by the preſſing inſtances of the court of Portugal, repreſenting, that the forces might be more effectually employed in conjunction with their army. Orders were ſent to this purpoſe, and a memorial was drawn up, containing the terms upon which her Britannic Majeſty would conſent to the propoſitions made by the Portugueze miniſter. But notwithſtanding this application, the Portugueze being either unwilling or unable to comply with thoſe demands, it was reſolved, in a Council of War, to reſume the former project, and to land them at Alicant; for which orders arrived ſoon after from England. Accordingly the Confederate fleet, on the ſeventh of January, 1707, ſailed with the land-forces from Liſbon to Alicant, where they arrived on the 28th, and were actually landed (*q q*). But through the delays the expedition met with, and the reduction of the troops already mentioned, Sir Cloudeſley, finding that his preſence would be of little uſe there, and that the fleet ſtood in need of repairs, left Alicant on the 17th of February, and returned to Liſbon, where he arrived the 7th of March following [*R*]. There he received orders for the expedition againſt Toulon. In obedience to his inſtructions relating to that important affair, which, if it had ſucceeded, muſt have put an end to the war (*r r*), our Admiral made ſuch diſpatch, that on the 10th of May he ſailed for Alicant; where having joined Sir George Byng, he proceeded to the coaſt of Italy, and on the fifth of June came to an anchor before Final, with a fleet of forty-three men of war, and fifty-ſeven tranſports. Prince Eugene went thither to confer with the Admiral, and ſoon after the fleet ſailing for Nice, came to an anchor at the latter end of the month, between that city and Antibes; where, on the 29th, he had the honour to entertain the Duke of Savoy, Prince Eugene, and moſt of the general officers, together with the Engliſh and Dutch miniſters, on board his own ſhip the Aſſociation [*S*]. After dinner they held a Council of War, where it was reſolved to force a paſſage over the Var, in which the Engliſh Admiral promiſed to aſſiſt. Accordingly, two days after, this daring enterprize was undertaken, to the great aſtoniſhment of the French, who believed their works upon that river to be impregnable; and ſo indeed they had proved to any forces in the world except Engliſh ſeamen, as will appear by peruſing the account of that action; which, with the reſt of the proceedings of the fleet in this affair againſt Toulon, may be ſeen below [*T*]. Upon the Duke of Savoy's raiſing

(*p p*) He had, on his firſt arrival in the river of Liſbon, ſent two ſhips of Sir George Byng's ſquadron to Alicant, with money and neceſſaries for the army then under the command of the Earl of Galway. Ibid.

(*q q*) When the Earl Rivers and the Earl of Effex returned to England, Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under the year 1706.

(*r r*) See the General Hiſtories of England.

affronted, that if they offered to attempt any ſuch thing again, for they had done it before to Sir John Leake (24), he would not ſtay for orders from his miſtreſs, but take ſatisfaction by the mouth of his cannon. This declaration had a very proper effect, and though it might not mend the principles of the Portugueze Miniſtry, it contributed however greatly towards teaching them better manners (25).

(24) See his article.

(25) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 729.

[*R*] *He arrived at Liſbon on the 7th of March*, 1706-7.] The great defeat at *Almanza* happened on the 14th of April following. After which the Earl of *Galway* retired with the broken remains of his army, which nothing could have ſaved but the timely appearance of our fleet. Sir *Cloudeſley*, knowing the diſtreſs our army was in through want of almoſt every thing neceſſary, ſent Sir *George Byng* with a ſtrong ſquadron to the coaſt of *Spain* for their relief. Sir George ſailed on the 30th of March, and coming off Cape *St Vincent* on the 15th of April, he received there the news of our defeat; ſoon after which he received a meſſage from Lord *Galway* acquainting him with the diſtreſs he was in, and deſiring that whatever he brought for the uſe of the army might be carried to *Tortoſa* in *Catalonia*, to which his Lordſhip deſigned to retreat, and that, if poſſible, he would ſave the ſick and wounded men at *Denia*, *Gandia*, and *Valencia*, where it was intended the bridges of boats, baggage, and all things that could be got together ſhould be put on board. Accordingly he took care of the ſick and wounded men, and ſent them to *Tortoſa*, where the Lord *Galway* propoſed to make a ſtand with the poor remains of the army. This ſervice employed Sir *George Byng* almoſt the whole month of April, and then he was in daily expectation of being joined by Sir Cloudeſley from *Liſbon*, either on that part of the coaſt of Spain, or at *Barcelona*, whither he was deſigned (26). Accordingly we ſee above that Sir Cloudeſley joined him at Alicant.

(26) Burchet, as before, and Boyer's Life of Queen Anne.

[*S*] *He entertained the Duke of Savoy*, &c. *at dinner.*] Though Sir Cloudeſley was not one of the politeſt officers we ever had (27), yet he ſhewed a great deal of prudence in the magnificent entertainment he made upon this occaſion. The Duke, when he came on board the Aſſociation, found a guard of halberdiers in new liveries at the great cabbin door. At the upper end of the table was ſet an armed chair with a crimſon velvet canopy. The table conſiſted of ſixty covers; and every thing was ſo well managed, that his Royal Highneſs could not forbear ſaying to the Admiral, at dinner, 'If 'your Excellency had paid me a viſit at Turin, I could 'ſcarce have treated you ſo well (28).'

(27) He is generally ranked with Admiral Benbow in this particular, and was equally the favourite of the ſailors. See Benbow's article.

(28) Boyer's Life of Queen Anne.

[*T*] *The proceedings againſt Toulon may be ſeen below.*] The enemy's entrenchments on the *Var*, were extended above four miles into the country, and were defended by eight hundred horſe, and ſix battalions of foot,

raiſing the ſiege, and repaſſing the Var, there happened ſome new diſputes, in which Sir Cloudeſley had little or no concern. Her Britannic Majeſty's miniſter laboured to perſwade Prince Eugene to take upon him the command of all the forces in Spain, in which the Duke of Savoy likewiſe concurred; and Sir Cloudeſley offered to tranſport his Royal Highneſs, with a body of troops under his command; but this propoſition being rejected, his Excellency, not a little chagrined at the miſcarriage of an expedition upon which he had ſet his heart, bore away for the Streights (*ss*), and ſoon after reſolved to return home, which was the laſt act of his life. He left Sir Thomas Dilkes at Gibraltar, with nine ſhips of the line, three fifth-rates, and one of the ſixth, for the ſecurity of the coaſts of Italy, and then proceeded with the remainder of the fleet, conſiſting of ten ſhips of the line, five frigates, four fire-ſhips, a ſloop, and a yacht, for England. On the 22d of October he came into the Soundings, and in the morning had ninety fathom water. About noon he lay by; but at ſix in the evening he made ſail again, and ſtood away under his courſes, believing, as is preſumed, that he ſaw the lights on Scilly. Soon after which he made ſignals of danger, as ſeveral other ſhips did. Sir George Byng, who was then within leſs than half a mile to the windward of him, ſaw the breaches of the ſea, and ſoon after the rocks called *the Biſhop and his Clerks*, upon which the Admiral ſtruck, and in two minutes there was nothing more of him or his ſhip ſeen [*U*]. There were near nine hundred perſons with him on board (*tt*) the Aſſociation, among whom were his ſons-in-law Sir John Narborough and James his brother, Mr Trelawney, eldeſt ſon to the

(*ss*) Burchet.

(*tt*) Not a ſoul of which eſcaped. The Chaplain happened to go on board another ſhip that morning, to adminiſter the Sacrament to ſome dying people, and ſo ſaved his life.

foot, and a reinforcement was daily expected of twelve battalions more, under the command of Lieutenant-general Dillon, but before his arrival, Sir Cloudeſley having obſerved to the Duke, that part of the French lines were ſo near the ſea, that it was in his power to cannonade them, and that he would land a body of ſeamen who ſhould attack the higheſt and ſtrongeſt of their entrenchments, his Royal Highneſs conſented to it. Accordingly on the firſt of July, Sir Cloudeſley ordered four Engliſh and one Dutch man of war to enter the mouth of the river *Var*, where they began to cannonade the French lines; ſoon after which 600 Engliſh ſeamen landed in open boats, under the command of Capt. (afterwards Admiral) Norris, who was quickly followed by the Admiral, and having begun the attack, the enemy were ſo terrified with ſuch an unexpected ſalutation, that they threw down their arms after a ſhort diſpute, and abandoned their works (29). They had ſcarce quitted their entrenchments, but they met in their retreat Lieutenant-general *Dillon*, at the head of his twelve battalions, and he was ſo aſtoniſhed, that he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to abandon the town of *St Paul*, and continue this retreat (30). On the 2d of July, his Royal Highneſs and Prince Eugene, with the Britiſh Envoy and Sir John Norris, dined again on board the Admiral, and after dinner entering into a conference, the Duke of Savoy reſolved to march directly to *Toulon*, hoping for a good concluſion of the affair. But the Duke having obſerved that even after *Toulon* was taken, himſelf and his army might find it impracticable to retreat. The Admiral replied, 'I 'hope better things from your Royal Highneſs's for-'tune; but if there ſhould be any appearance of ſuch 'a thing's happening, your Highneſs may rely upon 'me, I will take care to ſupply a ſufficient number of 'tranſports to embark all your troops.' The Duke thanked him for his generous offer, told him he relied chiefly on the aſſiſtance he expected from him, and that if he would repair to the iſlands of *Hieres*, he ſhould not long remain there before he ſhould hear of the army's being in the neighbourhood of *Toulon*, and that then he ſhould expect to ſee the fleet in the road. The Duke marched from the *Var* on the 3d, but did not arrive before *Toulon* 'till the 15th (31). The Admiral however ſailed immediately with his fleet for the iſlands of *Hieres*, leaving ten or twelve frigates to interrupt the enemy's correſpondence with Italy. On the 17th of July, he landed and aſſiſted at a council of war, in which many demands were made on the fleet, and the Admiral promiſed all that was in his power, which he accordingly performed. A hundred cannon were landed from the fleet for the batteries, with two hundred rounds of powder and ſhot, and a conſiderable number of ſeamen to ſerve as gunners; and cordage, nails, and ſpikes, with all other things wanting for the Camp (for indeed they were but poorly furniſhed) were ſupplied from the ſhips: So that affairs had a very good face 'till the 4th of Auguſt, O. S. when, early in the morning, the enemy making a vigorous ſally, drove the confederates from their works, and killed and wounded above 800 men, among whom were the Prince of Saxe-Gotha, and ſome officers of diſtinction. The next day, being the 16th of Auguſt, N. S. the fleet began to cannonade the town, and threw bombs in the night, which was continued 'till the ſiege was raiſed, and which obliged the French to ſink all their capital ſhips, a diſtreſs that more than countervailed the whole expence of this ſervice, great as it was (32). On the 6th his Royal Highneſs deſired the Admiral would immediately embark the ſick and wounded, and withdraw the cannon, in order to his raiſing the ſiege; his Royal Highneſs alſo informed him, that he purpoſed to decamp the 10th in the morning, and deſired that the fleet might accompany the army as far as the *Var*. Accordingly, the very day the army began to march, the fleet drew as near the place as poſſible, and five bomb-veſſels ſupported by the lighteſt frigates, and all the boats of the men of war, under Rear-admiral Dilkes, advanced into the creek of fort St Lewis, and notwithſtanding a prodigious fire from the place, bombarded the town and harbour from noon 'till five the next morning, and this with all the ſucceſs that could be expected; by this means the land-army had time to quit their camp at La Vilette; which they did in five columns in great ſafety, the enemy having ſomething elſe to do than purſue them: And as to any attempt afterwards, his Royal Highneſs put it pretty much out of their power, by marching in two days as far as in his approach to the place he had marched in ſix (33). Thus ended the famous ſiege of Toulon, from whence the Confederates hoped, and the French feared ſo much. Various reaſons are alledged for the miſcarriage of this enterprize, by the writers of thoſe times, to whom we muſt refer, mentioning this one only, which particularly concerns our Admiral. It was ſaid that Sir Cloudeſley diſguſted the Duke of Savoy, by detaining the payment of his ſubſidies, which were due on his paſſing the *Var*. But this report is apparently groundleſs, ſince the Admiral ſailed the next day; and conſequently he muſt either have paid the money, or his Royal Highneſs would not have ſtirred a foot further. Biſhop Burnet too ſays *, that the Duke was afraid of getting to *Toulon* before the fleet; and in that caſe he would have wanted proviſions: all our gazettes contradict this, and ſay, that if he had arrived there ſooner he muſt have taken the place, and all the French magazines.

[*U*] *Nothing more of his ſhip ſeen.*] Beſides the *Aſſociation*, the *Eagle*, Capt. *Robert Hancock* of 70 guns, and the *Romney*, Capt *Will. Coney* of 50 guns, periſhed; the *Firebrand* fireſhip was loſt likewiſe, but Capt. *Piercy*, the Commander, and moſt of the company were ſaved: The *Phœnix* fireſhip, Capt. *Samſon* ran aſhore, but was happily got off again. The *Royal Anne* in which Sir *George Byng* bore his flag, was ſaved by the preſence of mind of the officers and men, who, in a minute's time ſet her topſails, when ſhe was within a ſhip's length of the rocks. Lord Durſley in the *St George* ran as great hazard, and was ſaved by meer accident; he ſtruck on the ſame rocks with Sir Cloudeſley, and that wave which beat out the Admiral's lights, ſet his ſhip afloat (34)

(29) Sir John and his ſeamen ſcampered over the works ſo ſuddenly, that the French were ſtruck with a panic.

(30) London Gazette, No. 4352. where there is an account of this expedition by authority.

(31) This dilatory march defeated the attempt, by giving the French time to ſtrengthen the fortifications, as alſo for the arrival of the troops under de Feſſe.

(32) They had 46 of theſe themſelves in the harbour, from 110 to 50 guns. London Gazette, No. 4357. where there is a liſt of them.

(33) London Gazette, as before.

* In the Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II.

(34) London Gazettes.

[*W*] *His*

the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſeveral young gentlemen of quality. There is no ſaying how this unhappy accident fell out, or to whoſe fault it was owing; a report, indeed, prevailed, that a great part of the crew had got drunk for joy that they were in ſight of land (*u u*). Sir Cloudeſley's body was thrown aſhore the next day upon the iſland of Scilly, when ſome fiſhermen took it up, and having ſtolen a valuable emerald ring from the finger, ſtripped and buried it. This ring being ſhewn about, made a great noiſe all over the iſland, and coming to the ears of Mr Panton, who was purſer of the Arundel, he found out the fellows, declared the ring to be Sir Cloudeſley Shovel's, and obliged them to diſcover where they had buried the body; which being done, he took it and carried it on board his own ſhip, in which it was tranſported to Portſmouth [*W*], conveyed from thence by land to London, and buried with great ſolemnity from his houſe in Soho-Square in Weſtminſter-abbey (*w w*), where a fine monument of white marble was afterwards erected by the Queen's appointment, in order to do honour to the memory of ſo great a man and ſo worthy a ſubject (*x x*). Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, at the time of his death, was Rear-Admiral of England, Admiral of the White, and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's fleet; one of the Council to Prince George of Denmark as Lord High-Admiral of England, Elder Brother of Trinity-Houſe, and one of the Governors of Greenwich-Hoſpital; in all which ſtations he diſcharged his truſt with the greateſt honour and integrity. And as in his publick character he was an accompliſhed ſea-officer, one who had the glory of his Queen and the good of his country at heart; ſo, in all relations of private life, as huſband, parent, or maſter of his family, he conducted himſelf with ſuch prudence, wiſdom, and tenderneſs [*X*], that few men lived more beloved, or died more lamented. Her Majeſty expreſſed a very particular concern for the loſs of him, and was pleaſed to tell Sir John Leake, when ſhe made him Rear-Admiral of England, that 'ſhe knew no man ſo fit to repair the loſs of the ableſt ſeaman in her ſervice (*y y*).'

Sir Cloudeſley married the widow of his friend and patron Sir John Narborough, by whom he left two daughters, coheireſſes; the eldeſt of which married Lord Romney, and the other Sir Narborough d'Aeth, Bart.

(*u u*) It is very remarkable, that he called a Council at mid day, and lay by, the weather being hazy, and yet ſailed at night. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under this year.

(*w w*) Dr Butler preached his funeral ſermon, which was afterwards printed in 4to.

(*x x*) The inſcription is drawn up in a becoming plainneſs and dignity of ſtile; but her Majeſty was very ill uſed as to the reſt, eſpecially in the figure of the Admiral, who, beſides an intolerable nonchalance in the limbs, is repreſented with a full-bottom periwig on his head, and his body in armour, an abſurdity which is handſomely animadverted on by the Spectator, No. 26.

(*y y*) Burchet, Oldmixon, and the London Gazette.

[*W*] *His body was tranſported to Portſmouth.*] So Dr Campbell; but the writer of the Secret Memoirs tells us, p. 121. that after being embalmed, it was conveyed to Plymouth in the Saliſbury, where it lay in the citadel in ſtate, 'till by Lady Shovel's orders it was carried for London; when the hearſe was attended by the Mayor and Aldermen in their formalities to the limits of the corporation, the ſoldiers of the garriſon being under arms, the cannon of the place fired minute-guns, and all other honours were done to his memory which his worth and merits could deſerve from a grateful people; and that upon it's arrival in London, it lay in ſtate at his houſe in Soho Square.

[*X*] *In all relations of private life, as huſband, parent, &c. he conducted himſelf with tenderneſs.*] The writer of the Secret Memoirs obſerves, that the friendſhip he lived in with his Lady, and the regard he always ſhewed her was almoſt without a precedent, that he uſed her ſons by Sir John Narborough with the ſame tenderneſs as if they had been his own; that as he acquired his fortune by juſt and honourable methods, ſo he behaved himſelf piouſly in the diſpoſal of it; that his mother and ſiſter ſhared his happineſs, and that the former, who long ſurvived her huſband, was alive in her own country, when theſe memoirs were written in 1708, attended with an equipage agreeable to the mother of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel. That his liberality was not confined only to his near relations, the moſt remote branches of his family were ſenſible of the happineſs of being allied to him; his friends, his domeſtics, his dependants, were very often obliged to his bounty; and merit, honour and courage always found in him both encouragement and protection; that the preſents he made were ſo conſiderable, and conferred with that greatneſs of mind, as deſerved the name of magnificences; and that proportioning his gifts to his own generoſity, he often exceeded the expectations of the ſuitors (35).

(35) Secret Memoirs, p. 4, 126, 137.

SLOANE [Sir HANS], Bart. an eminent Phyſician and Naturaliſt, and founder of the *Britiſh Muſæum*, was of Scotiſh extraction; his father, Alexander Sloane, being at the head of that colony of Scots which King James the Firſt ſettled in the north of Ireland, where our author was born, at Killileagh *, April 16, 1660 (*a*). He diſcovered a ſtrong inclination for the ſtudy of Natural Hiſtory even in his infancy (*b*); which being encouraged by a ſuitable education, he applied thoſe hours, which youth is apt to ſquander in trifling amuſements, to the ſtudy of Nature and admiration of her works. At the age of ſixteen he was ſeized with a ſpitting of blood, which interrupted the regular courſe of his ſtudies, and confined him to his chamber for three years. He had already learned enough of Phyſic to know that ſuch a malady was not to be ſuddenly cured; and his prudence directed him to abſtain from wine and other liquors that were likely to increaſe the diſorder. By this ſevere regimen, which he conſtantly obſerved, in ſome meaſure ever after, he was enabled to prolong his life beyond the ordinary bounds preſcribed for the age of Man; being himſelf an example of the truth of his favourite maxim, that ſobriety, temperance, and moderation, are the beſt preſervatives, and the moſt powerful that Nature has vouchſafed to mankind (*c*). He had hardly recovered this firſt attack, when his deſire of perfecting himſelf in the ſeveral branches of Phyſic, which he had choſen for his profeſſion, led him to London; where he might receive thoſe helps, that he could not hope to obtain in his own country. With this view, preſently after his arrival in that metropolis, he entered himſelf as a pupil to the great Stafforth, an excellent Chymiſt, bred under the illuſtrious Stahl; and by his inſtructions he gained a perfect knowledge of the compoſition and preparation of the different medicines of that kind, which he was to make uſe of in the courſe of his future practice. At the ſame time, he ſtudied Botany at the famous garden at Chelſey (*d*). He likewiſe aſſiduouſly attended the public lectures of Anatomy and Phyſic in London; and, in ſhort, neglected nothing which had

* In the county of Down, of which his father was collector of the taxes both before and after the Iriſh rebellion, and after the Reſtoration was a Commiſſioner of Array. He died in 1666, at Killileagh. Baronettage of England, Vol. IV. under the article Hans Sloane.

(*a*) Eloge de M. Sloan, in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, for 1753.

(*b*) See his Laſt Will, and preface to his Natural Hiſtory of Jamaica, Vol. I. edit. 1707, fol.

(*c*) His Eloge.

(*d*) The garden had been then lately, viz. in 1673, prepared for this uſe by the Company of Apothecaries in London. Abridgment of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, Vol. VI. at the end

had the leaſt relation to his profeſſion. But his moſt diſtinguiſhed merit was that of a Naturaliſt; and it was this part of his character that introduced him early into the acquaintance of two, the moſt eminent perſons in that way of the age, Mr Boyle and Mr Raye, and he was very careful to improve their friendſhip, by communicating to them every ſtriking object of curioſity or uſe that fell under his obſervation. His intimacy with theſe two great men continued 'till their death; and his obſervations often excited their wonder, and obtained their applauſe (e). After four years ſevere ſtudy at London, Mr Sloane reſolved to viſit foreign countries for further improvement. In that view, he ſet out for France, in company of two other ſtudents [A]. Having croſſed the water to Dieppe, they ſet out for Paris. In the way, they were elegantly entertained by the famous Mr Lemery [B], the father; and, in return, Mr Sloane obliged that eminent Chymiſt

(e) Letters between Mr Raye and his Correſpondents.

[A] *He ſet out with two others.*] One of theſe companions was Mr (afterwards Sir) Tancred Robinſon, M. D. and Phyſician in ordinary to King George I. whoſe life for ſome time run on in a parallel courſe to that of our author. While he was at Montpelier, he wrote a letter to Dr Martin Liſter, dated Auguſt 4, 1683, concerning the fabric of the remarkable bridge, called Pont de S. Eſprit, on the Rhine, which was read to the Royal Society, November 7. and afterwards printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 160, for June 1684; after his return, he was propoſed a candidate, Nov. 12, 1684, and elected a member of the Royal Society on the 19th (1). In March 1685, he communicated to the Society, ſeveral *Obſervations on ſome boiling Fountains at* Perouſa *in* Languedoc, *and others in the kingdom of* Naples, which was alſo printed in their Tranſactions (2). He was intimately acquainted with Mr. Raye, with whom he kept a correſpondence by letter (3). On the 25th of March, 1685, was one of the committee appointed to conſider about engraving a new ſet of prints of birds and fiſhes, in the books of Mr Raye, and Willoughby, which were very ill done (4). The ſame year, on St Andrew's day, when the annual election is made of their officers, Dr Tancred Robinſon, was choſen Secretary to the Royal Society, and elected into the Council (5). His continuance in the firſt poſt, happened by reaſon of ſome diſturbances among themſelves to be ſhort (6); but he held his ſeat in the council ſeveral years, and communicated ſeveral uſeful papers to them. He became one of the Fellows of the college of Phyſicians, and practiſed in his profeſſion with great applauſe in London; being at length knighted by King George I. who made him one of his Phyſicians in ordinary, as abovementioned (7).

(1) Birch's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, Vol. IV.

(2) In No. 169.

(3) See Letters between Mr Raye and his Correſpondents.

(4) Birch's Hiſt. as before.

(5) Ibid.

(6) See the article of W. Molyneaux, *remark* [H].

(7) Annals of King George I.

[B] *He gave four phoſphori to Mr Lemeri, &c.*] That the reader may form a better judgment of our author's merit, at theſe early years; it will be neceſſary to give ſome account of Mr Lemery, as follows. This celebrated Chymiſt was born Nov. 17, 1645, at Rouen in Normandy, of which parliament his father was a Proctor, and of the reformed religion. His ſon, whoſe name was Nicholas, having received a ſuitable education in the place of his birth, was put apprentice there to an Apothecary, who was a relation. But finding in a ſhort time, that his maſter knew little of Chymiſtry, he left him, in 1666, and went to improve himſelf in that art at Paris, where he applied to Mr Glazer, then Demonſtrator of Chymiſtry in the royal gardens. This however did not anſwer his purpoſe. Mr Glazer was one of thoſe profeſſors who are full of obſcure ideas, and was alſo far from being communicative: Lemery therefore ſtaid with him only two months; and then leaving him, reſolved to travel through France, in queſt of ſome better maſters. In this reſolution he went to Montpelier, where he continued three years with Mr Vernant, an Apothecary, who gave him an opportunity of performing ſeveral chymical operations, and of reading lectures alſo to ſome of his ſcholars. Theſe lectures were very uſeful to him, and he made ſuch advances in Chymiſtry, that in a little time he drew all the profeſſors of phyſic, as well as other curious perſons at Montpelier, to hear him; having always ſome new diſcoveries to inſtruct and entertain the moſt able among them. This raiſed his reputation ſo high, that he practiſed phyſic in that univerſity without a Doctor's degree. In 1672, having made the tour of France, he returned to Paris, where he commenced an acquaintance with Mr Martyn, Apothecary to Monſieur the Prince, and making uſe of the laboratory which this Apothecary had in the Hôtel de Condé, he performed ſeveral courſes of Chymiſtry, which brought him into the knowledge and eſteem of the Prince. At length he provided himſelf with a laboratory of his own; and might have been made a Doctor of phyſic, but he choſe to be an Apothecary, by reaſon of his attachment to Chymiſtry, in which he preſently opened public lectures, and had ſo great an affluence of ſcholars (8) that he had ſcarce room to perform his operations. Chymiſtry had been, 'till this time, a ſcience in which there was little truth, and that ſo buried under a multitude of falſities, as to be utterly undiſcernable. Mr Lemery was the firſt that diſſipated theſe affected obſcurities, reduced the ſcience to clear and ſimple ideas, aboliſhed the ſenſeleſs jargon of barbarous terms, and promiſed nothing which he did not actually perform. At the ſame time he found out ſome chymical ſecrets, which he ſold to good profit (9). But in 1681, his life began to be diſturbed on account of his religion, and he received orders to quit his employ. At this time the Elector of Brandenbourg by Mr Spanheim his Envoy in France, made him a propoſal to go to Berlin, with a promiſe of erecting a Profeſſorſhip in Chymiſtry for him there; but the trouble of tranſporting his family to ſuch a diſtance, added to the hopes of ſome diſtinction that would be obtained in his favour, hindered him from accepting that offer, and he was indulged to read ſome courſes after the time limited by the order was expired. But at length this not being ſuffered, he croſſed the ſea to England in 1683, where he was well received by King Charles II. who gave him great encouragement (10). Yet as the face of the public affairs there appeared not more promiſing of quiet than in France, he reſolved to return thither, tho' without being able to determine what courſe he ſhould then take. In theſe difficulties, imagining that the quality of a Doctor of phyſic might perhaps procure him ſome tranquillity; he took that degree at Caen about the end of the year; and repairing to Paris, had a great deal of buſineſs for a while, but did not find that tranquillity which he deſired; on the contrary, the ſtate of the reformed religion grew daily worſe; and at laſt the edict of Nantz being revoked in 1685, he was forbid to practiſe his profeſſion, as well as other Proteſtants. However, he read two courſes of Chymiſtry afterwards, under ſome powerful protections; one courſe being for the two younger brothers of the Marquis de Ségnelar, Secretary of State, and the other for my Lord Saliſbury. At length he ſunk under the perſecution, and entered into the Romiſh Church, in the beginning of the year 1686. This change procured him a full right to practiſe phyſic, but he was obliged to have the King's letters for holding his courſes of Chymiſtry, and for the ſale of his medicines, as he was not now an Apothecary: However, theſe letters were eaſily obtained, and what with his pupils, his patients, and the ſale of his chemical ſecrets, he made conſiderable gains. Upon the revival of the Royal Academy of Sciences, in 1699, he was made Aſſociate-Chymiſt; and at the end of the year became a Penſionary, by the death of M. Bourdelin. In 1707, he began to feel the infirmities of age, and had ſome attacks of an apoplexy, which were ſucceeded by ſome degree of an hemiplegia, but not ſo ſevere as to hinder him from going abroad, ſo that he attended the academy for a conſiderable time; but at length was obliged to diſcontinue his attendance; and being confined to his houſe, he reſigned his Penſionary's place. He was ſtruck with the laſt ſtroke of the apoplexy in 1715; which after ſeven days put a period to his life, on the 19th of June that year, at the age of ſeventy (11). We have the following books publiſhed by him (1) A Courſe of Chymiſtry. (2) An univerſal Pharmacopœia. (3) An univerſal Treatiſe of Drugs. (4) A Treatiſe of Antimony, containing the chemical analyſis of that mineral.

(8) Among auditors, were Mahault, Bernier, Auzout, Regis, Tournefort, &c. all perſons well known in the learned world. Dict. Portatif, by M. L'Advocat, ſecond edit. Paris, 1735, under Lemery's article.

(9) Among others, he diſcovered a pleaſant cometic, which work'd more ſurely than the ordinary ones in uſe, as alſo a meſenteric opiat, with which he pretended to perform ſurprizing cures. He was alſo the only perſon who knew at this time how to make the *blank d'Eſpagne*, of which he made a great deal of money. Moreri, and L'Advocat.

(10) No doubt Sir Hans Sloane ſaw him at this time, and perhaps it was then too that he ſhewed him the phoſphori mentioned above. It is certain the writer of the Eloge is far from being correct, eſpecially in dates.

(11) Niceron Memoires des Hommes Illuſt. Tom. IV. p. 218 to 220. and Hiſtoire de l'Academie des Sciences, ſur 1715.

[C] *He*

Chymiſt with a ſpecimen of the four different kinds of phoſporus; of which, upon the credit of other writers, Mr Lemery had treated in his book, but had never ſeen any of them before. At Paris, Mr Sloane lived as he had done in London; he attended the hoſpitals, heard the lectures of Meſſieurs Tournefort [C], Du Verney [D], and other eminent maſters; viſited the learned of every faculty, who received him with particular marks

[C] *He heard the lectures of Mr Tournefort.*] With this celebrated French Botaniſt, Sir Hans had ſome connections, which are greatly to his honour, as will be ſeen by the following narrative. Joſeph Pitton de Tournefort, was deſcended of a noble family (12), born at Aix, in Provence, on the 5th of June, 1656. Like Sir Hans, he diſcovered in his infancy an extraordinary paſſion for the knowledge of plants, and often truanted from the Jeſuits college at Aix, where he was put to learn Latin, in order to go a ſimpling in the fields; ſo that he ſoon knew all the plants about that place. However, his parents deſigning him for the Church, put him to ſtudy divinity, and placed him in a ſeminary. But the deſtination of nature prevailed (13), and by the death of his father, which happened in 1677, becoming his own maſter, he quitted Divinity, and applied himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of Botany, Natural Hiſtory, and Medicine. In this diſpoſition, he run over the mountains of Dauphiné and Savoy, in ſearch of the moſt curious plants; with theſe it was that he laid the foundation of his Herbal in 1678, and the following year he went to Montpelier for further improvement in Botany and Phyſic. Beſides the excellent phyſic garden there, he went all about the country as far as the diſtance of ten leagues, often bringing back ſuch plants as were unknown at Montpelier. From which univerſity, he paſſed, in April 1681, to Barcelona, and ran over the mountains of Catalonia, and the Pyrenees; whither he was followed by the Phyſicians of the country, as well as young ſtudents, to whom he read lectures upon plants. This was a dangerous tour; he was often robbed by the Spaniſh miquelets, and had ſome very lucky eſcapes (14); to which purpoſe he uſed to hide his ryals in his bread, which being very black and hard, was left untouched, through contempt, by the rogues, who ſearched him very narrowly. In theſe wanderings he had once alſo a very narrow eſcape of loſing his life. In a village of Perpignan, the houſe where he lay fell ſo ſuddenly, that he was buried in the ruins, and lay there two hours before he could be got out, and then much hurt. He returned to Montpelier before the end of the year; and making a viſit to his own houſe at Aix, he placed in his Herbal all the plants he had collected in Provence, Languedoc, Dauphiné, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. In 1683, Madame de Venelle, ſubgovernante to the children of France, engaged him to go to Paris, where ſhe introduced him to Mr Fagon, firſt phyſician to the Queen, who procured the place of Profeſſor of Botany in the royal garden of plants, for him. This employ did not hinder him from making new excurſions: He went again to Spain, and paſſed thence to Portugal (15); he alſo went to Holland, and even to England, where he acquired the eſteem and friendſhip of the greateſt Botaniſts at that time. During the courſe of theſe travels, Mr Herman, the celebrated profeſſor of Botany at Leiden, being very aged, offered to reſign that chair to him, with a promiſe of obtaining from the States of Holland a penſion for him of 4000 livres; but Mr Tournefort declined it, and returned to France, where he was enrolled a member of the Academy of Sciences in 1691, by Mr Bignon the inſpector of that Academy, who knew him only by fame (16). In 1694, he publiſhed his *Elemens de Botanique, &c.* which was printed at the Louvre, in 3 vol. 8vo (17). This piece, containing a new ſyſtem of Botany, was attacked by Mr Ray (18), to whom Mr Tournefort replied in a Latin diſſertation in 1697. The controverſy was carried on with great politeneſs on each ſide; and the French Botaniſt in a piece ſubſequent to the diſpute, made Mr Ray ſome high compliments, even upon his ſyſtem of plants. In 1697, Mr Tournefort was admitted Doctor of Phyſic of the faculty at Paris, and the following year he publiſhed his *Hiſtoire des plantes qui croiſſent aux environs de Paris, avec leur uſage dans la medicine* (19). In 1700, by the expreſs command of Lewis XIV. he went into Greece and Aſia, where he obſerved a great number of plants; he deſigned to have paſſed into Africa, but the plague being then in Egypt, he returned from Smyrna to France, in 1702. In this voyage he was accompanied by Mr Aubriet, an able Painter, and Mr Gundelſcheime, an excellent German Phyſician (20), who had been ſent by him from Paris, to Sir Hans Sloane, to view what he had brought from the Weſt Indies; and Sir Hans ſent him back with an account of the whole, together with a preſent, containing among other things, ſixty very extraordinary ferns, of which he had duplicates (21). This was the occaſion of Father Plumier's being ſent to the Weſt-Indies, as appears by the following paſſage in Labat. 'An 'Engliſh phyſician having publiſhed a book of the plants 'in America, in which were plates of more than ſixty 'ſpecies of ferns, it was thought for the honour of 'this nation, [France] to ſend ſomebody who ſhould 'make further diſcoveries; accordingly Father Plu'mier was pitched upon for this deſign (22).' The diſcoveries which Mr Tournefort had made in his travels in the Eaſt, furniſhed materials for his *Corollarium Inſtitutionum rei herbariæ*, which was publiſhed in 1703. After his return to Paris, he reſumed the practice of phyſic, and followed it as much as his other employments would permit; but his buſineſs at the royal garden, together with that of the royal college, where he held the phyſic Profeſſor's chair, added to the neceſſary attendance in the royal academy, took up a great deal of his time. He reſolved alſo to write an account of his laſt grand voyage. So many employments were too much for his health, of which he was not ſufficiently careful. And whilſt he was in this bad way, he received a violent blow upon his breaſt, which he thought would prove fatal to him, as it actually did; and after languiſhing for ſome months, he died on the 28th of December 1708. Beſides his collection of plants, he had got together a prodigious number of other curioſities of art, as well as nature, as figured ſtones, rare marcaſites, extraordinary petrifications and cryſtallizations, metals, habiliments, arms, and inſtruments of war of foreign nations; ſo that the whole made a ſuperb cabinet, which he bequeathed to the King, for the uſe of the learned. His books he left to the Abbé Bignon: The two volumes of his travels were printed at the Louvre in 4to, the firſt before his death, and the ſecond after it, from the manuſcript which was found entirely finiſhed. We have alſo of his writing an anſwer to two letters written upon the ſubject of Botany, by Mr Philip Collet (23), beſides three memoirs inſerted in the Hiſtory of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris (24).

[D] *Du Verney.*] This famous Anatomiſt, whoſe name was Guichard Joſeph du Verney, was born Aug. 15, 1648, at Feurs en Forés, where his father being a Doctor of Phyſic, followed the buſineſs. Having gone thro' the uſual claſſes of grammar learning and philoſophy, he ſtudied phyſic five years at Avignon, where he ſoon became noted for his ſkill in anatomy, and read lectures in it with great accuracy and perſpicuity. In 1676, he entered into the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris; and applying himſelf to ſtudy the natural hiſtory of animals, he had a good ſhare in the hiſtory publiſhed by Mr Du Hamel in Latin. He was choſen to inſtruct in Anatomy that Dauphin, who was grandfather to the preſent Monarch, Lewis XV. And in 1679, was appointed anatomy profeſſor to the royal garden; when he travelled into Low Brittany, to make diſſections of fiſhes, and the following year he was ſent to the coaſt of Bayonne on the ſame buſineſs. On his return to Paris, he had a prodigious concourſe of pupils to attend his lectures *. When he began to decline thro' age, he petitioned to be a Veteran, and his place was filled by Mr Petit, M. D. He died Sept. 10, 1730, aged 82 years. He never publiſhed any more than one piece, intituled, *Traité de l' organe de l' Ouïe*; A Treatiſe of the Organ of Hearing; which was enough for his fame: and immediately after it's firſt appearance in French, was tranſlated into Latin, and printed at Nuremberg. He held a correſpondence with ſeveral eminent foreign anatomiſts, by whom he was much eſteemed. By his laſt will, he bequeathed all his anatomical preparations to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris (25).

[E] *He*

(12) His father was Ecuyer Seigneur de Tournefort, & d'Aimare de Fagoue.

(13) He was encouraged in it by the example of his paternal uncle, who was an able Phyſician in great eſteem.

(14) For inſtance, theſe robbers once being moved with his tears, reſtored his coat, where there was ſome money tied up in a handkerchief; which having ſlipt within the lining, was ſaved, as one may ſay, out of the fire.

(15) In Andaluſia, which is a country that abounds with palm trees, he tried to verify the common ſtory, concerning the love between the male and female tree, but could find no certainty in it.

(16) Mr Homberg was entered a member at the ſame time; that celebrated Chymiſt was then Firſt Phyſician to Philip grandſon of France, and Duke of Orleans.

(17) Elements of Botany, &c. He publiſhed a Latin tranſlation of it, intituled, *Inſtitutiones Rei Herbariæ*, in 1700, in 3 vols, 4to.

(18) See his article.

(19) I. e. The Hiſtory of the Plants which grow in the Neighbourhood of Paris, together with their medicinal uſe. It was tranſlated by Dr Martyn, and publiſhed in 1732, 2 vols, 8vo.

(20) He was afterwards Phyſician to the King of Pruſſia.

(21) Sloane's Natural Hiſtory of Jamaica, &c. Vol. II. in the introduction, p. 16, 17.

(22) Tom. IV. p. 24. in his Journal for the year 1697. Sloane's Hiſtory of Jamaica, Vol. II. in the introduction, p. 16, 17.

(23) It is inſerted in the Journal des Sçavans, for 27 of May, 1697, under the name of M. Chomel.

(24) Niceron, Tom. IV. p. 354 to 371. and Tom. X. p. 154, 155. and Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Sciences, for the year 1708.

* One year, beſides natives, there was reckoned 140 foreigners.

(25) Hiſt. de l'Academie Royale, de l'an. 1730.

marks of eſteem; and employed himſelf wholly in improving his ſtudies. From Paris he went to Montpelier, and having letters of recommendation from Mr Tournefort to Mr Chirac (*f*), then Chancellor and Profeſſor of that Univerſity; he found an eaſy acceſs, through his means, to all the learned men of the province; particularly to Mr Magnol, whom he always accompanied in his Botanical excurſions about the neighbourhood of that famous city, where he beheld, with pleaſure and admiration, the ſpontaneous productions of nature in that happy climate; and he learned, under the inſtructions of Mr Magnol (*g*), to claſs them in their proper order. Here, having found an ample field for contemplation entirely ſuited to his taſte, he took leave of his two companions, whom a curioſity of a different kind led into Italy, and ſpent a whole year in collecting plants (*b*). At the end of which, he travelled through Languedoc, with the ſame view, and paſſing through Tholouſe and Bourdeaux, returned to Paris, where he made a ſhort ſtay, and ſet out for England, in the latter end of the year 1684, with an intent to ſettle and follow his profeſſion. Upon his arrival at London, he made it his firſt buſineſs to viſit his two illuſtrious friends, Mr Raye and Mr Boyle, in order to communicate to them the diſcoveries he had made in his travels. Mr Boyle he found at home, but Mr Raye was retired into Eſſex; to which retirement, however, he tranſmitted a great variety of plants and ſeeds, which Mr Raye has deſcribed, in his *Hiſtoria Plantarum*, with proper acknowledgments. He continued his correſpondence with Mr Raye, as has been already ſaid, 'till that gentleman's death [*E*], which happened in 1705-6. About this time our author became acquainted with the celebrated Dr Sydenham, who ſoon contracted ſo warm affection for him, that he took him into his houſe, and recommended him in the moſt earneſt manner to his patients (*i*). He had not been long in London, before he was propoſed, by Dr Martin Liſter, for a candidate, to be admitted a member of the Royal Society, on the twenty-ſixth of November 1684; and being approved was accordingly elected, January the twenty-firſt following After which, we find him communicating ſeveral curioſities to the Society in 1685 (*k*) And in July, the ſame year, he was a candidate for the place of their Aſſiſtant-Secretary, but was obliged to give way to the ſuperior intereſt of his competitor, Dr Halley (*l*). On the twelfth of April, 1687, the Doctor was choſen a Fellow of the College of Phyſicians in London [*F*]. And the ſame year his friend and fellow-traveller, Dr Tancred Robinſon, having mentioned to the Royal Society the plant called *Star of the Earth*, as a remedy newly diſcovered for the bite of a mad dog; Dr Sloane acquainted them, that this virtue of the plant was to be found in a book called *De Grey's Farriery*; and that he knew a man who had cured twenty couple of dogs therewith. This was obſerved by him the thirteenth of July, this year, 1687 (*m*); and on the twelfth of September he embarked at Portſmouth (*n*) for Jamaica, with Chriſtopher, Duke of Albemarle, who had been lately appointed Governor of that iſland (*o*). The Doctor attended his Grace in quality of his Phyſician (*p*), and they arrived at Jamaica on the nineteenth of December following (*q*). Here a new field was opened for freſh diſcoveries in natural productions, the proſpect of which probably might be one motive for his undertaking the voyage. The medical world, however, had been deprived of the fruits of it, had not our author, by incredible application, converted, as we may ſay, his minutes into hours (*r*). The Duke of Albemarle died

(*f*) At a meeting of the Royal Society, May 6, 1685, our author, then a member of that Society, obſerved to them, that all the *cerebrum*, and not the *cerebellum* of a dog, had been cut out at Montpelier by Mr Chirac, and the cranium filled with earth, and the dog had lived 24 hours; but another dog, by cutting out the *cerebellum*, preſently died. Birch's Hiſtory of the Royal Society, Vol. IV.

(*g*) Dr Sloane, at another meeting, Feb. 9, 1686-7, preſented them from the author, Dr Magnol's *Botanicum Monſpelienſe*, lately publiſhed *Ibid.*

(*b*) He ſeems to have been created M. D. at Montpelier.

(*i*) His Eloge, as before.

(*k*) Birch's Hiſtory of the Royal Society, Vol. IV.

(*l*) See an account of this election in the article of W. Molyneaux, Eſq; remark [*H*]. Dr Sloane had nine voices, and Dr Halley 25. Birch.

(*m*) Birch, ubi ſupra.

(*n*) On board the Aſſiſtance frigate of 44 guns; but going thence to Plymouth, weighed anchor there October 5. Sloane's Voyage to Jamaica, prefixed to the firſt volume of his Natural Hiſtory, &c. p. 1.

(*o*) See his article, in this Work.

(*p*) In their paſſage they called at Madeira, where the doctor was conſulted, and, among others, preſcribed for one of the nuns in the abbey of Santa Clara, who had a ſmall tum ur upon the os pubis. Voyage to Jamaica, as before, p. 13. He alſo collected ſome curious plants here. See his Catalogue of Plants, &c.

(*q*) Sloane's Voyage, &c. as before.

(*r*) Eloge de M. Sloane.

[*E*] *He kept a correſpondence with Mr Raye, 'till the death of that gentleman.*] Several of theſe letters are printed in the collection already referred to (26), and there are others among our author's MSS. repoſited in the Britiſh Muſæum. The laſt from Mr Ray, which was written ten days before his death, cloſed the correſpondence in the following terms.

(26) Viz. in note (*c*) above.

' Dear Sir,

' The beſt of friends: Theſe are to take a final leave ' of you in this world. I look upon myſelf as a dying ' man. God requite your kindneſs expreſſed any ways ' towards me, an hundred fold: bleſs you with a confluence of all good things in this world, and eternal life ' and happineſs hereafter: Grant us an happy meeting ' in heaven.

I am, Sir,

eternally your's,

JOHN RAY.

† Mr Raye died Jan. 17. 1704.

Black-Notley, Jan. 7, 1704 †.

' Poſtſcript. When you happen to write to my ſingular friend Dr Hatton, I pray tell him, I received his ' moſt obliging and affectionate letter, for which I return thanks, and acquaint him, that I was not able ' to anſwer it, or.——Here his ſtrength failed him, and he was obliged to break off abruptly.

[*F*] *He was choſen fellow of the College of Phyſicians.*] This election happened upon a very extraordinary occaſion, the hiſtory of which is as follows.

At a meeting of the Society 19° Octobris 1685°.

The Preſident, Sir Thomas Witherley, Knt. and one of the King's Phyſicians, having acquainted them, that of his knowledge a *Quo Warranto* was to come forth againſt their charter in the beginning of the next term. It was put to the vote, and carried *nem con.* that the college ſhould themſelves deliver up their charter, &c. into his Majeſty's hands; which ſurrendry was ſubſcribed by all the fellows preſent, and afterwards by others that were then abſent; and an inſtrument was produced and ſealed with the college ſeal, by the Preſident, in the view of all preſent.

29° March 1686°.

The Preſident acquainted the college, that it was the pleaſure of their ſuperiors, that the number of the fellows of the college, ſhould inſtead of forty, be henceforth ſixty, nay eighty.

12° Aprilis 1687°.

The *Diploma* of King James II. was brought to the college, and ſolemnly accepted by the Preſident and Fellows, and thirty new Fellows were that day admitted; among whom were Dr (afterwards Sir) Hans Sloane, and Dr John Radcliffe (27).

(27) From the college regiſter. N. B. The reader is deſired hence to ſupply an omiſſion in Dr Radcliffe's article, where no mention is made of his being a Fellow of this college.

Sir Hans afterwards took an opportunity of teſtifying his good opinion of Dr Radcliffe's merit. In order to expreſs more emphatically his contempt of ſuch perſons as ſpend the beſt part of their time in niceties of language, and verbal criticiſms, he obſerves, that one of this turn, would once needs perſuade him that Dr Radcliffe could not cure a diſeaſe, becauſe he had ſeen a recipe of his, where the word *Pilula* was ſpelt with *ll* ‖.

‖ Introduction to the ſecond vol. of the Natural Hiſtory of Jamaica, p. xiv.

[*G*] *Mr*

died almoſt as ſoon as he landed, and the Ducheſs his conſort determined to return to England, as ſoon as anſwers could be received to the letters ſhe had ſent to Court on that melancholy occaſion. Dr Sloane could not entertain a thought of leaving her Grace in her diſtreſs, but whilſt the reſt of her retinue ſpent the time in preparing for their departure, he improved it in making his collections of natural curioſities; inſomuch that, though his whole ſtay at Jamaica was ſcarce fifteen months (*s*), yet he brought together ſuch a prodigious number of plants, that, at his return to England, Mr Raye was aſtoniſhed, that one man could procure in one iſland, in ſo ſhort a ſpace, ſo vaſt a variety (*t*) [G]. On his arrival at London, he applied himſelf to the practice of his profeſſion, and ſoon became ſo eminent, that he was choſen Phyſician to Chriſt's Hoſpital, on the 17th of October, 1694 (*u*), on the firſt vacancy, which he held 'till the year 1730; when, by his great age and infirmities, he found it neceſſary to reſign. What is ſingular, and deſerves the higheſt commendation, is, that though he received the appointments of his office punctually, becauſe he would not ſet a precedent that ſhould hinder thoſe who might ſucceed him, yet he conſtantly applied the money to the relief of thoſe who were the greateſt objects of compaſſion in that hoſpital, that it might never be ſaid he enriched himſelf, by the gains he made of giving health to the poor (*w*). He had been elected Secretary to the Royal Society, on the 30th of November 1693 (*x*), and entered upon the buſineſs of that office, by reviving the publication of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, which had been omitted for ſome time. He continued to be editor of them 'till the year 1712 (*y*), and the volumes which were publiſhed in this period are monuments of his induſtry and ingenuity, many of the pieces contained therein being written by himſelf. In the interim, he publiſhed *Catalogus Plantarum, quæ in Inſula Jamaica ſponte proveniunt*, &c. ceu, *Prodromi Hiſtoriæ Naturalis pars prima* [H]; which he dedicated to the Royal Society

(*s*) He embarked for England in Port Royal harbour, on board the Aſſiſtance frigate, March 16, 1688-9.

(*t*) See remark [H].

(*u*) From the regiſter of that hoſpital.

(*w*) His Eloge.

(*x*) Communicated by Dr Birch, the preſent Secretary to that Society.

(*y*) He reſigned the Secretary's place on St Andrew'sday, 1712, and was ſucceeded by Dr Halley. Ibid. N. B. The feſtival of St Andrew, November 30, is appointed by the Society for the annual election of their officers.

[G] *Mr Ray was aſtoniſhed at the vaſt variety*] 'When I firſt ſaw, ſays that gentleman, the author's ſtock of dried plants collected in Jamaica, and ſome of the Caribbee Iſlands, I was much ſurpriſed, and even aſtoniſhed at the number of the capillary kind, not thinking there had been ſo many to be found in both the Indies.' Not Mr Ray only, but all the world here, was affected with the ſame aſtoniſhment; and ſurely every heart muſt burn with diſdain at the injuries which this aſtoniſhment carried ſome ſelfiſh admirers to commit. 'When I returned, ſays Sir Hans, from Jamaica, I brought with me a collection of dried ſamples of ſome very ſtrange plants, which excited the curioſity of people, who loved things of that nature, to ſee them, and who were welcome; 'till I obſerved ſome ſo very curious as to deſire to carry part of them privately home with them, and injure what they left*. This made me upon my guard with them (28).'

* Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 221. for June, July, and Auguſt, 1696.

(28) Natural Hiſt. of Jamaica, Vol. II. in the introduction, p. 16, 17.

[H] *Catalogus Plantarum*, &c.] To underſtand the full extent of this catalogue, it will be neceſſary to give the title at length, as follows: *Catalogus Plantarum quæ in Inſula Jamaica, ſponte proveniunt, vel vulgo coluntur, cum earundem ſynonimis et locis natalibus: Adjectis aliis quibuſdam quæ in Inſulis Maderæ, Barbadoes, Nevis, & Sancti Chriſtophori naſcuntur; ceu Prodromi Hiſtoriæ naturalis Jamaicæ pars prima.* We ſhall be able to form ſome judgment of the true merit of this piece, from the following account, with remarks upon it, communicated to the Royal Society, by Mr. Ray.

The author of this catalogue, ſays that gentleman, doth not preſent the reader with titles of plants collected out of other men's writings, or of which he had only ſeen dried ſpecimens, but of ſuch as himſelf ſaw growing in their native places: Among which, there are a great multitude of new and non-deſcript ſpecies, in one genus alone, *viz.* thoſe called capillaries no leſs than ſixty; beſides thoſe lately publiſhed by Fa. Plumier, in his firſt volume of the deſcription of American plants, which our author had obſerved and deſcribed long before that book came out ‡: and theſe not ſmall and contemptible ones, ſuch as are hardly diſtinguiſhable from plants of that kind already deſcribed, but of eminent ſtature and beauty; and ſome of them of ſo ſtrange and exotic a form, that if delineated, they could not but invite and greatly entertain the ſpectator's eye. For firſt, he would be entirely delighted to ſee an arboreſcent fern of a ſingle woody ſtem, ſtreight and undivided, bearing leaves only at the top, like a palm tree. Secondly, capillaries of all kinds, creeping on trees, or rocks on the ground, with wires, after the manner of Strawberries; or thirdly, capillaries, the top of whoſe leaves turning downwards, and touching the earth, take root, and put forth a new plant, ſo propagating their kind: or, fourthly, capillaries putting forth from the middle ſtem of their leaves, two ſhoots, each bearing a ſpike of flowers and ſeeds.

‡ This Friar, who long made Botany his chief ſtudy, was ſent by order of the French King, who gave him a penſion, three voyages to the Antilles, and ſet out on a fourth, to examine the tree which bears the quinquina, or Jeſuits bark, but died in his paſſage at Port St Mary near Cadiz, in 1706. Beſides the piece here mentioned, he publiſhed another of the American ferns in 1705, in Latin and French, as alſo a third, intituled, *L'Art de Tourner*. After his death were found among his papers materials ſufficient for ſix volumes, which were to be printed with his life prefixed. Moreri.

Secondly, the author in this catalogue, hath done great ſervice at leaſt to the inferior rank of Herbariſts, in reducing and cutting ſhort the number of ſpecies, which were unneceſſarily multiplied. For obſerving that thoſe who have publiſhed accounts or deſcriptions of America, for want of ſufficient ſkill in Botanics, and not being verſed in deſcribing plants, have given us ſuch lame, imperfect, and obſcure deſcriptions of ſuch as they took notice of, and of the ſame tree or herb, many times under different names, that the compilers of general hiſtories of plants, meeting with theſe deſcriptions, and having no other knowledge of ſuch plants, than what they derived from them, have repeated one and the ſame ſpecies (found in far diſtant countries, by various obſervers, and differently deſcribed) once, twice, and thrice (nay ſome great authors ſometimes even nine times) over, for different kinds. Now the number of plants being in nature ſo vaſt, 'tis pity to add to it more than there are in nature, making two or three of one, thereby both deterring and confounding the learner. To clear up theſe difficulties, and to reduce all to their proper kinds, no man can be well qualified, but he that hath a comprehenſive knowledge of ſuch plants as grow wild, or are commonly cultivated in gardens, here in Europe, and hath ſeen the non-deſcript Americans, or ſuch as are here alſo known, growing in their natural places; and hath read, conſidered, and compared, what hath been written of them, either by ſuch who have lived ſome time in thoſe countries, and and publiſhed deſcriptions or natural hiſtories of them, or by ſuch as have made voyages thither, and given relations and accounts of their travels, and what they obſerved during their ſhort ſtay there: All which qualifications concur in our author.

Thirdly, this work is of great uſe to thoſe that are delighted in reading the relations and accounts of navigators and travellers to and in theſe parts, to inform them concerning the names of American and Indian plants; they will therein meet with, to what plants they belong, and where they may find exact deſcriptions, or characteriſtic notes of them; the author having with infinite pains and patience, read moſt part of the books of voyages and travels extant, referred to plants he met with therein, named or referred to their proper *genera*, or places under which they are ranked, and by which they are denominated and characterized by the moſt ſkilful and learned harbariſts of the preſent, or immediately precedent age.

Fourthly; the author in this work hath cleared up and reſolved many doubts and difficulties, and informed us of what plants are ſignified by many names, frequent in the mouths and writings of our own countrymen; of which before we were either ignorant, or in ſome doubt *.

* Of this he gives inſtances in the dumb cane, logwood, the dildoe-tree, the toddy tree, the prickly pear, the four-ſop, bonaviſts, and many others.

Beſides we are aſſured by this work, that there are ſome plants common to England and Jamaica; but the greateſt

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Society and College of Phyſicians. About the ſame time, he laid the plan of a Diſpenſatory, where the poor might be furniſhed, at prime coſt, with ſuch medicines as their ſeveral maladies ſhould require; which he afterwards, with the aſſiſtance of the Preſident and other members of the College of Phyſicians, carried into execution (z). Our author's thirſt for natural knowledge ſeems to have been born with him, ſo that his cabinet of rarities may be ſaid to have commenced with his being. He was continually enriching and enlarging it, and the fame, which in a courſe of years it had acquired, brought every thing that was curious in art or nature to be firſt offered to him for purchaſe. But theſe acquiſitions increaſed it but ſlowly, in compariſon of the augmentation it received in 1701, by the death of William Courten, Eſq; a gentleman who had employed all his time, and the greateſt part of his fortune, in collecting rarities, and who bequeathed his whole collection to Dr Sloane, on condition that he ſhould pay certain legacies and debts with which he had charged it (aa). Our author accepted the condition, and performed the Will of the donor punctually; on which account there are ſome who do not ſcruple to ſay, he purchaſed Mr Courten's curioſities at a dear rate (bb). In 1707, the firſt volume of his *Natural Hiſtory of Jamaica* appeared in folio, though the publication of the ſecond volume was delayed 'till 1725 (cc). By this very uſeful as well as magnificent work, the Materia Medica was enriched with a great number of excellent drugs, not known before [I]. In 1708, the Doctor was elected a foreign member of the Royal Academy at Paris, in the room of Mr Tſchirnaus [K], an honour of ſo much the more eſtimation, as we were then at war with France, and the Queen's expreſs conſent was neceſſary to his acceptance of it. In proportion as his credit roſe among the learned, his practice increaſed with perſons of condition: Queen Anne frequently conſulted him, and in her laſt illneſs was blooded by him (dd). On the advancement of King George I. to the throne, that Prince, on the third of April 1716 (ee), created the doctor a Baronet, an hereditary title of honour, to which no Engliſh Phyſician had ever arrived before *; and at the ſame time made him Phyſician-general to the army, which he enjoyed 'till 1727, when he was appointed King's Phyſician in Ordinary to his preſent Majeſty King George the Second, and preſcribed for the Royal Family 'till his death. He was particularly favoured by Queen Caroline, who placed the greateſt confidence in his preſcriptions (ff). In the interim, he had been choſen unanimouſly one of the Elects of the College of Phyſicians, June 1, 1716 (gg), and he was elected Preſident of the ſame college, September 30, 1719 (hh); in which ſtation he continued ſixteen years (ii). In which time, he not only gave the higheſt proofs of his zeal and affiduity, in the diſcharge of his duty, but alſo, in 1721, made a preſent to that ſociety of a hundred

(z) His Eloge. See alſo Dr Garth's article, remark [A].

(aa) Sir Hans's Laſt Will.

(bb) His Eloge.

(cc) In the preface he gives ſeveral excuſes for this delay, one of which is, the trouble and time ſpent in ranging and cataloguing the dried ſpecimens of plants collected by Mr Pettiver, which he ſays was the largeſt of any at that time, but greatly damaged for want of due care in preſerving them.

(dd) His Eloge.

(ee) Baronnettage of England, as before.

* His Eloge.

(ff) Ibid.

(gg) He was choſen in the room of Dr Dawes, who reſigned. From the college regiſter.

(hh) In the room of Dr John Bateman, who reſigned. Ibid.

(ii) He reſigned on the 30th of September, 1735, and was ſucceeded by Dr Thomas Pellet. Ibid.

greateſt part of theſe common plants, are ſuch as grow in the water, or watery places; there being it ſeems a greater agreement between the temperature of the water than of the air, in theſe remotely diſtant countries †.

† Philoſ. Tranſ. No. 221. for the months of June, July, and Auguſt, 1696.

[I] *The college was enriched, &c.*] Dr Freind ſpeaking of the particulars of which the hiſtory of phyſic carried down to the laſt century ſhould conſiſt, having directed the hiſtorian, who ſhall undertake that work, to obſerve ſome modern improvements in medicine and ſurgery, proceeds thus: 'On the former head, he ſhould deſcribe the famous compoſition of *Fracaſtorius's Diaſcordium*, and give a detail of the American drugs, which began to be improved among us in this period, and which have ſo much enriched the *materia medica*. Monardes, Piſo, and Margrave, will furniſh him with great ſupplies in this kind; but the moſt accurate deſcription of the ſimples themſelves, as well as of the things relating to their virtues in curing diſtempers, we ſhall find in that moſt elaborate work, lately publiſhed, for the honour of our country, by Sir Hans Sloane (29).

(29) Freind's Hiſtory of Phyſick, Vol. II. p. 388, 389. 5th edit. 1758.

[K] *In the Academy of Paris, he ſucceeded Mr Tſchirnaus.*] This extraordinary perſon being frequently mentioned in the diſpute about the mention of the method of fluxions (30), we ſhall, for the ſake of ſuch as are curious in thoſe matters, give a ſuccinct account of him. Enfroi Walter de Tſchirnaus, for this was his name, was deſcended of a noble and ancient family, and was Lord of Kiſlingſwald and Stolzenberg, in Luſace, where he was born on the 10th of April, 1651. His education was ſuitable to his birth; and after being inſtructed at home, having held a correſpondence with Mr Oldenburg, Secretary to the Royal Society, and the beſt maſters in all the branches of literature, proper for a youth, he was ſent by his father, at the age of ſeventeen, to finiſh his ſtudies at Leyden, in Holland, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his genius for the mathematics, and natural hiſtory; but upon the breaking out of the Dutch war in 1672, he entered a voluntier in that army, and ſerved in that quality for the ſpace of eighteen months; when he was recalled home. Not long afterwards, a reſolution being taken to compleat his education by travelling abroad; in that deſign he made the tour of England, Holland, France, Italy, and went as far as Malta; and was at Paris the third time, in 1682, when he opened the diſcovery of thoſe cauſtics which go by his name, to the Royal Academy of Sciences; whereupon he was admitted a member of that ſociety. He then made another viſit to Holland, and finiſhing his treatiſe *de medicina mentis & corporis* (31), he left the manuſcript with ſome friends there, and it was printed at Amſterdam in 1687, 4to. After his return to Saxony, he turned his thoughts upon improving optics: to that end, he obtained a grant of the Elector of Saxony King of Poland, to ſet up three glaſs works; which produced ſome extraordinary curioſities in dioptrics and natural philoſophy, an account of which were inſerted in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, for 1699, and 1700. Among others, he made a large burning-glaſs, which was purchaſed by the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, during the minority of Lewis XV (32). He alſo preſented another to the Emperor Leopold, who thereupon offered to create him a free Baron, which honour he declined, and only accepted a preſent of his Imperial Majeſty's picture, together with a chain of gold. In 1701, he went the fourth time to Paris, where he gave his attendance at the Academy, and read to them ſeveral new methods for improving the ſublime geometry, or the geometry of curves, different from that of Mr Leibnitz's infinitefimals. He even produced an example of his new method in the evolution curves, but he never gave any demonſtration of it, and it was univerſally rejected, as having no ſolid foundation. However, before his departure from Paris, he hinted to Mr Homberg his ſecret of making Porcellain ware, which has been ſince brought to ſo great perfection in his own country, and is at this day well known, and in the higheſt eſteem, by the name of Dreſden China. Upon his return home he became very uneaſy in his domeſtic affairs, and continued ſo 'till his death, which happened on the 11th of October, 1708, occaſioned by the gravel and ſtone. His laſt words were *triumph, victory*, apparently declaring death to be the great conqueror of all human evils (33).

(30) See Commercium Epiſtolicum D. Johannis Collins, &c. Lond. 1722, 8vo.

(31) The chief object of this piece is the criterion of truth, which he makes to conſiſt in clear ideas.

(32) There is a deſcription of this glaſs in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, for 1709, p. 143. Dutch edition.

(33) Ibid. and Memoirs de Trevoux, for 1712.

[L] *He*

a hundred pounds *, and remitted a very conſiderable debt, which the corporation owed him, ſo far at leaſt as to accept by little, and in ſuch ſmall ſums, as was leaſt inconvenient to the circumſtances of their affairs (*kk*). Sir Hans was no leſs liberal to other learned bodies; he had no ſooner purchaſed the manor of Chelſey, than he gave the Company of Apothecaries the entire freehold of their botanical garden there, in 1721 †, upon condition only that they ſhould preſent yearly to the Royal Society fifty new plants, 'till the number ſhould amount to two thouſand [*L*]. He gave beſides ſeveral other conſiderable donations for the improvement of this garden, the ſituation of which, on the banks of the Thames, and in the neighbourhood of the capital, was ſuch as to render it uſeful in a twofold degree; firſt, by producing the moſt rare medicinal plants, and ſecondly, by ſerving as an excellent ſchool for young Botaniſts, an advantage which he himſelf had drawn from it in the early part of his life. The death of Sir Iſaac Newton, in 1727, made way for the advancement of Sir Hans to the Preſidency of the Royal Society (*ll*). He had been Vice-Preſident, and frequently ſat in the chair for that great man; and, by his long connection with this learned body, he had contracted ſo great an affection for it, that he made a preſent to the Society of a hundred guineas, cauſed a curious buſt of King Charles the Second, it's founder, to be ſet up in the great hall where it met, and, it is ſaid, was very inſtrumental in procuring Sir Godfrey Copley's benefaction of a medal of five guineas value, which is continued to this day, to be annually given, as an honorary mark of diſtinction to him, who ſhall communicate the beſt experiments to the Society (*mm*); and being now placed at the head of it, he laid aſide the thoughts of all further promotion, and applied himſelf wholly to the faithful diſcharge of the reſpective duties of the places he enjoyed; to anſwer, like an able Phyſician, the high opinion which the publick had conceived of him; to improve his mind with uſeful knowledge, and his cabinet with new curioſities, which he now found much eaſier to do than formerly, ſince he had taught ſeafaring people to regard, as an object of commerce, thoſe marine productions, which before they deſpiſed as uſeleſs and not worth notice. Add to this, the univerſal correſpondence which he held with the learned in every part of the known world, who were fond of tranſmitting to him whatever they thought rare or curious, as they were ſure that ſuch kind of preſents would always find from him a favourable acceptance (*nn*). In theſe laudable occupations, Sir Hans employed his time from 1727 to 1740; when, at the age of fourſcore, he formed a reſolution of quitting the ſervice of the publick, and living for himſelf. With that view, he reſigned the Preſidency of the Royal Society, much againſt the inclination of that reſpectable body, who choſe Martin Folkes, Eſq; to ſucceed him, and in a publick aſſembly thanked him for the great and eminent ſervice he had done them, and begged his permiſſion, that his name might remain enrolled among the members of their Council as long as he ſhould live (*oo*). In the month of January, 1741, he began to remove his library, and his cabinet of rarities, from his houſe in Bloomſbury, London, to that at Chelſey; and on the 12th of May following, having ſettled all his affairs, he retired thither himſelf, to enjoy in a peaceful tranquillity the remains of a well-ſpent life. He did not, however, paſs into that kind of ſolitude, which excludes men from ſociety: he received at Chelſey, as he had done at London, the viſits of people of diſtinction; of all learned foreigners; of the Royal Family, who ſometimes did him that honour; and, what was ſtill more to his praiſe, he never refuſed admittance or advice to rich or poor, who came to conſult him concerning their health (*pp*). Moreover, not content with this contracted manner of doing good, he now, during this retreat, preſented to the publick ſuch uſeful remedies, as the ſucceſs had warranted during the courſe of a long continued practice. Among theſe is an efficacious receipt for diſtempers in the eyes [*M*], and his remedy for the bite of a mad dog (*qq*). Hitherto the great temperance of Sir Hans had preſerved him from feeling the infirmities of old age; but in his ninetieth year he began to complain of pains, and to be ſenſible of an univerſal decay. He was often heard to ſay, that the approach of death brought no terrors with it; that he had long expected the

* See the table of benefactors, in the college.

(*kk*) The ſum was 700 *l.* lent to the college, at 6 *l.* per cent. but half being paid off, a new bond was taken in 1716, at 5 *l.* per cent. for 350 *l.* which being alſo paid off in a very few years afterwards, Sir Hans on that occaſion gave the college a noble treat, which coſt him upwards of 40 *l.* From the college books, and private information.

† The title-deed bears date Feb. 20th that year. Communicated by Mr Deniſon, the preſent Clerk of the Company.

(*ll*) From the regiſter of that Society.

(*mm*) His Eloge. See alſo the introduction to his Hiſtory of Jamaica.

(*nn*) Ibid.

(*oo*) From the books of that Society.

(*pp*) His Eloge.

(*qq*) It is inſerted in the London Diſpenſatory, under the title of *Pulvis antilyſſus Sloanii*.

[*L*] *He gave the phyſic garden at Chelſey to the Apothecaries company, &c.*] This garden was firſt eſtabliſhed by the company in 1673, and having ſince that time been furniſhed by them with a great variety of plants, for the improvement of their members in the knowledge of Botany, Sir Hans, in order to encourage and promote an undertaking ſo ſerviceable to the public, generouſly granted to the company the inheritance of the ſaid garden, being part of his eſtate and manor of Chelſey, on condition that it be for ever kept up and maintained by the company as a phyſic garden; and as an evidence of it's being ſo maintained, he directed and obliged the company, in conſideration of the ſaid grant, to preſent yearly to the Royal Society, in one of their weekly meetings, fifty ſpecimens of plants that had grown in the ſaid garden the preceding year, which were all to be ſpecifically diſtinct from each other, until the number of two thouſand plants be completed; which ſpecimens, together with thoſe that are to follow them in ſubſequent years, ſhall, by order of the Royal Society be carefully preſerved for the ſatisfaction of ſuch curious perſons as may have recourſe to them. Accordingly the grant was accepted, and the condition has been faithfully performed by the company ever ſince (34). And in 1733 they erected, in the center of the garden, a marble ſtatue of him, ſupported by a pedeſtal, on which is a Latin inſcription, expreſſing his donation, and the deſign and advantages of it *. He is repreſented in full proportion, in a full-bottomed peruke, and his Doctor's gown; and the likeneſs is ſtriking. The whole was performed by Mr Ryſbrack, and is admirably well executed.

(34) Communicated by Mr Miller, the preſent keeper of the garden. See alſo the Abridgment of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, Vol. VI. Part ii. by Eames and Martyn, at the end. N. B. The number of 2000 will be completed next year, 1761.

* A lecture is read in the garden, upon the medicinal plants, on the laſt Wedneſday in every month during the ſix ſummer months. The preſent lecturer is Dr Wilmore. Communicated by Mr Miller.

[*M*] *A receipt for diſtempers in the eyes.*] The recipe is intituled *Unguentum Opthalmicum Sloanii*, and is as follows.

℞ Tuttii pp ℥j. Lapid. Hematit. pp ℈ij, Aloes pp xii gr. Margarit. pp 4 gr. rub them in a mortar c. q. s. of viper's greaſe. To be uſed night and morning.

N. B. All cathartics, eſpecially mercury, is hurtful in this caſe.

[*N*] *His*

the ſtroke, and was prepared to receive it, whenever the great author of his being ſhould think fit. The long expected moment at length arrived; after a ſhort illneſs of three days he gave up his laſt breath, January 11, 1752. He was interred on the 18th at Chelſey, in the ſame vault with his lady (*rr*), the ſolemnity being attended with the greateſt concourſe of people of all ranks and conditions, that had ever been ſeen before on the like occaſion [*N*]. His funeral ſermon was preached by Dr Zachary Pearce, then Biſhop of Bangor (*ss*), who forbore to enlarge upon the exalted qualities of the deceaſed, by reaſon of an expreſs prohibition received from his own mouth before his death. Such was his piety, that he thought it a degree of profanation to debaſe, with the praiſes of human excellencies, the pulpit, which ſhould be devoted to diſplay to men the greatneſs of the Supreme Being, and to inſtruct them in his laws (*tt*). The writer of his Eloge having obſerved, that in his perſon Sir Hans was tall and well proportioned, proceeds to repreſent his character in the following colours; and tells us, that not only 'His manners 'were eaſy, free, and engaging, but that his converſation was ſprightly, familiar, and 'obliging; that nothing could equal his courteſy to ſtrangers; he was always ready upon 'the leaſt notice to ſhew and explain to them his whole cabinet: once a week he kept 'open houſe for gentlemen of all ranks, particularly for his brethren of the Royal Society, 'who thought fit to viſit him. The ſad conſequences of his death were ſeverely felt by 'the poor, to whom he was every way a liberal benefactor. He was a Governor of 'almoſt every hoſpital in and about London. To each he gave a hundred pounds in his 'life-time, and at his death a ſum more conſiderable. That whatever propoſal had for 'it's object the publick good might command his moſt zealous endeavours to promote it, 'he did all that he could to forward the eſtabliſhment of the colony in Georgia of 1732, 'Foundling Hoſpital in 1739, and formed the plan for bringing up the children, which 'experience has ſhewn to be the beſt that could be deviſed. If he found duplicates of any 'book in his ſtudy, his manner was, to ſend one of the copies to the college of Phyſi-'cians, if the book was medical, or to the Bodleian library at Oxford, if it treated on 'other ſubjects. He was the firſt in England who introduced into general practice the 'uſe of the Bark, not only in fevers, but in a variety of other diſtempers, particularly in 'nervous diſorders, in mortifications, and in violent hæmorrhages. He frequently took 'it himſelf for the ſpitting of blood, to which he was always more or leſs ſubject. He 'likewiſe gave a ſanction to the practice of inoculation, by inoculating two daughters of 'the Royal Family, which did more to eſtabliſh that ſalutary diſcovery, than all the 'treatiſes that ever were written on the ſubject.' Whatever cenſure may be paſſed upon ſome particulars, as ſo far drawn of this character, which the reader will bear in mind is the laſt finiſhing of Sir Hans's Eloge, all the world muſt agree to the concluſion of it, wherein that writer obſerves, that he was extremely ſollicitous, leſt his cabinet of rarities, which he had taken ſo much pains to collect, ſhould be again diſſipated at his death; yet was unwilling that ſo large a proportion of his fortune ſhould be loſt to his children, and he was equally grieved that his country ſhould be deprived of the uſe of ſo valuable a treaſure. He therefore bequeathed it to the publick, on condition that twenty thouſand pounds ſhould be made good by Parliament to his family: a ſum, which, though large in appearance, was ſcarce more than the intrinſic value of the gold and ſilver medals, the ores and precious ſtones, that were found in it (*uu*) [*O*]. There was, beſides his library, conſiſting of more than fifty thouſand volumes, three hundred and forty ſeven of which were illuſtrated with cuts, finely engraven and coloured from nature, three thouſand five hundred and ſixty-ſix manuſcripts, and an infinite number of rare and curious books. The Parliament accepted the legacy and fulfilled the conditions [*P*]. It is eaſy to perceive the

(*rr*) But there is no new monument for him, nor any additional inſcription upon that of his lady.

(*ss*) Now Biſhop of Rocheſter and Dean of Weſtminſter, 1760.

(*tt*) His Eloge.

(*uu*) In his Laſt Will he declares, the firſt coſt of the whole collection amounted at leaſt to 50000 *l.*

[*N*] *His funeral was attended with an extraordinary concourſe of people.*] In his laſt will he gives the following directions concerning his funeral. 'I will, that my body ſhall be buried in a decent manner in the church-yard at Chelſey, about noon, or at a convenient time of the day: And I will, that there be invited to my funeral all ſuch perſons as I ſhall leave in a liſt by me ſigned; or if no ſuch liſt be left, then ſuch perſons as my executors ſhall know to have been my moſt intimate friends and acquaintance; and that they ſhall have rings of twenty ſhillings value given to each of them (35).'

(35) In the firſt paragraph of his Will, as printed in 1753, 8vo.

[*O*] *Not more than the intrinſic value of the gold and ſilver medals, ores and precious ſtones in it.*] The following liſt of theſe and his other rarities has been communicated to me.

Medals and coins, ancient and modern	—		22000
Antiquities, viz. ruins, inſtruments, &c. about			1125
Seals, &c.	—	—	268
Camea's and intaglio's, &c. about	—	—	700
Precious ſtones, agates, jaſpers, &c.	—		542
Cryſtals, ſpars, &c.	—	—	1864
Foſſils, flints, and ſtones, &c.	—		1275
Metals, mineral ores, &c.	—	—	2725
Earths, ſands, ſalts, &c.	—	—	1035
Bitumens, ſulphurs, ambers, ambergreaſe, &c.			399
Talcs, micæ, &c.	—	—	388
Teſtacea, or ſhells,	—	—	5834
Corals, Sponges, &c.	—	—	1421
Echini, Echinites, &c.	—	—	619
Aſteriæ, Trochi, Entrochi, &c.	—	—	241
Cruſtacea, or Crabs, &c.	—	—	363
Stellæ marinæ, &c.	—	—	173
Fiſhes and their parts,	—	—	1555
Birds, and their parts, of different ſpecies,		—	1172
Vipers, Serpents, &c.	—	—	521
Quadrupeds, &c.	—	—	1886
Inſects	—	—	5439
Humana & Calculi Anatom. prep. &c.		—	756
Vegetables, as ſeeds, gums, wood, roots, &c.			12506
Hortus ſiccus, or volumes of dried plants.		—	334
Miſcellaneous things natural, &c.	—		2098
Pictures and drawings, &c. framed.	—		310
Mathematical inſtruments.	—	—	55

[*P*] *The Parliament purchaſed it, and fulfilled the conditions.*] The act for this purpoſe, which paſſed in 1753. is intituled, 'An act for the purchaſe of the Muſæum or Collection of Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. and of the Harleian collection of MSS. and for procuring one general repoſitory for the better reception and more convenient uſe of the ſaid collection, and of the Cottonian library.

and

the advantage that will reſult to the publick from this immenſe collection. To have acceſs to ſuch a cabinet as this, is, in effect, to men of taſte, like making the tour of the world, and

and additions thereto. In purſuance of this act, the ſum of 300,000l. was raiſed by a lottery, which abundantly enabled the parliament to compleat their whole deſign. According to which, beſides the required ſum of 20,000l. paid for Sir Hans's collection; the Harleian manuſcripts were purchaſed at the rate of 10,000l. and the truſtees of Sir Hans giving their conſent to have his collection removed from his manor houſe at Chelſey, to any proper place within the cities of London or Weſtminſter (36), that magnificent edifice, called Montague-houſe (37), in Ruſſel-ſtreet, Bloomſbury, was alſo purchaſed at the rate of 10,000l. To this houſe, not only the two laſt mentioned collections, but the Cotton library, with all the additions thereto, including that of Arthur Edwards of Hanover-ſquare, London, Eſq; bequeathed by his will in 1738 (38), were removed. By the ſaid act, the following great officers of ſtate and biſhops, for the time being, are appointed truſtees The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Lord high Chancellor, or Keeper, Preſident of the Council, Privyſeal, Steward, Chamberlain, Lord-Treaſurer, or firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, Lord High Admiral, or Firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, Biſhop of London, the two Secretaries of State, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the two Chief Juſtices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, Maſter of the Rolls, Attorney and Sollicitor General, the Preſidents of the Royal Society and College of Phyſicians, beſides two of the truſtees for the Cotton library (39), the Duke of Portland and the Earl of Oxford; and upon their deceaſe the Counteſs of Oxford and Ducheſs of Portland, and their heirs: On the account of the Harleian manuſcripts, Charles Lord Cadogan, and Hans Stanley, truſtees for Sir Hans Sloane's collection, and their heirs after their deceaſe, and ſome other noblemen and gentlemen who are incorporated by the name of Truſtees for the Britiſh Muſæum; the major part of whom, including the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord High Chancellor, or Keeper, and the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, are a quorum; and theſe three, or any two of them, are empowered to make ſtatutes and to chuſe officers (40), and appoint their reſpective ſalaries; for and towards the payment of which, the ſum of 30,000l. is to be placed out to intereſt in the public funds; as alſo for the neceſſary expences, and repairs, and alterations of the Repoſitory. In purſuance of theſe powers, the ſaid truſtees appointed the following officers, with their reſpective ſalaries, viz. Principal Librarian, ſalary 200l. per ann. three under Librarians, ſalary 100l. each, three Aſſiſtants, ſalary 50l. each, and a keeper of the reading room, ſalary 50l. beſides a porter and a meſſenger, ſalary 40l. each; one man, ſalary 30l. and four women ſervants; and the whole collection being placed in proper order, the Muſæum was opened for public uſe in 1759, when ſeveral ſtatutes and rules relating to the inſpection and uſe of it, were publiſhed by order of the ſaid truſtees; the ſubſtance of which is as follows.

The Muſæum will be kept open every day, (except Saturday, Sunday, Chriſtmas-day, and one week after; one week after Eaſter-day and Whitſunday; Good-Friday, and every public faſt and thankſgiving day) from nine in the morning 'till three in the afternoon; but on Mondays and Fridays in May, June, July, and Auguſt, only from four to eight in the afternoon.

Perſons deſirous to ſee the Muſæum, muſt, in writing, give in their names, condition, and places of abode, as alſo the day and hour they deſire to be admitted, to the porter, before nine in the morning, or between four and eight in the evening, on ſome preceding day, which he will enter in a regiſter, to be laid every night before the principal librarian, or, in his abſence, before the under librarian officiating for him, and, if he ſhall judge them proper, he will direct the porter to deliver tickets to them, on their applying a ſecond time for tickets.

No more than ten tickets will be delivered out for each hour of admittance; which tickets being ſhewn to the porter, he will direct the ſpectators to a room appointed for their reception, 'till their hour of ſeeing the Muſæum be come; at which time they are are to deliver their tickets to the proper officers of the firſt department. Five of the ſpectators will be attended by the under librarian, and the other five by the aſſiſtant, in each department.

The tickets are for the admiſſion of company at nine, ten, eleven, or twelve, in the morning; and at four or five in the afternoon of thoſe days in which the Muſæum is to be open at that time.

If application be made by more than can be accommodated on the day and hour they had named; the perſons laſt applying will have tickets for any other day and hour within ſeven days.

If not more than five produce tickets for any particular hour, they will be deſired to join in one company.

Perſons prevented from making uſe of their tickets are deſired to ſend them back to the porter in time; that others may not be excluded.

That the ſpectators may view the whole Muſæum in a regular order, they will firſt be admitted to ſee the manuſcripts and medals; then the natural and artificial productions; and afterwards the printed books.

One hour only will be allowed to the ſeveral companies, ſo that the whole may be inſpected in three hours. Notice of the expiration of the hour will be given by the ringing of a bell. Each company muſt keep together in that room, in which the officer who attends them ſhall then be.

A catalogue of the printed books, manuſcripts, and other parts of the collection, with proper references, will be depoſited in each department.

If a ſpectator deſires to ſee any book, or other part of the collection, it will be handed to him by the officer, if he ſhall think it conſiſtent with ſafety; and it muſt be reſtored to it's place before the ſpectator leaves the room; but no more than one ſuch book, or other part of the collection, will be delivered at a time to the ſame company. The officer that attends the company, will give them any information they deſire, relating to the part of the collection under his care.

The coins and medals, except ſuch as the ſtanding committee ſhall order, from time to time, to be placed in glaſs caſes, are not to be expoſed to view, but by leave of the truſtees in a general meeting, or of the ſtanding committee, or of the principal librarian; and will be ſhewn between the hours of one and three in the afternoon; but no more than two perſons will be admitted to ſee them at the ſame time, unleſs by particular leave of the principal librarian; who in ſuch caſe is required to attend, together with the officer in ordinary, the whole time: and but one thing will be taken or continue out of the cabinets and drawers at a time, which muſt be done by the officer, who muſt ſee it replaced before any perſon preſent goes out of the room.

If any perſon who hath a ticket, come after the hour marked in his ticket, but before the three hours allotted him be expired, he will, if he deſire it, be permitted to join the company appointed for the ſame hour, on his removing into another department.

Any perſon may apply for a ticket in the manner abovementioned, as often as he pleaſes, provided that no one perſon have tickets at the ſame time for more days than one.

No children will be admitted.

No officer, or ſervant, muſt take any fee, reward, or gratuity.

With regard to Perſons who deſire to make uſe of the Muſæum for ſtudy.

No one will be admitted to make uſe of the Muſæum for ſtudy, but by leave of the truſtees in a general meeting, or of the ſtanding committee; and that for half a year only, without a freſh application. The names of ſuch perſons, with the dates of the orders, and their duration, will be entered in a book.

A particular room is allotted in which they may ſit, and read, or write, without interruption, during the time the Muſæum is kept open; a proper officer conſtantly attending in the room. They muſt give notice, in writing, the day before, what book or manuſcript they ſhall deſire to peruſe the following day; which will be lodged in ſome convenient place in the ſaid room, and will from thence be delivered by the officer of the ſaid room; excepting, however, ſome books and manuſcripts

(36) The Parliament gave the manor-houſe at Chelſey, which by the Will was included in the purchaſe, to Sir Hans's truſtees, to be diſpoſed of as part of his other eſtates. It has been ſince pulled down, and a row of handſome houſes built upon the ſcite.

(37) So called, becauſe built by the Earl of Montague, upon a leaſe of the ſite from the Earl of Bedford, who on this occaſion ſold to the Parliament the perpetuity of the whole premiſes, except a ſmall corner of the yard adjoining to that of his own houſe, which he referved to himſelf.

(38) He alſo left 7000 *l.* after the death of Eliz. Milles, to be laid out in the purchaſe of books and manuſcripts, as a further addition to the Cotton library.

(39) Viz. Sam Burroughs and Tho. Hart, who had been appointed by the heirs male of Sir Rob. Cotton; and, upon their deceaſe, the truſt devolves upon Frances, widow of Francis Hanbury, Eſq; heir-general to the ſaid Sir R. Cotton.

(40) They are to preſent the perſon they chooſe to the King, to be approved or rejected by him.

and having for their tutor a catalogue of thirty-eight volumes in folio and eight in quarto, containing a ſhort deſcription of each curioſity, with a reference to the authors that treat of it more at large. Sir Hans Sloane married, in 1695, Elizabeth, daughter of Alderman Langley of London, who died in 1724, after ſhe had brought him one ſon, who died young, and three daughters, the youngeſt of which died alſo in her infancy. Sarah, the eldeſt, married George Stanley, Eſq; of Poultons in the county of Hants; and Elizabeth, the ſecond, married the Right Honourable the Lord Cadogan, Colonel of the ſecond troop of Horſe-Guards, and Governor of Tilbury-Fort and Graveſend.

manuſcripts of great value, or very liable to be damaged, and on that account judged by the truſtees not fit to be removed out of the library to which they belong, without particular leave of the truſtees; a catalogue whereof is kept by the officer of the reading room.

Such perſons will be allowed to take one or more extracts from any printed book or manuſcript; and either of the officers of the department may do it for them, upon ſuch terms as ſhall be agreed on between them. The tranſcriber muſt not lay the paper, on which he writes, upon any part of the book, or manuſcript, he is uſing.

No whole manuſcript, nor the greater part of any, muſt be tranſcribed, without leave from the truſtees.

Every perſon intruſted with the uſe of any book, or manuſcript, muſt return it before he leaves the room.

Any perſon engaged in a work of learning, who ſhall have occaſion to make a drawing of any of the natural or artificial productions, or to examine it more carefully than can be done in the common way of viewing the Muſæum, muſt apply to the truſtees for particular leave for that purpoſe.

On any perſon having occaſion to conſult or inſpect any book, charter, deed, or other manuſcript, for evidence or information, other than for ſtudying, muſt apply for leave to the truſtees. But if the caſe ſhould require ſuch diſpatch as that time cannot be allowed for ſuch application, the principal librarian, or the under librarian officiating for him, may grant ſuch leave.

No part of the collections belonging to the Muſæum muſt at any time be carried out of the general repoſitory; except books, charters, deeds, or other manuſcripts, to be made uſe of in evidence: And theſe muſt be carried by the under librarian or aſſiſtant of the department to which they belong, or by ſuch other of the under librarians or aſſiſtants, as the truſtees ſhall appoint; and he muſt attend the whole time, and bring it back with him; for which extraordinary trouble and attendance it is expected that a proper ſatisfaction be made him.

If any perſon ſhall behave in an improper manner, and contrary to the rules preſcribed by the truſtees, and ſhall continue ſuch miſbehaviour, after having been admoniſhed by one of the officers, ſuch perſon will be obliged forthwith to withdraw from the Muſæum; and his name is to be entered in a book kept by the porter; who is ordered not to deliver a ticket to him for his admiſſion for the future, without a ſpecial direction from the truſtees in a general meeting. P

SMALRIDGE [GEORGE], a polite Scholar, a learned Divine, and a pious and devout Prelate, was born in the year 1663, at Litchfield in Staffordſhire (*a*), where his father, Thomas Smalridge, followed the buſineſs of a Dyer with diſtinguiſhed reputation (*b*); but his fortune not being ſufficient to give his ſon that education, which his promiſing parts deſerved, theſe found a patron in Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; his fellow-citizen, by whoſe direction the young genius was ſent to Weſtminſter-ſchool [*A*]; where being choſen into the college, he preſently became the delight and admiration of his ſchool-fellows, by the ſweetneſs of his temper, and the delicate turn of his exerciſes. At the age of ſeventeen, he repaid the kindneſs of his benefactor, in two elegant elegies upon the death of his friend William Lilly, the famous Aſtrologer [*B*]. On the 17th of May the following

(*a*) Inſcription on his monument, where 'tis ſaid, that he died in 1719, in the 57th year of his age.

(*b*) From private information.

[*A*] *By whoſe direction he was ſent to Weſtminſter-ſchool.*] For this we have the ſame authority as for the foregoing particular, and it is countenanced, or we might ſay confirmed, by Mr Aſhmole's Diary of his own life, where nothing is ſet down but ſuch things as he had ſome eſpecial concern in. There we find p. 66, the following independent article, 'May 17, [1682] 'George Smalridge was elected out of Weſtminſter-'School to go to Chriſt-Church in Oxford.' And if ſuch a circumſtance could ſtand in need of any further proof, the reader will find it in the motive for Mr Smalridge's writing verſes upon the death of William Lilly the Aſtrologer, for whom it is well known Mr Aſhmole had a particular friendſhip (1).

(1) See Lilly's article.

[*B*] *He wrote two elegies upon the death of Lilly.*] As theſe are the firſt fruits of our author's poetical talents in print, we ſhould not do juſtice to his memoir if they were omitted.

In mortem Viri doctiſſimi Gulielmi Lilly *Aſtrologi nuper defuncti.*

Occidit atque ſuis annalibus addidit atram
Aſtrologus, qua non triſtior ulla, diem.
Pone triumphales, lugubris Luna, quadrigas,
Sol mœſtum picea nube reconde caput.
Illum qui Phœbi ſcripſit, Phœbeſque labores
Eclipſi docuit ſtella maligni pati.
Invidia aſtrorum cecidit qui fidera rexit;
Tanta erat in notas ſcandere cura domos.
Quod vidit, viſum cupiit, potiturque cupito
Cœlo, et ſiderea fulget in orbe decus:
Scilicet hoc nobis prædixit ab aëre cometa;
Et fati emicuit nuncia ſtella tui.
Pallentem vidi faciem, gemuique videndo;
Illa fuit vati mortis imago ſui.
Civiles timuere alii primordia belli,
Jejunam metuit plebs ſtupefacta famem.
Non tantos tulerat bellumve fameſve dolores,
Auſpiciis eſſent hæc relevanda tuis.
Incautum ſubito plebem nunc opprimit enſis,
Securos fati mors violenta trahit.
Nemo eſt qui videat moneatque avertere fatum;
Ars jacet, in Domini funera, merſa, ſui.
Solus naturæ arcana reſervare ſolebat,
Solus et ambigui ſolvere jura poli.
Luſtraſti errantes bene fida mente planetas;
Conſpectum latuit ſtellaque nulla tuum.
Defeſſos oculos penſarunt lumina mentis;
Tireſias oculis, mente ſed Argus eras.
Cernere Tireſie poteras ventura, ſed Arge
In fatum non poteras ſat vigilâſſe tuum.
Sed vigeat nomen, ſemper cum ſole vigebit:
Immemor Aſtrologi non erit ulla dies.
Sæc'la canent laudes, quas ſi percurrere tentes,
Arte opus eſt, ſtellas qua numerare ſolet.
Hæreat hoc carmen cinerum cuſtodibus urnis.
Hoſpes quod, ſpargens marmora rora, legat.

Hic

following year, 1682, he was elected from the ſchool to a ſtudent's place at Chriſt-Church-college in Oxford (c); where having taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts at the regular time (d), he became a tutor (e), and was the next year pitched upon, though ſo young, as very capable of taking a part, together with his fellow-collegians, Dr Aldrich and Mr Atterbury, in the Popiſh controverſy againſt Obadiah Walker, Maſter of Univerſity-college [C]. In this engagement, he publiſhed, in 1687, *Animadverſions on the eight*

(c) See below, in remark [A].

(d) Viz. June 15, 1686. Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 228.

(e) See the article of Arthur Maynwaring, Eſq;

' Hic ſitus eſt dignum nunquam cecidiſſe Propheta.
' Fatorum interpres fata inopina ſubit.
' Verſari æthereo dum vixit in orbe ſolebat;
' Nunc humilem jactat terra ſuperba virum.
' Sed cœlum metitur adhuc reſupinus in urna,
' Vertitur in ſolitos palpebra clauſa polos.
' Huic buſto invigilent ſolenni lampade muſæ.
' Perpetuo nubes imbre ſepulchra rigant.
' Ille oculis movit diſtantia ſidera noſtris,
' Illum amotum oculis traxit ad aſtra Deus.'

To this he likewiſe added the following elegy in Engliſh, on the ſame occaſion.

Our Prophet's gone, no longer may our ears
Be charm'd with muſic of th' harmonious ſpheres:
Let ſun and moon withdraw, leave gloomy night,
To ſhew their Nuncio's fate, who gave more light
To th' erring world than all the feeble rays
Of ſun or moon; taught us to know thoſe days
Bright Titan makes; follow'd the haſty ſun
Through all his circuits; knew th' inconſtant moon,
And more inconſtant ebbings of the flood,
And what is moſt unconſtant, th' factious brood,
Flowing in civil broils. By th' heav'ns could date
The flux and reflux of our dubious ſtate.
He ſaw th' eclipſe of ſun, and change o'th' moon,
He ſaw, but ſeeing, could not ſhun his own.
Eclips'd he was that he might ſhine more bright,
And only chang'd to give a fuller light.
He having view'd the ſky and glorious train
Of gilded ſtars, ſcorn'd longer to remain
In earthly priſons: Could he a village love,
Whom the twelve houſes waited for above?
The grateful ſtars a heavenly manſion gave
This heav'nly ſoul. Nor could he live a ſlave
To mortal paſſions, whoſe immortal mind,
Whilſt here on earth, was not to earth confin'd;
He muſt be gone, the ſtars had ſo decreed,
As he of them, ſo they of him had need.
This meſſage 'twas the blazing comet brought,
I ſaw the paleſac'd ſtar, and ſeeing thought
(For we could gueſs, but only Lilly knew)
It did ſome glorious hero's fate foreſhew;
A hero's fallen whoſe death, more than a war
Or fire, deſerv'd a comet; th' obſequious ſtar
Could do no leſs, than his ſad fate unfold,
Who had their riſings or their ſettings told.
Some thought a plague, and ſome a famine near,
Some wars from France, ſome fires at home were fear'd.
Nor did they fear too much, ſcarce kinder fate,
But plague of plagues befel th' unhappy ſtate,
When Lilly died. Now ſwords may ſafely come
From France or Rome, Fanatics plot at home.
Now an unſeen and unſuſpected hand,
By guidance of ill ſtars may hurt our land,
Unſafe becauſe ſecure. There's none to ſhew
How England may avert the fatal blow.
He's dead, whoſe death the weeping clouds deplore,
I wiſh we did not owe to him that ſhower
Which long expected was, and might have ſtill
Expected been, had not our nation's ill
Drawn from the heavens a ſympathetic tear.
England has cauſe a ſecond drought to fear.
We have no ſecond Lilly who may die,
And by his death may make the heavens cry.
Then let your annals, Coley, want this day,
Think ev'ry year Leap-year, or if't muſt ſtay,
Cloath it in black, let a ſad note ſtand by,
And ſtigmatize it to poſterity (2).

(2) Both copies are printed in Lilly's Life.

[C] *He took a ſhare in the Popiſh controverſy.*] Mr Wood, ſpeaking of the publication of Church Government, P. V. obſerves, that the zealous men of the Church of England, then in the Univerſity, perceiving that Mr Walker would cut their own throats at home (as they ſaid) were reſolved to anſwer whatever he publiſhed (3). In purſuance of this reſolution, extraordinary diligence was uſed by Dr Aldrich (4) and Mr afterwards Dr Atterbury, in executing that deſign, and in the ſame ſpirit Church Government, Part V. coming out, in May 1687, Mr Smalridge publiſhed his Animadverſions upon it, in June following; in the introduction to which, having mentioned the Anſwer of Dr Aldrich, he gives the following reaſons for his own undertaking this taſk. ' I ſhould not, ſays he, have thought myſelf obliged to anſwer the extravagant ſingularities of a private fancy, ſuch eſpecially as are not likely to do any miſchief to the public, and ſuch I eſteem the notions of this pamphlet, which is too perplexed for a common reader's underſtanding, and too ſophiſtical to impoſe upon the more intelligent. But conſidering the falſe and ſcandalous reports that are of late ſo induſtriouſly ſpread about the nation, as if Oxford converts came in by whole ſhoals, and all the Univerſity were juſt ready to declare [in favour of Popery]. I have juſt reaſon to believe that this pamphlet was deſignedly printed at Oxford to countenance thoſe reports, for no doubt the Popiſh preſſes were at the editor's ſervice. The ſecret is, theſe papers are to paſs, with unwary people, for a ſpecimen of the Univerſity's government; much ſuch a one indeed as the tile was, which Hierocles's ſcholars brought to market, for a ſample of the houſe he had to ſell. Now there are divers aggravations of this foul play, which make it yet more inſupportable; as where 'tis ſaid, *Why is this queſtion now revived, which the members of our Church have of late ſo carefully declined, out of pure reſpect to thoſe ears, which, if it be poſſible, they are not willing to offend. Or why are we of the Univerſity attacked in our own quarters, and ſo defied to own a truth, that we can neither in honour nor honeſty decline an anſwer, tho' we are well aware with what deſign the ſcene of the Controverſy is laid in Oxford. Or how can we brook this uſage from our companions, our own familiar friends, with whom we have taken ſweet counſel together, and walked in the Houſe of God as friends* (5).' This piece was publiſhed, as has been ſaid, in May (6), and how exactly our author, whoſe tract followed it in June, has kept to the ſame lore, appears from his epiſtle addreſſed to the Univerſity reader, where he obſerves, ' that the hopes of our enemies abroad have been entertained, and the ſollicitude of our friends awakened, by the news of our Oxford converts daily flocking into the boſom of the Romiſh Church. But we hope all men are by this time convinced, that they deſerve as little conſideration for their number, as they do regard for their accompliſhments. No one needs to be alarmed at the deſertion of ſix or ſeven members, who ſhall conſider their dependance on one, who, by the magazines which he had ſtored up againſt us, ſhews that he has not now firſt changed his complexion, but only dropped the vizor.' This is ſufficient for a ſample, for to trace him through every inſtance of the contraſt, would be to tranſcribe both. Mr Atterbury's piece followed

(3) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 616.

(4) See his article; as alſo that of Dr Wake, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

(5) Pſalm lv. 14, 15.

(6) The imprimatur is dated May 19, 1687.

eight Theſes laid down, and the Inferences deduced from them, in a Diſcourſe intituled, Church-Government, Part V. *lately printed at Oxford* [*D*]. Thus early did he diſtinguiſh himſelf in a point of ſo much ſerious ſtudy, as was the defence of his Prince's ſupremacy againſt the papal uſurpations, when urged to it by his regard for the honour of the univerſity. Neither did he fail of giving the higheſt entertainment to that elegant ſeat of the Muſes, by his admirable poetical talents, when a ſuitable occaſion invited him. The *Muſæ Anglicanæ* cannot boaſt a more exquiſite performance, than the *Auctio Daviſiana* of Mr Smalridge, publiſhed firſt in 1689, 4to. The ſame year, July 4th, he proceeded Maſter of Arts (*f*); not long after which, he entered into Holy Orders, and about the year 1692 was appointed Miniſter of Tothil-Fields-chapel, Weſtminſter (*g*). In 1693, he was collated to a Prebend in the church of Litchfield (*b*). In 1700, he took his Doctor's degree in Divinity (*i*), and frequently ſupplied the place of Dr Jane, then Regius-Profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford, with great applauſe [*E*], 'till the Profeſſor's death in February

(*f*) Wood's Faſti, col. 223.

(*g*) It is in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of the abbey.

(*b*) He was admitted June 12. Willis's Cathedrals, Vol. I. p. 442. Dr Lloyd was then Biſhop of that ſee. Mr Whiſton was ordained Prieſt the ſame year by his Lordſhip, when Dean Addiſon, Dr Chandler, afterwards Biſhop of Durham, then his Lordſhip's chaplain, and Mr Smalridge, laid their hands upon him, jointly with the Biſhop. Whiſton's Memoirs, &c. p. 28. edit. 1753. (*i*) Rawlinſon's Catalogue of Oxford Graduates.

followed in the beginning of Auguſt (7), in the preface to which the ſame particulars are touched upon, but in ſuch a taſte and manner as makes them his own. By this laſt piece there ſeems to have been a fourth perſon engag'd in the common deſign, whoſe part was the defence of the Reformation, as appears from theſe words of the author. 'In the defence of our Reformation to come, 'it will be found, that the Conſiderer is no good hiſto-'rian; the Reaſoner has proved him no good Catho-'lic; the Animadverter no good ſubject; and all toge-'ther no good Diſputant; ſo that I have no new ſide 'of him left to entertain the reader with.'

(7) It was intituled, A Vindication of the Spirit of Martin Luther, &c.

[*D*] *Church Government, Part V.*] The whole title runs thus: *Church Government, Part V. A Relation of the Engliſh Reformation, and the Lawfulneſs thereof examined by the Theſes delivered in the four former Parts.* But it ſeems theſe four had not been publiſhed. This was a very extraordinary myſtery, which lay fully open however to ridicule and raillery, and did not eſcape our Animadverter's notice. 'Nor is it, ſays he, any wonder, if that arguer does not convince, who uſes, for 'principles, concluſions drawn from premiſes which the 'world never ſaw, and then aſſumes ſuch things as every 'one acquainted with hiſtory is able to contradict. Certainly his Univerſity readers will not be very fond of 'the concluſion of that ſyllogiſm whoſe major propoſition is a *petitio principii*, and minor, a downright 'falſehood in matter of fact; they no doubt are ſurprized to find conſequents come before their antece-'dents, and Church Government, Part V. to have 'ſlipped into the world ſomewhat immaturely, me-'thinks, before the other four (8).' Mr Wood, who informs us (9), that this piece was wrote by Abraham Woodhead, and was the firſt that was printed at the preſs which Obadiah Walker had ſet up in the back part of his lodgings, as Maſter of Univerſity college, obſerves that it had the print of King Alfred cut in a wooden border prefixed to the title. So minute a particular appears to be trifling and contemptible at firſt ſight, but upon looking into the book will be found very pertinent. The Antiquary therein apparently had his eye upon that part of our young animadverter's piece, where he urges the editor with the authority of Mr *Spelman*'s book *de Vita Ælfridi*, written as he obſerves by the author in Engliſh, but publiſhed in Latin by the Maſter of Univerſity college in Oxford, in the name of the *Alumni* of that ſociety. This author, ſpeaking of the laws made by King *Ælfred* in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, makes the following inference from them. Theſe laws do therefore deſerve our particular obſervation, becauſe from them it is evident that the Saxon Kings, *Ælfred* and *Edward*, were of opinion that they had a ſupremacy as well over eccleſiaſtical perſons as laymen, and that the Church which was within their dominions, was not out of their juriſdiction, or ſubject to a foreign power, and exempted from the laws of their country, as *Becket*, *Anſelm*, and others afterwards, fiercely contended (10). Again, from King Alfred's laws it is evident, either that the Roman ſupremacy was not yet riſen to that height as in after-ages, ſo as to leſſen the juriſdiction of Chriſtian Princes, or if it was, yet King Alfred did not ſubject himſelf ſo far to it (11). Nay, ſo far was King Alfred from paying any ſuch ſubjection, that we are told he found out a way to ruin and deſtroy that univerſal empire which the Romaniſts in thoſe dark ages had newly founded, and were haſtening to finiſh, which is ſpoken in reference to his reſtoring the ſecond commandment expunged out of the decalogue according to the canons of the ſecond Nicene council (12). From which one inſtance it is plain, that, contrary to the pretenſions of our author, King Edward the Sixth was not the firſt that took upon him to reform liturgies. Mr Smalridge concludes thus, 'Theſe paſſages cited I take to be ſome 'of the *perperam ſcripta* which the publiſher of that life 'mentions in the preface (13). And accordingly we 'find that whatever is advanced againſt the papal au-'thority in the text, is qualified in the comment; and 'it is plain that King Alfred was a greater adverſary 'to the power of the Pope, than his Alumnus, the Anotator. *So that it is matter of great ſurprize to 'find him appear in the frontiſpiece of this treatiſe of 'Church Government, who was ſo great an enemy to 'the anti-regal deſigns of it.*'

(8) Animadverſions, p. 4.

(9) In the article of Abraham Woodhead, as before.

(10) Vita Ælfredi, lib. 2. paragr. 12.

(11) Ibid. lib. iii. par. 98.

(12) Lib. ii. par. 5.

(13) His words are, *Errores autoris retinuimus, & perperam ſcripta medicari potius quam tollere maluimus.*

[*E*] *He ſupplied the place of Divinity Profeſſor with applauſe.*] As to one principal part of this office, preſiding in theological diſputations, his epitaph is full evidence, and we have the following inſtance that he performed another part, of preſenting and creating Doctors in that faculty, with no leſs merit. May 6, 1706, he preſented the famous Dr Grabe, with this elegant ſpeech.

'Inſigniſſime Vice-cancellarii voſque egregii Procuratores!

'Præſento Vobis Reverendum hunc Virum Domi-'num Johannem Erneſtum Grabe, Patre, Avo, Abavo, 'Theologiæ Profeſſoribus, prognatum; gente atque 'educatione Boruſſum; diuturni apud nos hoſpitii neceſſitudine, ac propenſiſſimo erga Eccleſiam Anglica-'nam ſtudio, noſtratem; Eruditionis ſuæ fama ac nominis celebritate Univerſi literati Orbis, Civem. Verum iis ingenii doctrinæ, et virtutis, ornamentis infigoem, ut ex Abſentis laudem nulla ſatis longa foret 'oratio; Ea vero animi modeſtia ut præſens reformidet etiam breviſſimam. Id ſane nec abſque ſingulari 'Dei Opt. Max. providentia ornatiſſimo huic homini 'evenit, ut quo olim die illum philoſophiæ magiſtrum '& doctorem ſummo omnium applauſu ſalutavit Academia Regiomontana, eodem jam die poſt emenſos 'unum et viginti annos in celſiſſimo hoc theologiæ 'dignitatis gradu pari ſtudio collocaret Academia Oxonienſis. Nihil in laudem veſtrum magis ceſſurum; 'Nihil Academiæ Francofurtenſi, cui ſolennem hunc 'inſtauratis diem, magis gratum, a Vobis proficiſci 'potuit, quam eximius hic honos in eum virum collatus, quem illa, utpote regi ſuo præ cæteris egregie 'charum, maximi habet, quem ad profeſſoriam ſuam 'cathedram haud ſemel vocatum nobis pœne invidet, 'quem hodierno præcipue die abſentem requirit, minores aliquanto agens triumphos, quod hoc tantum 'ingenii lumen deſideret.

'Quæ vero lectiſſimum hunc virum ad Angliam inviſendam *primum impulit*, eadem adhuc apud Nos detinet, amiciſſima erga eccleſiam noſtram voluntas, & 'ſumma Epiſcopalis Ordinis Reverentia. Primævæ 'nimirum Antiquitatis Indagator ſagaciſſimus, eam divini cultus ſolemnitatem, quam ſuus deſcripſit *Juſtinus*, 'Eam doctrinæ puritatem quam ab omni hæreſæos labe

Febuary 1706-7, when his worthy deputy was ſtrongly recommended to the Queen for his ſucceſſor by the univerſity, who had been witneſſes of his juſt pretenſions to it, but he was obliged to yield to the tide of party, which carried it to his competitor [*F*]. He had now long been diſtinguiſhed by his diſcourſes from the pulpit; and in conſequence thereof, on the twenty-ninth of January 1707-8, he was choſen Lecturer of St Dunſtan's in the Weſt (*k*), London. He had entered very early into an intimacy with Dr Francis Atterbury at ſchool; and this, by a concurrence of ſentiments and ſtudies, afterwards grew into the moſt ſincere and hearty friendſhip; of which he gave an illuſtrious proof in 1710, when being a Member of the Lower-Houſe of Convocation, he ſteadily promoted his friend's advancement to the Prolocutor's chair, and preſented him to the Houſe on that occaſion in a remarkable elegantly turned panegyric (*l*) [*G*]. He continued alſo

(*k*) From the veſtry book of that pariſh.

(*l*) It was printed ſoon after.

'labe vindicavit ſuus itidem *Irenæus*; eam denique 'eccleſiaſticæ diſciplinæ formulam quam ſæpiſſime in 'Patrum monumentis expreſſam legerat, nativa ſua 'pulchritudine apud nos etiamnum vigere facile per-'ſpexit Et cum antiquam matrem diu diligenterque 'quæſitam hic tandem invenerat, in illius ſinum recipi 'vehementer geſtiit; in illius amplexu lubens hæret. 'Erit autem aliquando dies, niſi vana nos ſpes fallat, '& quod ardentiſſimis votis optamus, id etiam futurum 'creduli nimis auguremur; erit, inquam, aliquando 'dies, cum optimus hic Vir in patriam redux primi-'tivam eccleſiæ hierarchiam apud ſuos haud ulterius 'deſideraverit; cum auguſtiſſima noſtra regina, eccle-'ſiam Anglicanam, quam domi materno affectu mover, 'quam ſanctiſſimis moribus exornat, quam ampliſſima 'munificentia locupletat, quam aſſiduis precibus Deo 'commendat, quam adverſus omnes omnium ondequa-'que hoſtium impetus incolumem, & dum ipſa fuerit 'ſoſpes, ſoſpitem uſque & glorioſam fore, certi ſponde-'mus; in Confederatas etiam gentes præpollenti ſua 'apud illos gratia haud fruſtra commendatam tranſmit-'tere ſtuduerit. Cum, ANNA hortante, Auguſtus Bo-'ruſſorum Rex, pro ſumma ſua adverſus eccleſias re-'formatas benevolentia, ad augendum ipſarum decus 'et robur, venerabilem Epiſcopatus ordinem intra ſua 'regna ſtabilierit; ad quæ regiam ipſius majeſtatem 'in hunc ipſum fortaſſe finem divina evexit Providentia. 'Cum Frederico, inter cæteras ab ipſo pace & bello 'præclare geſtas, quas & præſens ætas laudat, & ſera 'laudabit poſteritas, id etiam in non exiguam ipſius 'gloriam ceſſerit, quod antiquam Apoſtolicam Epiſco-'porum in Eccleſia gubernanda prærogativam ſuis au-'ſpiciis reſtituerit; cum eruditiſſimum hunc virum, 'ſingulari ipſius favore jampridem inſignitum, Epiſco-'pali Mitra ornaverit: Veſtra interim laurea, Acade-'mici, in præludium tantæ dignitatis hodie ornandum, 'eam viciſſim eximia ſua pietate et fere incredibili 'doctrina magnopere ornaturum.'

[*F*] *He yielded to the tide of party*, &c.] We have already ſhewn (14), that the carrying of this matter againſt our author, was made a point by the Duke of of Marlborough and his Ducheſs alſo, at the head of the Whigs *. The Ducheſs expreſsly tells us, that Dr Smalridge was put up by the Tories, a blot it ſeems that entirely obliterated all his pretenſions to a right of expectation ſuperior to his competitor, by having ſupplied the place many years with great applauſe, as Deputy to Dr *Jane*, which in reality was ſo far from being now of any ſervice to him, that it even help'd to aggravate his crime, the memory of Dr *Jane* being particularly odious to the Whigs at this time on many accounts, as will appear from the following ſketch of his life. This Gentleman was ſon of Joſeph Jane of Leſkard in Cornwall, Eſq; Member for that borough in the long Parliament under Charles the Firſt, but upon their violent proceedings againſt his Majeſty, he retired to Oxford, ſat in the Parliament there in 1643, and was one of the Commiſſioners in Cornwall for the King the following year (15). Upon the decline of his Majeſty's affairs, he was a great ſufferer, compounded, as is thought, for his eſtate, and went abroad, where he wrote ΕΙΚΩΝ ΑΚΛΑΣΤΟΣ, *or, the Image unbroken, A Perſpective of the impudence, falſehood, vanity, and prophaneneſs, publiſhed in a Libel, intituled* ΕΙΚΟΝΑΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ againſt ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ; printed in 1651, in a ſmall character 4to. His ſon Dr William Jane was born at Leſkard about the year 1644, and, being bred at Weſtminſter-ſchool, was thence elected ſtudent of Chriſt Church College, Oxford, in 1660; proceeding regularly to take his degrees in arts, he entered into holy orders, became Lecturer of Carfax church in Oxford, Chaplain to Dr Compton, Biſhop of London (16), Prebendary of St Paul's, Bachelor of Divinity in 1674, and inſtalled Canon of Chriſt Church in 1678. The following year he proceeded Doctor of Divinity as a Compounder, and on the 19th of May, 1680 was admitted Regius Profeſſor of Divinity. In 1685, he was nominated, by King James the Second, Dean of Glouceſter (17), with which he held the Precentorſhip of Exeter (18). Upon the arrival of the Prince of Orange at Hungerford, in his march to London, he was one of the four Delegates ſent by the Univerſity of Oxford, to offer his Highneſs their plate, which, though refuſed by the Prince, yet the Doctor took that opportunity of aſking for the biſhopric of Exeter, void by the tranſlation of Dr Lamplugh to the ſee of York, but was prevented by a promiſe before made of Exeter to Dr Trelawney, Biſhop of Briſtol (19). However, Mr Wood tells (20), us he was made Chaplain to King William, and it is certain was one of the Commiſſioners appointed on the 13th of September 1689, by his Majeſty, to review the Liturgy in order to a Comprehenſion, tho' he never ſat in it; and November 21 following, he was elected Prolocutor of the lower Houſe of Convocation againſt Dr (afterwards Archbiſhop) Tillotſon, then Dean of St Paul's (21). It was ſaid that he was much diſguſted at the ill ſucceſs of his application for a biſhopric, and ranged among the malecontents of King William's reign (22). However that be, it is certain that he lived ſome years after Queen Anne's acceſſion to the throne without being advanced higher in the Church, dying on the 5th of February, 1706 7 (23). Mr Wood gives us the titles of two ſermons of his, beſides thoſe already mentioned in print, all in 4to As alſo another piece intituled, *The preſent Separation ſelf-condemned and proved to be Schiſm*, &c. London 1678, 4to. He is the ſuppoſed author of *A Letter to a Friend, containing ſome Queries about the new Commiſſion for making Alterations in the Liturgy, Canons, &c. of the Church of England*, publiſhed in October 1689, in a ſingle ſheet 4to. He is likewiſe ſaid to have viewed before it went to the preſs, and made ſome corrections in a piece of *Abraham Woodhead*, intituled, *An hiſtorical Narration of the Life and Death of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt*, &c. Oxon, 1685, 4to. publiſhed by *Obadiah Walker*, who ſtruck out Dr Jane's corrections when it was in the preſs (24). Dr Jane is charged moreover with having a chief hand in penning the Judgment and Decree of the Univerſity of Oxford, paſſed in that Convocation in July 1683, then preſented to and approved by King Charles II, but burnt by the hangman in purſuance of an order of the Houſe of Lords, in 1710 (25).

[*G*] *In an elegant panegyric.*] Having repreſented his friend as a perſon fit for the poſt in every reſpect, he begins with his character as a ſcholar; in which reſpect he recommends him to their choice as one that was a ſtranger in no branch of literature; had been long and ſucceſsfully exerciſed in moſt arts and ſciences, and was moſt accompliſhed and perfect in the moſt perfect kinds of learning: *Vir in nullo literarum genere hoſpes in pleriſque artibus & ſtudiis diu et feliciter exercitatus, in maxime perfectis literarum diſciplinis perfectiſſimus.* He then proceeds to his conduct in controverſy, a delicate point, and it is touched with a delicate hand, duely balanced between his friend's honour, and his own integrity. He allows him to have been too ſevere in treating his antagoniſt; but alledges, that this was not to be imputed to any principle of ill-nature, envy, or pride, but to a temper of itſelf too warm, or perhaps to a degree of paſſion, eaſily pardonable in a ſoldier, who fought for every thing that was dear to him, in a ſon endeavouring to reſcue his mother from injury and violence. But, adds he, if there be a greater number of excellencies in his writings; if he has treated of ſubjects

(14) Under the article of Dr Potter, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

* Dr Smalridge had particularly incurred their diſpleaſure, by ſigning, with Sir T. Creſſe and Paul Jodrell, the paper mentioned in the article of Mr Maynwaring.

(15) The King lodged ſix nights together in his houſe at Leſkard, in Aug. 1644, and one night in Sept. following; at which time the Earl of Eſſex was defeated and forced to fly to Plymouth. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1050.

(16) He preached the ſermon at the conſecration of Dr Compton to the ſee of Oxford, on the ſixth of December, 1674, which was printed immediately at London in 4to. in 1675, according to the Printer's computation.

(17) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 1049, 1050.

(18) Birch's Life of Tillotſon.

(19) Life of Dean Prideaux, p. 55, 56. Lond. 1748, 8vo.

(20) Ubi ſupra. And there is a ſermon of his preached before the King and Queen at Whitehall, in Novemb. 1692, printed at Oxford, 1692, 4to.

(21) The writer of Dean Prideaux's Life tells us, he was ſupported by the intereſt of the Earls of Clarendon and Rocheſter, p. 55, as before.

(22) Id. ibid.

(23) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 174.

(24) Ath. Oxon. col. 615.

(25) Gen. Hiſt. of England.

alſo firm in the ſame connexions the following years, but without ſuffering himſelf to be drawn into the violence and rage of party diſputes, either upon State or Church ſubjects [*H*]. In this amiable diſpoſition of purſuing mild and perſuaſive methods, he entertained a friendly correſpondence with Dr Samuel Clarke and Mr Whiſton [*I*]; and was very ſerviceable in moderating the heat of the proceedings in Convocation againſt them [*K*]. In the ſame ſpirit he propoſed a conference with the former upon the ſubject of the Trinity, which was accordingly held at the ſeat of Thomas Cartwright, Eſq; of Aynho, in Northamptonſhire, about the year 1712 [*L*]. But, however commendable ſo peaceful a conduct

jects in themſelves arduous, uſeful, and agreeable; if he has confirmed them with the ſtrongeſt arguments; if he has preſſed them upon the minds of his readers, by a pure and perſpicuous ſtile: it is reaſonable that he ſhould receive the applauſe due to learning, from men of letters; from the eloquent, the honour due to eloquence; *Si quid forte aſperius, ſi quid ardentius, ſi quid liberius effuderit, Lector paulo humanior, id non odio, non livori, nec arrogantiæ, tribuet; ſed aut ingenio ſuapte natura aliquantulum prefervido, aut fortaſſe iracundiæ, in milite pro aris focisque acriter dimicante, in filio ab injuria et vi matrem ſuam eripiente, facile ignoſcendæ. Quod ſi plures in illius ſcriptis effulgeant virtutes; ſi res tractaverit cognitu difficiles, utiles, jucundas; ſi eas validiſſimis argumentis firmaverit; ſi puro et dilucido ſermone in ipſis legentium animis inſcripſerit; eruditorum apud eruditos, eloquentiæ apud diſertos, ſuus conſtet honos*

[*H*] *Without the rage of party diſputes*] For this we have the authority of the famous Sir Richard Steele, who cannot be ſuſpected of partiality to him. We find that juſtly admired writer, thus deſcribing Dr Smalridge in the Tatler (26), under the feigned name of *Favonius*. He introduces it according to the affecting turn and manner of thoſe papers, by an account of a viſit he made to a friend of his, a Lady of great worth, who lay then on her death-bed. 'At the door I met 'Favonius, not without a ſecret ſatisfaction to find, 'that *he* had been there. I had formerly converſed 'with him at this houſe; and as he abounds with that 'ſort of virtue and knowledge, which makes religion 'beautiful, *and never turns the diſcourſe into the vio-* 'lence and rage of party diſputes, I liſtned to him with 'great pleaſure. The diſcourſe chanced to be upon 'the ſubject of death, which he treated with ſuch a 'ſtrength of reaſon, and greatneſs of ſoul, that inſtead 'of being terrible, it appeared to a mind rightly cultivated altogether to be contemned, or rather to be 'deſired. As I met him at the door, ſo I ſaw in his 'face, a certain glowing of grief and humanity, heightned with an air of fortitude and reſolution; which, as 'I afterwards found, had had ſuch an irreſiſtible force, 'as to ſuſpend the pains of the dying perſon, and the 'lamentations of the neareſt friends, who attended 'her.'

(26) No. 110. In the preface to the 4th volume, he expreſsly tells us, that Favonius is intended for Dr Smalridge.

[*I*] *He held a fair correſpondence with Dr Samuel Clarke and Mr Whiſton.*] The latter of theſe, in his Hiſtorical Memoirs of the former, tells us (27), that his acquaintance with Dr Smalridge commenced about the ſame time as it did with Dr Clarke, that is, about the year 1697. How ſoon our author became acquainted with Dr Clarke, is not certain, but it muſt have been ſome time before the year 1709; when Mr Whiſton having tranſlated the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* into Engliſh, deſired Dr Clarke to reviſe it; who having done ſo, and corrected the whole, finding about ten or twelve places, which he heſitated about, recommended it to the tranſlator, to go to their great and common friend Dr Smalridge, (they are Mr Whiſton's words) for the laſt correction of the more difficult places; who accordingly examined and corrected the verſion in every one of thoſe places. Mr Whiſton further informs us here, that in the advertiſement to the firſt volume of his Primitive Chriſtianity revived, where this fact is mentioned without naming the two perſons, Dr Smalridge is underſtood by a very learned and judicious perſon. He alſo intimates afterwards (28), that all the four volumes of the laſt-mentioned book, were communicated to our author before they were printed, and expreſsly declares, that upon committing his fourth volume to him, he was pleaſed to peruſe it with great care, 'and confeſſed, ſays Mr Whiſton, that I had 'therein acted very uprightly, and that my quotations 'were fair and juſt; and that whereas a friend of his had 'ſuggeſted to him, that he thought ſome paſſages were 'omitted in antiquity, that ſeemed to make againſt 'me; he upon comparing, found that I had not omitted them, but that they were all in my papers.'

(27) P. 16. edit. 1748, 8vo.

(28) In p. 140, 141.

[*K*] *He was ſerviceable in moderating the heat of the proceedings in Convocation againſt them*] We ſhall begin according to the order of time, with Mr Whiſton, who informs us, that about the ſame time that Dr Smalridge had his manuſcript papers [of Primitive Chriſtianity revived] he once went down to him [at Weſtminſter] and deſired him to go with him to the Archbiſhop of York, Dr Sharp, in order to try whether they could not find out ſome way for a fair examination of his papers before they were printed; 'which, ſays Mr Whiſton, I earneſtly endeavoured.' He replied, 'that there was nothing to be ſaid againſt 'examination, nothing to be ſaid againſt it; and, 'accordingly, he went along with me to the Arch-'biſhop's houſe in Petty-France, Weſtminſter, im-'mediatly. But the Archbiſhop not happening to 'be at home, there were no further ſteps taken at 'that time (29).' After Mr Whiſton's affair came before the Convocation, Dr Smalridge, being appointed one of the committee for that purpoſe, was not wanting to give intimations of his good intentions towards his deliverance, by declaring openly, upon the reading of his letter to the Convocation, in that committee, that it would be harder to come at him now than before; and, by declaring openly, in Convocation, againſt the current of the Houſe (30), that it was his private opinion, that he ſhould be heard before he was cenſured. With regard to Dr Clarke, the ſame hand informs us, that Dr Smalridge, then a Biſhop, and in the Upper-Houſe, dropped ſome words before-hand, that as to other of Dr Clarke's metaphyſical notions about the Trinity, he did not think it neceſſary to proceed to their condemnation; provided he would but truly declare he believed the real eternity of the Son of God. That as the Biſhop's opinion was chiefly regarded by that Houſe, ſo Mr Whiſton thought it had great weight with Dr Clarke, in inducing him to draw up that declaration of his opinion, which he had laid before the Biſhops, on the ſecond of July, 1714. The firſt article of which runs thus: '*My opinion is, that the Son of God* '*was eternally begotten by the eternal, incompre-* '*henſible, power and will of the Father; and that* '*the Holy Spirit was likewiſe eternally derived from* '*the Father, by or through the Son, according to the* '*eternal, incomprehenſible, power and will of the* '*Father.*' Which produced a reſolution in that Houſe to proceed no farther upon the extract laid before them by the Lower-Houſe; ſo that, concludes Mr Whiſton, as Dr Smalridge in ſome meaſure aſſiſted my eſcape from that Convocation. ſo was Biſhop Smalridge the principal occaſion of Dr Clarke's eſcape from the other (31).

(29) Ibid. p. 141.

(30) Ibid. p. 56.

(31) Ibid. from p. 56 to 65.

[*L*] *A diſpute about the Trinity with Dr Clarke*, &c.] Mr Whiſton, who is ſtill our informer, tells us, that the conference was propoſed by our author in order to the conviction of Dr Clarke; and, continues he, if any perſon was able to convince upon that head, it muſt have been Dr Smalridge, who had fully conſidered my fourth volume, and was a thorough maſter of thoſe original books of Chriſtianity whence the arguments were to be taken, and who wanted no ſagacity or good will to enforce them. However adds he, the Doctor failed of ſucceſs; and, on the contrary, the company were generally ſatisfied, the evidence on Dr Clarke's ſide was greatly ſuperior to the other (32). Now granting this to be a fair repreſentation of the iſſue of this diſpute; our author's reputation is in no danger of being hurt by it, when it is conſidered who made up the generality of this company, probably Mr Waſs, then Rector of the pariſh, and Mr Cartwright's chaplain, and Mrs Cartwright, who we are aſſured was never abſent nor unconcerned at ſuch conferences, both of them prejudiced

(32) Ibid. p. 51.

a conduct might be in the eyes of all the ſober part Chriſtians, yet there were not wanting thoſe who took great offence at it, and ſome of theſe even carried their reſentments ſo far as to charge him with leaning towards Arianiſm [*M*], inſomuch, that a little before his death he was brought under a neceſſity of vindicating himſelf from that calumny [*N*]. In

judiced greatly in favour of Dr Clarke's notions; and as to the Doctor himſelf 'tis well known how utterly inconvincible he was, maintaining his doctrine to the laſt, againſt all conviction.

[*M*] *He was charged of leaning towards Arianiſm.*] Mr Whiſton was apparently a great means of bringing him under this character, ſince he every where repreſents him, throughout his memoirs of Dr Clarke, in this light; upon too fond a deſire to have one, whom he looked on as the moſt excellent man in the nation, of his ſide. The ſtrongeſt proof he offers for his conjecture, is ſeen at the concluſion of his account of the juſt mentioned conference at Aynho; which, after declaring the allowed ſuperiority of Dr Clarke's evidence, runs thus: 'And whether 'Dr Smalridge did not himſelf ſomething feel it, 'I cannot certainly tell. So far I think will appear 'hereafter, that excepting his condemnation of the 'groſs Arians, whom neither Dr Clarke nor I ever 'ſupported, he after this choſe rather to refer to 'others, who had managed the Athanaſian cauſe, 'than ever to enter directly into it's vindication. 'Nor did he eſcape the ſuſpicion of being himſelf 'inclinable to what has been of late called Arianiſm, (33) Ibid. p. 52. 'eſpecially at Oxford, as will hereafter appear (33).' By theſe laſt words, Mr Whiſton refers to a poſtſcript at the end of theſe Memoirs; where he tells us, that when in his ſecond appendix to the Hiſtorical Preface, p. 33, 34, 35, he ſaid, that propoſition from the Upper-Houſe of Convocation, which condemns, as hereſy, his affirming, that *the one God of the Chriſtians was not the three Perſons taken together, but God the Father only*, was owned not to be heretical by more than one of the Lower-Houſe, he meant by Dr Smalridge and Dr Cannon; and agreable to this, we are afterwards told, that when his firſt volume of *Primitive Chriſtianity revived* had been peruſed by Dr Smalridge, he confeſſed to Mr Whiſton, that he had proved, that ſo far as our preſent records go, the Holy Ghoſt was not called God, nor invocated in the three firſt centuries; though he thought Baſil had given good reaſons, why we might venture farther. Our author's ſentiments of this performance of Mr Whiſton's, he frankly declared, in the following moſt friendly letter to himſelf.

'Sir,

'I did not ſend for the books ſooner, becauſe 'I had rather have them bound than in ſheets. 'I pray God the publication of them may not do that 'diſſervice to our holy religion, which I am perſuaded 'you are far from intending. It ſeems to me much 'more likely, that unbelievers ſhould thereby be 'ſtrengthened in their infidelity, than that thoſe 'whom you ſuppoſe miſtaken, ſhould be induced to 'reform the opinions which you take to be erroneous. 'There is one ſuffrage in our Liturgy in which you 'will heartily join with us, That it may pleaſe God 'to bring into the way of truth all ſuch as have erred 'and are deceived. This is the prayer of

'Your faithful friend,

Nov. 22, 1711. 'and ſervant,

'George Smalridge (*).

* Ibid. p. 138.

Again, ſays Mr Whiſton, 'ſome time after the 'publication of the then Biſhop of Bangor's famous 'ſermon, and about the time of the publication of 'my Scripture Politicks, I waited upon Biſhop 'Smalridge; and, among other things, deſired, that 'his Lordſhip, of whom both parties had ſo good an 'opinion, would do ſomething to bring us out of 'that diſorder in which we then were; and particularly, that he would pleaſe to write a little book, to 'recommend a fair and impartial review of Chriſtian 'Antiquity to the world, in order to the correction 'of ſuch errors and practices as might have crept 'into the Church, ſince the firſt ſettlement of Chriſtianity, which recommendation would, I believed, 'have a very good effect. His Lordſhip's anſwer, 'as near as I can remember the words, and that with 'great emotion of mind, was this: Mr Whiſton, 'I dare not examine; I dare not examine; for if 'we ſhould examine and find that you are in the 'right, the Church has then been in an error ſo 'many hundred years; yet, as Mr Whiſton concludes, 'when I aſked him how he could ſay ſo and ſtill 'be a Proteſtant; he replied, Yes, he could (34).' (34) Ibid. p. 140, 141, 142. Thus we ſee how ill the parts of this ſtory hang together; and ſuch traſh would not have found a place here, but as it gives an opportunity of ſatisfying ſuch as perhaps may be unacquainted with that odious part of Mr Whiſton's conduct, in retailing and miſrepreſenting private converſation in favour of his own principles; a moſt miſchievous kind of falſeneſs and treachery, of which no man was univerſally eſteemed leſs capable than he, at the time when theſe tales, concerning Dr Smalridge, have their date; and, conſequently, no man more capable of doing miſchief by them. For which reaſon, it will not appear incredible, that he was a great means of bringing the ſuſpicion of Arianiſm upon the Biſhop; which, however, in the iſſue turned to his advantage, as will be ſeen in the following remark.

[*N*] *Under a neceſſity of vindicating himſelf from that calumny.*] To ſet this part of our author's life in a full light, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that in 1719, there was a deſign among the Anti-Athanaſians, as they called themſelves, to petition the Parliament for a legal Toleration. Dr Clarke was conſulted, and approved the deſign, and Mr Whiſton was the chief promoter of it. Upon this occaſion, a paper was drawn up and printed in order to be diſtributed to the Members of Parliament, to the following purport:

'Whereas, in an Act of Parliament, 1. Gul. & 'Mary, for the exempting Proteſtant Diſſenters, &c. 'from diverſe penalties, &c. there are ſeveral re'ſtrictions and limitations, by which many of his 'Majeſty's peaceable Proteſtant ſubjects are ſtill left 'incapable of receiving the benefit of ſuch exemption, '&c. Therefore, for the quieting the minds of all 'ſuch his Majeſty's good Proteſtant ſubjects; be it 'enacted, &c. That every Proteſtant Diſſenter from 'the Church of England by law eſtabliſhed, who 'ſhall make and ſubſcribe the declaration againſt 'Popery, and take the oaths in the ſaid Act men'tioned; and who ſhall, inſtead of any other decla- (35) N. B. No preachers or teachers, except Quakers, are at preſent tolerated by Law in England, without ſubſcribing the Ift, IId, Vth, VIIIth, IXth, XIIth, and XVIIth, of the XXXIX Articles of Religion. 'rations and ſubſcriptions therein required, declare 'and ſubſcribe his unfeigned aſſent to, and his belief 'of, the Holy Chriſtian religion, as contained in the 'ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, and in 'the Creed, commonly called the Apoſtle's Creed, 'ſhall have the full benefit of the ſaid exemptions, 'as if he had made all the declarations and ſubſcrip'tions therein hitherto required; any thing in the 'aforeſaid Act, or in any other Act, to the contrary 'in any wiſe notwithſtanding (35).'

This attempt, though abortive, yet made a very great noiſe, and being particularly diſguſtful to the generality of the Clergy, who were moſt zealous for preſerving the preſent eſtabliſhment unaltered, in this reſpect, ſome of theſe judging, that ſuch a bold attempt could not be thought of without ſome particular encouragement, were prompted to look whence it might poſſibly come, and in that humour preſently caſt their eyes upon Biſhop Smalridge, who, it was well known, had often expreſſed a good opinion of Dr Clarke and Mr Whiſton, eſpecially as to the piety and uprightneſs of their intentions for the ſervice of religion, and frequently declared his diſlike of all violent meaſures againſt them. Theſe murmurings reaching the ears of Sir Jonathan Trelawny, then Biſhop of Wincheſter, who had a great reſpect for his brother of Briſtol, his Lordſhip took the liberty of acquainting him with them: in anſwer to whom, Biſhop Smalridge wrote the following remarkable vindication of himſelf, in a letter to that friend, dated from Chriſt-Church in Oxford, September 23, 1719.

'My

In 1711, he preached his farewel ſermon at St Dunſtan's (*m*), upon the reſignation of that Lecture-ſhip [*O*], being made Canon of Chriſt-church in Oxford, into which he was inſtalled the fourth of September that year. Dr Atterbury was made Dean of that church the ſame day; and reſigning the Deanery of Carliſle, Dr Smalridge ſucceeded him in that dignity, into which he was admitted on the third of November, and inſtalled by proxy on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month. Upon the promotion of this friend to the Deanery of Weſtminſter and Biſhopric of Rocheſter, he ſucceeded him alſo as Dean of Chriſt-church, into which he was admitted on the eleventh of July 1713. To this Deanery, upon the tranſlation of Dr John Robinſon to the See of London, was added that of Briſtol, of which Dr Smalridge was conſecrated Biſhop, the fourth of April 1714; and her Majeſty appointed him her Lord-Almoner ſoon after (*n*). In this poſt he likewiſe ſerved her ſucceſſor, King George the Firſt, the firſt Chriſtmas after his Acceſſion to the Throne (*o*). But ſtill preſerving that benevolent principle which conſtantly directed his conduct in all public affairs, never to join in the exaſperating meaſures of any party, he became diſagreeable to the Miniſtry, by refuſing to ſign the Declaration, which the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and ſome other Biſhops, then in and about London, had drawn up on occaſion of the rebellion in 1715 [*P*]; and ſoon after was

(*m*) This, with eleven more, were printed and publiſhed by himſelf, in 1717, 8vo. addreſſed to the Veſtry, &c. of this church, in Tothil Fields, Weſtminſter.

(*n*) Willis's Cathedrals, Vol. I.

(*o*) See his letter to Biſhop Trelawney, in remark [*N*].

'My very good Lord,

'Among the many proofs your Lordſhip has given 'me of your favour and friendſhip to me, none could 'be greater or more obliging than the generous con- 'cern you have ſhewn for my injured reputation; 'and I am very much ſurprized to hear that I ſhould 'be ſuſpected of Arianiſm, having never given, as 'I know of, the leaſt ground for ſuch ſuſpicion. 'I have, from the chair (while I ſupplied Dr Jane's 'place) from the pulpit; when I have preached at 'the New Chapel [in Tothil-fields, Weſtminſter]; 'and here at Oxford, on Chriſtmas day was twelve 'month; and on the ſame day at Court, when I was 'Almoner, the firſt Chriſtmas after the King's 'acceſſion; and in Convocation, when a cenſure 'paſt on Mr Whiſton's doctrines, (whilſt I was 'preſbyter and a member of the Lower-Houſe); and 'upon all other proper occaſions expreſſed my ſenti- 'ments about the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour, 'in oppoſition both to the Socinians and Arians. 'I did on Sunday laſt ordain ſome clergymen, and 'I examined them particularly as to the points con- 'troverted betwixt the Catholic Church and the 'Arians, and ſaid what to me ſeemed proper to con- 'firm them in the Catholic faith, and to arm them 'againſt the objections uſually brought by the Arians. 'I have read over more than once, and, as well as 'I was able, have conſidered Dr Waterland's late book, 'and have in converſation ſignified my approbation of 'it, and recommended it to my friends as a ſubſtantial 'vindication of the received doctrines and confutation 'of Arianiſm.

'Trelawney, Nov. 16, 1719.

'This is a true copy of part of the Biſhop of 'Briſtol's letter to me; and without going deeper 'into it, is a ſufficient vindication of him from the 'damnable but thriving hereſy of Arianiſm.

'Witneſs my hand,

'Jonathan Trelawney.'

(36) Memoirs of Dr Clarke, p. 138, 139.

Mr Whiſton, from whom we tranſcribe this (36), makes the following extraordinary remark upon it: N. B *Whether Biſhop Smalridge meant by Arianiſm the Euſebian doctrine, of late revived, is not here expreſsly ſaid.* He muſt mean not explicitly or in *totidem verbis*, for ſurely, the Biſhop's approbation and recommendation of Dr Waterland's book, as a confutation of Arianiſm, is clearly expreſſive of that meaning; but Mr Whiſton was reſolved not to ſee that meaning. A prejudice ſo obſtinately blind is enough to make us read with caution, what he tells us afterwards he had from the Earl of Nottingham; viz. that in the other part of this letter, ſuppreſſed by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, his friend, Biſhop Smalridge, declared, the regard he had for ſome perſons not of the Athanaſian opinion; and his little approbation of at leaſt the damnatory clauſes in the Athanaſian Creed; as alſo, this other N. B. That our Biſhop ſeemed always to him [Mr Whiſton] ready enough to give up the Athanaſian creed; only he loved to put it upon another foot, ſays Whiſton, than I ſhould have done; I mean, that it ſhould be given up to the clamours of the Diſſenters, who ſtill made it's damnatory ſentences an argument againſt Conformity to the Church of England. This, however, is much leſs incredible than what follows: 'I was alſo informed, continues this bigotted Anti-Athanaſian, by an eye-witneſs, Sir Robert Clarke, that when he was once at Briſtol cathedral on an Athanaſian-Creed day; and not believing that Creed himſelf, had nothing elſe to do but to watch Biſhop Smalridge's behaviour; he took notice, that he did not repeat that creed any more than himſelf (37).' This carries an inſinuation ſo injurious to the Biſhop, and ſo utterly inconſiſtent with his conſtant behaviour at divine ſervice at Oxford, where he made it his particular care to join with a full and audible voice in every part of the ſervice requiring it, and often complained of a bad cuſtom that had crept into the univerſity, of not joining in the pſalmody, (there being only a ſermon beſides) under a pretence of being more moved by liſtning to the ſweet performance of the choriſters in that part of the duty (38); that no excuſe can be made for it.

(37) Ibid. p. 140.

(38) From my own knowledge.

[*O*] *His farewel ſermon at St Dunſtan's*, &c.] This ſermon was printed together with eleven more, by himſelf, in 1717, 8vo. and the volume is not ſcarce; yet there is one paſſage in it which it would be a kind of injury to the pariſh as well as to his memory, if this opportunity of doing juſtice to both was neglected. In the concluſion of his diſcourſe, he addreſſes himſelf to the inhabitants thus: 'And now, my dearly 'beloved brethren, I moſt earneſtly beſeech you to 'call to remembrance all the diſſauſives from impiety 'and ſin, all the exhortations to holineſs and virtue, 'which I have, through the courſe of my miniſtry, 'with much weakneſs and infirmity, but with an 'honeſt mind and a hearty concern for your eternal 'welfare, made unto you. That having by your 'own free choice ſet me to be your watchman, you 'would hearken to this laſt voice of the trumpet, this 'plain, this repeated, this final, declaration of one, 'who ſincerely loves and regards you, and who has 'all the teſtimonies he could wiſh, more than he 'could expect, of affection and eſteem from you, have 'it's due weight.'

[*P*] *He refuſed to ſign the Declaration*, &c. 1715.] The paſſage in that Declaration which he excepted to was this, 'We are the more concerned that both the 'Clergy and People of our communion ſhould ſhew 'themſelves hearty friends to the Government, on this 'occaſion, to vindicate the honour of the Church of 'England, becauſe the chief hopes of our enemies 'ſeem to ariſe from diſcontents, artificially raiſed 'amongſt us; *and becauſe ſome who have val ed 'themſelves, and been too much valued by others for 'a pretended zeal, have joined with Papiſts in theſe 'wicked attempts*, which as they muſt ruin the Church 'if they ſucceed, ſo they cannot well end without 'great reproach to it, if the reſt do not clearly and 'heartily declare our deteſtation of ſuch practices.' This, he thought, was an unjuſt and invidious party-reflection upon ſome, whoſe loyalty was unqueſtionable. It has been ſaid, that he was perſuaded to take this ſtep by Biſhop Atterbury; but it is manifeſtly agreeable to his own principles and judgment. Though very probably they might act in concert upon this intereſting affair,

was removed from the Almoner's place (p). However, it was not long before his true merit was particularly marked by her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, with whom he continued from that time in high favour 'till his death, which was occaſioned by an apoplexy, on the twenty-ſeventh of September 1719, to the

(p) Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's Hiſtory of England.

affair, as they always lived in the cloſeſt communication of counſels and friendſhip in points which nearly concerned either of them. The following letter is a conſpicuous inſtance of this intimacy, in regard to Dr Atterbury's diſpute with Hoadley, and is no leſs remarkable in it's contents.

To the Reverend Dr Smalridge.

'Dear George,

'I happened about a fortnight ago to dine with 'Mrs Aſtel. She ſpoke to me of my ſermon (39), 'and deſired me to print it; and after I had given 'her the proper anſwers, hinted to me, that ſhe 'would be glad of peruſing it. I complied with her, 'and ſent her the ſermon next day. Yeſternight ſhe 'returned it, with this ſheet of remarks, which I can 'not forbear communicating to you, becauſe I take 'them to be of an extraordinary nature, conſidering 'they come from the pen of a woman. Indeed, one 'would not imagine a woman had written them. 'There is not an expreſſion that carries the leaſt air 'of her ſex from the beginning to the end of it. She 'attacks me very home, you ſee, and artfully enough, 'under a pretence of taking my part againſt other 'Divines, who are in Hoadley's meaſures. Had ſhe 'as much good breeding as good ſenſe, ſhe would be 'perfect. But ſhe has not the moſt decent manner 'of inſinuating what ſhe means, but is now and then 'a little offenſive and ſhocking in her expreſſions; 'which I wonder at, becauſe a civil turn of words '(even where the matter is not pleaſing) is what her 'ſex is always miſtreſs of: ſhe, I think, is wanting in 'it: but her ſenſible and rational way of writing 'makes amends for that defect, if indeed any thing 'can make amends for it. I dread to engage her, 'and leave the reſt to an oral conference. Her way 'of ſolving the difficulty about ſwearing to the Queen 'is ſomewhat ſingular. You'll bring this with you 'to Henry Bridges's to-morrow. Perhaps I may call 'upon you between twelve and one, in order to our 'going thither together; if I were ſure of your being 'at home, I would. But if I do, and find you are 'abroad, there is no inconvenience in it. I can 'follow you alone.

Friday noon. 'Your's, adieu.'

(39) Apparently that ſermon preached before the Sons of the Clergy, againſt Hoadley's meaſures of Submiſſion.

By the way, the Biſhop's cenſure of Mrs Aſtel's rude way of expreſſing herſelf has happened to give much offence to the writer of her life (40), who has ranked her among the chief heroines of the three kingdoms; and, therefore, according to the general rule of ſuch undertakers, who think it their buſineſs to aſſume the character of a Champion Knight, to defend their heroine's ſpotleſs worth againſt all oppoſers, will by no means allow her to be capable of ſuch a defect; and even ſcruples not to retort the reflection upon the Biſhop. So redoubted a champion, who enters the liſts in defence of his miſtreſs, profeſſedly without knowing any thing of the particulars upon which the juſtice of her cauſe depends, needs not fear having any opponent. However, as Mrs Aſtel was undoubtedly an ornament to her ſex, and has been mentioned as ſuch before in the courſe of this work (41), the reader will naturally have a curioſity to know ſomething more of her, which he may take as follows: She was born about the year 1668, at Newcaſtle in Northumberland, where her father, being a merchant, took care to give her a genteel education. Among other accompliſhments, ſhe was taught the French language, but having an uncommon bent and genius for literature, ſhe afterwards learned Latin without a maſter. This being obſerved by an uncle, who was a clergyman, he undertook to be her preceptor, and by the help of his inſtructions ſhe made a conſiderable progreſs in Philoſophy and Mathematics as well as the language. With this foundation, at the age of twenty, ſhe left Newcaſtle, and went to London; where, and at Chelſey, ſhe ſpent the remaining part of her life; proſecuting her ſtudies very aſſiduouſly; ſo that, in a little time, ſhe made great acquiſitions in the forementioned ſciences; and turned over the beſt heathen moraliſts, and made herſelf miſtreſs particularly of Xenophon, Plato, Hierocles, Tully, Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Antoninus. Being now ſenſible of her own talents for learning, and feeling the advantage of it, in regard to the world's eſteem, ſhe ambitioned to raiſe the whole ſex above their ordinary level, and endeavoured to inflame their minds with an ardor for knowledge as well as religion. In this view, ſhe firſt publiſhed *A ſerious propoſal to the Ladies for the advancement of their true and greateſt intereſt*; to which ſhe added, ſome time after, *A ſerious propoſal, &c. the ſecond part; wherein a method is offered for the improvement of their minds.* Theſe books wrought ſo far upon a certain great lady, that ſhe had a deſign to give ten thouſand pounds towards erecting a ſort of college for the education and improvement of the female ſex. But the matter coming unluckily to the ears of Dr Burnet, he immediately went to the lady, and ſo powerfully remonſtrated againſt it, telling her, it would look like preparing a way for the Popiſh religious orders, and would be reputed a nunnery, &c. that he intirely fruſtrated that *noble* deſign (42). We have already mentioned, under Mr Norris's article, her letters to him concerning the love of God, wrote in 1695, which were firſt occaſioned by her meeting with his peculiar notions upon that ſubject in his Practical Diſcourſes upon various Subjects. In 1696, ſhe publiſhed *An Eſſay in defence of the female ſex, in a letter to a Lady, written by a Lady.* This is a witty piece, and was reprinted ſoon after. In 1700, ſhe publiſhed *Reflections upon Marriage*; in which ſhe is thought to carry the birth-right and privileges of her ſex a little too far. But in her excuſe, this piece is ſaid to derive it's birth from a diſappointment which ſhe met with in a marriage, not long before ſhe undertook it; and as it did not pleaſe ſome nice palates, ſhe printed a ſecond edition, with this title, *Reflexions upon Marriage: To which is added, A preface, in anſwer to ſome objections*, Lond. 1705, 8vo. As ſhe was a great enemy to the ſectaries, ſhe took up the cudgels againſt Davenant's *Moderation a Virtue*, &c. And his *Eſſays on Peace and War*; in anſwer to which ſhe wrote *Moderation truly ſtated; in a review of a late pamphlet entituled*, Moderation a Virtue: or, The occaſional Conformiſt juſtified from the imputation of Hypocriſy; *wherein this juſtification is further conſidered; and, as far as is capable, juſtified.* As alſo, *A fair way with the Diſſenters and their patrons; not written by L----y* or any other furious Jacobite, whether Clergyman or Layman, but by a very moderate Perſon and dutiful Subject to the Queen*; both in 1704, 4to. (43). She alſo wrote *An impartial enquiry into the cauſes of the Rebellion and Civil War in this Kingdom; in an examination of Dr Kennet's Sermon, January* 30, 1703-4; *and vindication of the Royal Martyr*, Lond. 1704, in 4to. But her *chef d'œuvre* or maſter-piece is, *The Chriſtian Religion as profeſſed by a Daughter of the Church of England*, Lond. 1705, 8vo. (44). For ſeveral years before her death ſhe conſtantly walked from Chelſey to St Martin's church in the Fields every Sunday, to hear a celebrated preacher† She led a holy, pious, and evangelical life, and enjoyed a perfect ſtate of health 'till a few years before her death, when having one of her breaſts taken off for a cancer (45), this impaired her conſtitution, and ſhe did not long ſurvive it. After ſhe was confined to her bed, ſhe ordered her coffin and ſhrowd to be made and brought to the bedſide, and earneſtly deſired, that no company might be admitted to her, refuſing even to ſee Lady Katharine Jones, her deareſt friend. She died about the 11th of May, and was buried at Chelſey on the 14th, 1731. Her fortune was never large, and in the latter part of her life was ſo much reduced, that ſhe was obliged to her friends for a great part of her ſupport. Among others, Lady Elizabeth Haſting, eſpecially was very kind and generous to her, and once gave her a purſe of no leſs than fourſcore guineas (46).

(40) Mr Pallard, who has given a copy of this letter.

(41) Under Mr Norris's article.

(42) Ballard's Lives of Illuſtrious Women, under her article.

* Lefley.

(43) While this was in the preſs, Davenant came out with a new edition of his Moderation ſtill a Virtue; whereupon ſhe returned immediately a very ſmart anſwer, afterwards added by way of preface to this book, which is very ſcarce.

(44) In this piece, ſhe has taken to taſk Locke's notion of thinking matter, and ſhewn the miſchievous tendency of his Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity, and the Lady's Religion. She has alſo made ſome remarks on Dr Tillotſon's ſermons upon the Eternity of Hell torments, which is mentioned by Dr Waterland, in his Advice to a Young Student.

† Probably Dr Trapp.

(45) The operation was performed by one Johnſon a clergyman, and for that reaſon Lady Elizabeth Haſtings had her breaſt cut off, in the ſame caſe by the ſame operator. Ballard, as before.

(46) Ibid.

the great grief of his college, and the whole univerſity of Oxford. He died at Chriſt-church, and his corps was interred in the iſle, on the north ſide of the choir of that cathedral, where ſome years afterwards a handſome monument of white marble was fixed to a column, with an inſcription in elegant Latin, as may be ſeen below [Q]. He was united to Mr Nelſon (whoſe epitaph he wrote) in a kind of congenial worth, eſpecially in works of charity; wherein he ſo much abounded, that his widow and two children, a ſon and daughter, had been deſtitute of a ſupport if the forementioned generous patroneſs, the Princeſs of Wales, had not provided for them, by giving the firſt a penſion of three hundred pounds a year, and conferring a good benefice in the Church for the ſon, Mr Henry Smalridge, who having been bred at Weſtminſter-ſchool, was then a ſtudent of Chriſt-church and Maſter of Arts, and took Orders to qualify himſelf for receiving his worthy patroneſs's bounty (q). In 1724, the widow took an opportunity of expreſſing her grateful ſenſe of theſe favours in a dedication to her Royal Highneſs [R], prefixed to a collection of ſixty of the Biſhop's ſermons then publiſhed in folio; the ſecond edition of which came out in 1727.

(q) Communicated by a gentleman well known to the family.

[Q] *An elegant Latin inſcription.*] After giving an account of his birth, education, and preferments, it proceeds with his character, which being faithfully and impartially done, we ſhall inſert as follows:

Erat vultu apertus & gravis; moribus ſimplex;
In precibus fervens; in roſtris diſertus.
Affuit ei in totius vitæ tenore conſtantia,
In verbis fides; in colloquiis ſuavitas;
In reprehendendo candor; in præcipiendo authoritas;
In diſcernendo quid in quaque re ſtatui oporteret
Tam ſubactum judicium,
Ut alios facile ſecum ducere potuerit;
Tanta vero modeſtia, haud raro ut maluerit ſequi;
Tanta in erratis aliorum ignoſcendis humanitas,
Ut etiam in iis, quibus maxime adverſabatur,
Quæſierit ſemper, quod laudaret,
Talis cum eſſet,
Quot ſibi cognitos,
Tot ſui amantes, tot prope amicos habuit;
Inimicum certe neminem.
Lichfieldiæ natus eſt
Oxonii obiit Ann. Dom. M DCCXIX. Ætat. LVII.
Maria
Vidua ab illo relicta
Marmor hoc
Viri ſui memoriæ
Semper charæ, ſemper honorandæ,
M. P.

[R] *A dedication to Her Royal Highneſs.*] It begins thus: 'Your Royal Highneſs having ſo graciouſly 'taken into your protection,' thoſe whom the author 'of theſe ſheets, now with God, hath left behind 'him; and having ſhewn a royal regard to his 'memory, when, with an unuſual degree of goodneſs 'and tenderneſs, you condeſcended to comfort and 'cheriſh me, his deſolate widow, in the extremity 'of my grief, I have been encouraged to hope you 'will deſcend to receive his works alſo under your 'patronage; and do now, therefore, offer them with 'this addreſs to your royal hands. He never deſigned 'them for the preſs; and, therefore, I kept them 'concealed, 'till preſſed by perſons of judgment in 'theſe matters, I conſented to make them public; 'and having done ſo, I am ſure I ſhould have been 'wanting in duty and gratitude, had I ſlipt ſuch an 'opportunity of publiſhing at the ſame time, the 'great, the many, the various, obligations laid upon 'me and mine for benefits valuable in themſelves, and 'more valuable as coming from your royal hands.'

P

SMITH [Sir THOMAS], Secretary of State to King Edward VI, and afterwards to Queen Elizabeth, was born March 28, in the year 1514 [A], at Saffron-Walden in Eſſex. His father was John Smith of that place, Gent. [B] and his mother Agnes Charnock, of an ancient family in Lancaſhire. He received his ſchool-education, in all probability in his native town of Walden [C]; and in 1526, at the age of twelve or

[A] *Was born March 28, in the Year* 1514.] That he was born March 28; we learn from the inſcription under his picture, at the beginning of his Life by Mr John Strype. And that it was in the year 1513 or 1514, we learn from himſelf. For he ſays (1), that 'the eight and twenty of March 1565, he 'was in the one and fiftieth yeere of his age.' From whence Mr Strype wrongfully infers, 'that he muſt 'have come into the world in the year 1512 (2).' J. Fox is alſo miſtaken, in aſſigning his age to have been three and thirty in 1551, according to which he muſt have been born in 1518 (3). Mr Camden is neareſt the truth, when he ſays, that he dyed in 1577, in his grand climacteric (4). And therefore the inſcription on his monument is wrong, which ſays, he had completed the 65th year of his age.

(1) In the Commonwealth of England, near the end.

(2) Life, &c. as above, p. 2.

(3) Acts and Monuments.

(4) Annal. Eliz. ad ann. 1577.

[B] *His father was John Smith of that place, Gent.*] He was a perſon of good rank and quality, being High-Sheriff of the Counties of Eſſex and Hertford, in the year 1538. And he was alſo a man of conſiderable wealth, for the time he lived in; for, in one year, a° 1549, he purchaſed a Chantry in the Church of Long Aſhton in Somerſetſhire, with other lands, tenements, and hereditaments in the counties of Somerſet and Glouceſter, which coſt him 293 l. 16 s. 8 d. And alſo the Guild or Fraternity in Great Walden lately diſſolved, with divers other lands and tenements in Eſſex and London; for which he, with another joint-purchaſer, paid 531 l. 14 s. 11 d.——In 1545, his coat of Arms was granted him by the principal King of Arms; or rather confirmed: For the patent ſpecifies, That he was deſcended of honeſt lineage, and his anceſtors had long continued in nobility and bearing of arms; and that it was Mr Smith's deſire, that the King of arms would ratify unto him his former coat, and regiſter it in the records of his office.—He was an old favourer of the Reformed Religion, in which he brought up his ſon Thomas from his youth. He lies buried in Walden church. By his wife, Agnes Charnock, he had four daughters, Agnes, Mary, Alice, and Jane, which two laſt married; and three ſons, *Thomas* the ſubject of this article; John and George. *John* was the chief inſtrument and procurer of the new erection of the Corporation of the town of Walden, a° 1549, and of the foundation of King Edward's Almſhouſe there. *George* was a merchant in London; and his poſterity inherit the ſeat of Hill Hall, and other eſtates acquired by Sir Thomas (5).

(5) Life of Sir Thomas Smith by J. Strype, P. 2—7.

[C] *He received his ſchool education, in all probability in his native town of Walden.*] There was an old School there; which, after his advancement at Court, he got erected into a royal foundation by K. Edward VI. and endowed with two Mills, and an annuity of twelve pounds *per ann.* payable out of the manor of Willingale Spain's in Eſſex (6).

(6) Ibid. P. 7.

[D] *And*

or thirteen, was ſent to Queen's-college in Cambridge: where he became ſo eminent for learning, that King Henry VIII. choſe him one of his ſcholars; and, for his encouragement and better maintenance, allowed him a yearly penſion, as was then cuſtomary (*a*). In 1531, he was choſen Fellow of his college; about which time, being incited by a laudable emulation, on account of the great honor and reſpect paid to Dr John Redman, newly returned from foreign univerſities with a thorough knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, he cloſely applied himſelf to the reading of the beſt authors, ſuch as Plato, Demoſthenes, Ariſtotle, and Cicero. By his great diligence he acquired, in about two years time, a perfect ſkill in Greek, and was appointed, in 1535, to read the publick Greek Lecture in the univerſity. Upon which occaſion, obſerving the vitious Pronunciation of that elegant and harmonious language, he and John Cheke (*b*) conſulted about reforming that error; and brought up a new way of pronouncing Greek, which at length came to be univerſally received (*c*) [*D*]. Beſides his public Lecture, he alſo read privately in his college upon Homer's Odyſſey. In 1536, he was made Univerſity-Orator, which place he filled with great applauſe. But, not ſatisfied with what improvements he could make at home, he ſet out upon his travels in 1539; in order not only to learn the foreign languages, but alſo to ſtudy in the univerſities of France and Italy, which then abounded with very learned Profeſſors. At

(*a*) The Life of Sir Thomas Smith, by J. Strype, edit. 1698, 8vo. p. 1—10. T. Fuller adds, that it was by that King's direction Mr Smith was ſent over, and brought up beyond the ſeas. *Worthies*, in Eſſex, p. 328.

(*b*) See above, the article CHEKE [JOHN].

(*c*) Strype, as above, p. 12, &c.

[*D*] *And brought up a new way of pronouncing Greek, which at length came to be univerſally received.*] Cuſtom had eſtabliſhed a very improper and falſe manner of ſounding ſome of the Greek vowels and diphthongs: For, ι, η, υ, ει, οι, υι, were all then pronounced as ιωτα. This diſparaged extremely the pronunciation of that fine language: 'When the reader 'had almoſt nothing elſe to ſpeak, but mournful 'ſounds, and that ſniveling ι (7).' He therefore and Mr Cheke conferred ſeriouſly about this matter. They perceived, that the vulgar method of pronouncing Greek was evidently falſe; it being abſurd, that ſo many different letters and diphthongs ſhould have but one and the ſame ſound. And they found it difficult to teach that language well, by reaſon of this great confuſion. They proceeded to ſearch Authors (not having ſeen yet Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus), in order to arrive at a certainty. But the modern writers little availed them: For they had not yet peruſed *Eraſmus*'s Book, *De rectâ Latini Græcique Sermonis pronunciatione*. Tho' they both obſerved theſe palpable errors, they could not agree among themſelves; eſpecially concerning the pronunciation of the letters γ before α and υ ψιλον. They dreaded the Effects of an unuſual Sound, which, by reaſon of its Novelty, would be both difficult and diſagreeable. Soon after, having got Eraſmus's Book, and *Terentianus de Literis, Syllabis, Pedibus, et Metris*, they began to reform *privately* the Pronunciation of the Greek, but did not venture to communicate it to any but their moſt intimate and familiar friends. When they had ſufficiently accuſtomed themſelves to this new method of Pronunciation, which they liked more and more by reaſon of its fulneſs and ſweetneſs, they determined to make trial of it publickly. It was agreed that Mr Smith ſhould begin. He read at that time Ariſtotle *de Republicâ*, in Greek, as he had done ſome years before. And that the Novelty of the pronunciation might give the leſs offence, he uſed this artifice; viz. Of letting, in his reading, now and then a word fall, uttered in the new correct ſound: To the end, that if his Auditors utterly diſliked it, he might defer his project for a while; or if they approved of it, he might briſkly go on. At firſt no notice was taken of it; but when he repeated it oftner, they began to liſten more attentively. Eſpecially his pronouncing η and οι, as ε and οι, being frequently obſerved, they could not think it a ſlip of the tongue, but deſign; and laughed at the unuſual ſounds. He again, as though his tongue had ſlipped, would ſometimes correct himſelf, and ſay the word again after the old manner. But when he did this daily, ſome of his friends came to him, and told him what they had obſerved in his Lectures. He owned to them, he had been thinking of ſomething privately, but that it was not yet ſufficiently digeſted, and prepared for the publick. Upon the rumour of this, many others came to him; whom he deſired to have patience, 'till their ears were accuſtomed to the new ſounds, and the prejudice of novelty worn off. And ſo by degrees he explained to them the whole reaſon of his new pronunciation. In his private readings upon Homer's Odyſſey, he more plainly and openly ſhewed and determined the difference of the ſounds. Many came, that they might learn from him how to frame their mouths to utter thoſe new and true ſounds. And it is not to be expreſſed, with what greedineſs and affection this was received among the young ſcholars. The following winter, there was acted in St John's college the Greek play of Ariſtophanes called *Plutus*, in this new pronunciation, and one or two more of his comedies; when it was obſerved, that none of thoſe who underſtood Greek thoroughly, or were accounted learned, ſhewed any diſlike or oppoſition. This method of pronouncing was followed by John Ponet, Mr Smith's pupil, and ſucceſſor in his lecture, afterwards biſhop of Winchester; and alſo by Mr Roger Aſcham, another of his ſucceſſors, tho' he diſliked it for a while; and even by Dr John Redman, public Profeſſor of Divinity, a man of great learning and reputation (8). Thus by Mr Smith's unwearied pains and endeavours, was the Greek language reſtored to itſelf, as it was ſpoken when Greece was in its moſt flouriſhing condition. And by undeniable Authorities from Plato, Dionyſius, Thucydides, and Demoſthenes, he made out that he was in the right (9). Cheke, when he was appointed Profeſſor of the Greek tongue, proceeded in the ſame method. But Stephen Gardiner, biſhop of Winchester, and Chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, dreading all Innovations, and obſerving that theſe endeavours of bringing in a new pronunciation of the Greek, came chiefly from perſons ſuſpected to be no friends to Popery; he made a ſolemn Decree againſt that way (10). Some time after, Mr Smith waiting upon the Biſhop, entered into diſcourſe upon that ſubject; and finding him immoveable, told him, in a mild and ingenious way, that for his part he could read both ways, the new and the old, that he might offend none for a matter of ſo ſmall importance. Adding, that 'even 'Stammering deſerved praiſe, if he that did ſo, would 'ſpeak plainly, when there was occaſion (11) according to that of the Apoſtle, I am debtor both to fools 'and wiſe.' Thus pleaſantly did Mr Smith comply with the Biſhop, and yet tacitly gave him a ſevere reproof for his obſtinacy.—During the courſe of his Travels abroad, he recommended to all the Learned, with whom he converſed, his new way of Pronunciation, and endeavoured to eſtabliſh it to the utmoſt of his power.——And, after his return home, in 1542, he wrote a long and eloquent Latin letter to Gardiner, wherein he argued with much freedom the points in diſpute between them. In this letter, he ſhewed 1ſt what was to be called true and right in the whole method of Sounds and Pronunciation; retrieving it from the vulgar and current uſe, and propoſing the Antients as the beſt and only pattern to be imitated in this caſe. 2. He compared the old and the new pronunciation with that pattern; that a judgment might be formed, of what was to be corrected, and what followed. 3. He explained and vindicated his paſt conduct in the whole affair of the reading of Greek.—During his embaſſy in France, in 1568, he cauſed this letter to be printed at Paris by Robert Stephens, under this title, *De rectâ & emendatâ Linguæ Græcæ Pronuntiatione*, 4to, together with his other Tract concerning the correct writing and pronouncing the Engliſh Tongue: Of which an account is given in the next note (12).

(7) Nihil fere aliud habuerit ad loquendum, niſi lugubres ſonos, & illud flebile ι; as Mr Smith's own words are. *De rectâ Pronunciat.* fol. 47. a.

(8) This is our learned author's own account, in his book De Linguæ Græcæ Pronuntiat. fol. 40, 41, 42.

(9) Life, by Strype, &c. p. 13—18.

(10) See the article CHEKE [JOHN].

(11) Balbutire, modo idem, ſi quando uſus ſit, expeditè loquatur, etiam laudi dandum eſt.

(12) Strype, as above, p. 20—34.

[*E*] *So*

At Padua he ſtudied the Civil Law, and went out Doctor in that faculty. During the courſe of his travels he grew more and more confirmed in the truth and propriety of *that* Pronunciation of the Greek, which he had revived, and recommended it to ſeveral learned men (*d*). Coming home, a very accompliſhed perſon, he retired to his college: and in 1542, having taken the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law in Cambridge, he was made the King's Profeſſor in that faculty. In which, as well as in other branches of literature, continuing to improve himſelf, he came to be reckoned the beſt ſcholar in the univerſity, not only for Rhetoric and the learned Languages, but for Mathematicks, Arithmetick, Law, Natural and Moral Philoſophy, &c. And in order to communicate his knowledge, he took pupils; among whom were, Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and John Ponet, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter. About this time, Thomas Goodric, Biſhop of Ely, made him Chancellor of his dioceſe. As he had undertaken to reform the pronunciation of the Greek, ſo did he alſo make it his buſineſs to refine and poliſh the Engliſh, tongue; and wrote a treatiſe concerning the correct writing of it, and the true ſounding of the letters and words (*e*) [*E*]. Moreover he endeavoured to promote true Religion in the univerſity, having been trained in the Proteſtant doctrine from his youth; and ſecured to the utmoſt of his power ſuch as were expoſed to perſecution, in the latter end of King Henry the Eighth's reign (*f*). He was at leaſt in Deacon's Orders, and had the Rectory of Leverington in Cambridgeſhire of conſiderable value (*g*); and ſoon after the Deanry of Carliſle (*b*). A man of ſo good a diſpoſition, and of ſuch bright parts as Dr Smith was, could not but be welcome and neceſſary, to any Court; accordingly, upon the Acceſſion of King Edward VI. he was taken into the Lord Protector Seymour's family, and made one of his Maſters of Requeſts: And likewiſe Provoſt of Eaton-college; and Steward of the Stannaries, he being an excellent Metalliſt and Chemiſt. Growing rich from the profits of thoſe many gainful employments, he purchaſed about that time ſeveral eſtates [*F*]. In 1548, he was advanced to the important office of Secretary of State; and knighted. The ſame year, in the month of July, he went Embaſſador with Mr Thomas Chamberlayne to Bruſſels (*i*), to the Emperor's council there [*G*]: and returned to England, in September, leaving Chamberlayne reſident at

(*d*) Life, by Strype, &c. as above, p. 19—24.

(*e*) Strype, as above, p. 24, &c.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 35.

(*g*) Id. p. 37.

(*b*) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Dr. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 302.

(*i*) Mr Chamberlayne was his brother-in-law; having married his firſt lady's ſiſter, Strype, Life, &c. p. 42.

[*E*] *So did he alſo make it his buſineſs to refine and poliſh the Engliſh tongue, and wrote a Treatiſe concerning the correct writing of it,* &c.] He maintained, that the manner of *Writing* many of our Engliſh words, was both abſurd and improper. As for inſtance; in theſe words, *Pleaſe, Sonne, Moone, To, Toe, Meane,* he ſaid, thoſe ſounds are not comprehended, which we would expreſs; and, in ſome of them, the ſyllables are ſtuffed with needleſs letters: Which letters by themſelves have their certain natures, as he obſerved, and being joined after that manner, have not that force which they ought to have. And again, in other words, he took notice we had no Letters that expreſſed what we ſpoke, and therefore he thought it neceſſary to have more Letters (13). So he framed twenty-nine Letters; whereof Nineteen were Roman, Four Greek, and Six Engliſh or Saxon. The Five Vowels he augmented to Ten, by diſtinguiſhing them into Long and Short, and making certain accents over, or on the ſide of, thoſe that were to be pronounced long. He allowed no Diphthongs, nor double Conſonants, nor any *E's* at the end of words not being ſounded. He was for throwing out entirely, and baniſhing from the Alphabet, the Letter *Q* as uſeleſs; *Ku* expreſſing the full power of *Qu*., for, without the vowel *U*, the letter *Q* is never written. And the ſame uſeleſſneſs he found to be in the letter *C.* for it is always expreſſed either by *K.* or *S.* but he retained it in his Alphabet to ſerve inſtead of *Ch.* (14). Mr Strype cauſed this Alphabet to be engraved on a copper-plate, and placed it in the Appendix to Sir Thomas's Life (15). But, in all ſuch pretended Reformations of our Language, the beſt, and indeed only certain, Method, is, To trace back the ſeveral Words wherewith it is compoſed, to their Primitives, in the Anglo-Saxon, and other tongues; and to ſpell, or write them, as near as may be, according as they are in their reſpective Originals. But as for the writing of them as they are pronounced, it may perhaps ſuit the vulgar, and the pretty fellows of the age, but is really unworthy of perſons that pretend to any literature, and underſtand more languages than one.

(13) De recta & emendata Linguæ Anglicæ Scriptione, fol. 2.

(14) Ibid. fol. 20—21, 29, 42. Strype, Life, &c. p. 27, 28.

(15) P. 5.

[*F*] *He purchaſed about that time ſeveral eſtates.*] Namely, the manor of Yarlington in Somerſetſhire, then worth 30 l. *per ann.* which coſt him 300 l. and the college of Darby worth 33 l. a year, which coſt him 1000 marks. He alſo bought a houſe in Channonrow, Weſtminſter; and one in Philpot-lane, London (16): And a houſe in Fleet-lane, with ſeveral other tenements. Afterwards he purchaſed alſo the manor of Ankerwic in Buckinghamſhire: and the reverſion of Mont-halt, or Hill-hall, in Eſſex, which was the jointure of his ſecond wife, made her upon her marriage with Sir John Harrden, Kt. her firſt huſband (17).

(16) Life, &c. p. 41, 225, 226.

(17) Ibid. p. 226, 228.

[*G*] *He went Embaſſador with Mr Chamberlayne to Bruſſels, to the Emperor's Council there.*] The deſign of that embaſſy, was, to provide againſt the Dangers apprehended from the French; who had poſſeſſed themſelves of Scotland, and were a formidable enemy, and the more for being ſo near. Our Court therefore endeavoured to deprive them of the conveniency of the Ports of the Low Countries, which were moſt commodious for Scotland. Sir Thomas obtained a promiſe from the Emperor's council, that they would not permit them to make uſe of thoſe ports. But the promiſe was not duly obſerv'd; for in the latter end of the ſame year, both French and Scots came from Scotland, and landed at Dunkirk. This was one of the buſineſſes of that embaſſy; but the chief end of it, was for raiſing ſoldiers in thoſe parts, which they did to the number of 2000, and obtained the Emperor's leave to bring them over. There is in the Cottonian library (18), a letter of Sir Thomas to the Lord Protector Somerſet, written during this embaſſy, which gives ſome account of it, and of the ſtate of affairs in other parts, and may be acceptable to the reader. 'Tis as follows. '*Pleaſeth it Your Grace to be advertiſed,* That We received Your Grace's Letters the 'xiith of July, with the good news of the ſtate of our 'Things in Scotland; for the which We moſt highly 'thank Almighty God, and your Grace. And as we 'do not a little rejoice at them ourſelves, ſo we ſhall 'not fail to communicate them, as occaſion ſhall 'occur, where it ſhall be convenient. And ſurely, 'they here have eſpials in Scotland, as well as we, 'and be not ignorant of our affairs there. Nevertheleſs, as they pretend at the leaſt, they be very 'glad to hear them of us. The rumour runneth here 'ſtill, that Mr Chamberlain, and an Ambaſſador, came 'hither to take up men: And hereupon hath ſome 'offer been made unto us; but ſuch as we could not 'like. Yeſterday came to us a certain Almain, who 'brought to Yarmouth, I ſuppoſe, an enſign of foot-'men in the King's days that dead is: He liked ſo 'well his pay then, as he ſaith, he would gladly ſerve 'the King before any other Prince. We ſaid, winter 'was now very near: Nevertheleſs, if he would write 'his offer, we would advertiſe your Grace, and know 'further your pleaſure. He is, one Groning in Frize-'land. What your Grace's pleaſure ſhall be, that we 'ſhall

(18) Galba, B. 12.

at Bruſſels (*k*). About that time, he was concerned in the Reformation of Religion; and in redreſſing the Coin, which had been embaſed by the late prodigal tyrant King Henry the Eighth. In 1549, he was employed in an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, for the examination of Anabaptiſts and Arians; and in other commiſſions: and alſo appointed one of the Viſitors of the univerſity of Cambridge. Towards the end of that year, he ſeems to have been involved in his maſter the Duke of Somerſet's troubles. He faithfully adhered to him as long as he could; and, to all appearance, loſt his place of Secretary of State: for it is ſaid in the King's Journal (*l*), that Mr Wotton was made Secretary: however, Sir Thomas was ſoon after reſtored again to that place. For, on the 30th of April 1551, under the name of Secretary, he was one of the perſons appointed to go in the great and ſplendid embaſſy to Henry the Second of France, to treat of a marriage between that king's eldeſt daughter and King Edward VI (*m*). Thus he paſſed the too ſhort reign of this amiable Prince in great reputation and proſperity. But upon Queen Mary's coming to the Crown, he was deprived of all his offices and preferments, and charged not to depart the kingdom. However, he behaved with ſo much addreſs and prudence, that he had 100*l.* a year allowed him for his ſubſiſtence, and was ſhelter'd under the Pope's Indulgence [*H*]; being favoured by Biſhop Gardiner of Wincheſter, and not moleſted by Boner Biſhop of London. At Queen Elizabeth's happy Acceſſion to the Throne, Sir Thomas was invited again to Court, and employed in ſettling the public affairs both in Church and State; particularly in reviſing and amending the book of Common-Prayer (*n*) [*I*]. He was likewiſe reinſtated in his Deanery of Carliſle (*o*): but not in his late office of Secretary of State. In 1559, he was ſent into France, with other Commiſſioners, when a peace was concluded between that Crown and England. And in 1562, he was ſent embaſſador into that kingdom, jointly with Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, where he demanded the reſtitution of Calais; but at length, without obtaining it, concluded a peace with France, in the beginning of the year 1564 (*p*). After the concluſion of that peace, he ſtill reſided in France, where he reviewed and corrected, and cauſed to be printed, Dr Haddon's Anſwer to Hierom Oſorio's letter to Queen Elizabeth, admoniſhing her to return to Popery (*q*). He alſo finiſhed there, or perhaps entirely compoſed, his treatiſe of 'The Commonwealth of England [*K*].' And, in the beginning

(*k*) Life, by Strype, as above, p. 44, 48. and his Hiſtorical Memorials, chiefly Eccleſiaſtical, &c. Vol. II. p. 108, 109.

(*l*) See that Journal, in Collection of Records, at the end of Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Part. ii. p. 9.

(*m*) Strype, Life, as above, p. 48, 58.

(*n*) Idem, p. 59—73.

(*o*) Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 303, and Strype's Annals of the Reformat. Vol. I. edit. 1725. p. 545, 546.

(*p*) Life, by Strype, &c. as above, p. 85—110. and Annals, Vol. I. p. 369.

(*q*) Life, p. 99—105, 5 9. and Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 422, &c.

'ſhall anſwer him, and all ſuch, we require your 'Grace to know, ſo ſoon as conveniently you may 'This man ſaith, If his requeſt be too much, he will 'be content your Grace ſhall mitigate it as ſhall pleaſe 'you. He is of the land of Conte de Bury; and 'ſaith, He hath communicated the matter with *Seep-* 'perius [the Emperor's Admiral;] and he giveth him 'good comfort, that the Queen [Regent of Flanders] 'will give him licenſe. Two Merchants of Antwerp, 'lately coming from Auguſt, [Augſburg.] ſaith, That 'there the Emperor compelleth every man to this *In-* 'terim; and that ſome of the cities grudging at it, he 'hath referred the Anſwer to Norenburgh: But that it 'is not doubted there, but that Norenburgh will do as 'the Emperor will have them. They ſhewed further, 'that the Emperor would have them build up their 'Monaſteries again, and Abbeys, and all ſuch things: 'And all ſtandeth upon that anſwer of Noremburgh. 'Further, the Emperor hath already ſent 4000 horſe- 'men to lie about Straſburgh; and that he doth in- 'tend ſhortly to come thither, and to aſſay the Swit- 'zers. Nevertheleſs, they ſaid, That at this Council 'was none of the Switzers, but only of B. [Berne or 'Baſil.] They ſhewed alſo, that there was a ſaying, 'that the Emperor and the French King intended to 'part the Switzers between them, of agreement, as 'they ſaid. But if that be, it is more like to make 'wars, than to have any long amity after that ſort, '&c. Thus having none other thing worthy of ad- 'vertiſement to write to your Grace, I commit the 'ſame to Almighty God.

'Your Grace's

From Bruſſels, *July* xix^th^ 'Moſt bounden Orator 'and Servant, 'T. Smith.'

[*H*] *And was ſhelter'd under the Pope's Indulgence.*] For, in 1555, William Smythwick of the dioceſe of Bath, Eſq; had obtained a very large Indulgence from Rome: Importing, that he, and *any five of his friends* he ſhould nominate (excepting regulars), ſuch as were married, and their children of both ſexes ſhould enjoy many extraordinary Indulgences, upon his petition to the then Pope, Paul IV. And the Bull ran for Indulgence to Smythwick, and his five friends and their children, as was petitioned, *a quibuſvis excommunicationis, ſuſpenſionis, & Interdicti, aliiſque eccleſiaſticis Sententiis, Cenſuris & Poenis, a jure vel ab homine quavis occaſione vel cauſis latis*, &c i. e. 'From all 'ſentences of Excommunication, Suſpenſion and Inter- 'dict, and other Cenſures eccleſiaſtical upon what- 'ever occaſion or cauſe inflicted, Tranſgreſſions of 'any Vows or Commands of the Church, guilt of 'Perjuries, and of Homicide, whether actual or men- 'tal, laying violent hands upon any eccleſiaſtical per- 'ſons, except Prelates *de præterito*, omiſſions in whole 'or in part of Faſts, Canonical Hours, Divine Offices, 'Penances injoined: Alſo from all and ſingular their 'Sins, whereof they are contrite and confeſſed; al- 'tho' they were ſuch for which the Apoſtolick ſee were 'to be conſulted.' Many other Indulgences were granted by virtue of this Bull 'as to have a portatile altar, to receive the ſacrament privately; in Lent, and in other faſting-times of the year, to eat eggs, butter, cheeſe, and other milk-meats, and fleſh without ſcruple of conſcience' Smythwick choſe Sir Thomas Smith for one of his *five friends* ſpecified in the Bull, to be partaker of theſe privileges. And ſo it is expreſſed in an inſtrument, drawn and atteſted by Thomas Willet, publick notary; ſtill remaining at Hillhall. This, unqueſtionably, was a good protection to Sir Thomas, in thoſe evil days *.

[*I*] *Particularly in reviſing and amending the book of Common-Prayer.*] Mr Strype thinks, that Sir Thomas was author of the Device for the Alteration, or Reformation, of Religion, drawn up in December 1558 (19): And which is printed in the Collection of Records, at the end of Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Part ii (20).

[*K*] *He alſo finiſhed there, or perhaps entirely compoſed, his treatiſe of The Commonwealth of England.*] So we learn from the following paſſage, near the concluſion of that work (21).—'I have declared ſumma- 'rily as it were in a Chart or Map, the forme and 'manner of government of England, and the policy 'thereof, and ſet before your eyes the principall 'points wherein it doth differ from the policie and 'gouernment at this time uſed in France, Italy, Spaine, 'Germany, and all other countries, which doe follow 'the ciuill law of the Romanes, compiled by Juſtinian 'into his Pandects and Code, not in that ſort as Plato 'made his Commonwealth, or Xenophon his King- 'dome of Perſia, nor as Sir Thomas Moore his Uto- 'pia, being fained Commonwealthes, ſuch as never 'was

* Life, &c. p. 60, &c.

(19) Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. edit. 1725. p. 51.

(20) P. 327, &c

(21) P. 272. edit. 1635, 12mo.

ning of the year 1566, returned to his native country (r). In March 1566-7, he went again embaſſador extraordinary to France, to make a formal demand of Calais from the French (s). Returning to England in the beginning of May 1568, he made intereſt for the place of Chancellor of the Dutchy vacant by the death of Sir Ambroſe Cave; but he did not ſucceed, it being given to Sir Ralph Sadleir. Vexed, it may be ſuppoſed, at this diſappointment, and expreſſing too plainly his uneaſineſs, Sir Thomas was not employed the three years following: But retired to his country-ſeat, where he buſied himſelf in rural diverſions, and in acting as a Juſtice of Peace, particularly in puniſhing of witches; which was not much to his honour. In the beginning of the year 1571, he returned again to Court, and was admitted into the Privy-Council (t). The 24th of June following he was appointed Aſſiſtant to William Lord Burghley, in his office of Secretary of State (u). About this time, he was engaged in a project for tranſmuting iron into copper [L], which proved very expenſive to him, and at laſt unſucceſsfull (w). In December 1571, he was commiſſioned to go Embaſſador into France, to make a firm Alliance offenſive and defenſive between that Crown and England; and alſo to treat privately about the match, between Queen Elizabeth and Francis Duke of Alenſon. He went over to France about February 1571-2, and having ſucceſsfully concluded his negotiation, returned to his native country in June 1572 (x). His Inſtructions are printed in the Compleat Ambaſſador (y). In April 1572, whilſt he was abroad, the Queen conferred upon him the place of Chancellor of the Order of the Garter; and, the 24th of June following, he was conſtituted Secretary of State, in the room of William Lord Burghley, made Lord High-Treaſurer. Having obtained, the year before, a grant of a rich parcel of land called *the Ardes* in Ireland, he ſent a colony thither in 1572, and endeavoured to ſettle it, at the expence of ſeveral thouſand pounds [M]. The next, and indeed the laſt, memorable

(r) Life, &c. p. 115, 124.

(s) Ibid. p. 125, 126. and Camden Annal. Eliz. ad ann.

(t) Life, &c. p. 127—133. and Compleat Ambaſſador, p. 54.

(u) Annals of the Reformation, by J. Strype, Vol. II. p. 25, and Compleat Ambaſſador, &c. p. 51.

(w) Annals, &c. p. 351, &c. and Life, by Strype, p. 133—140.

(x) Anna's. p. 43, 48, 87, 89, 90, 105, 148, 164. Life, p. 141—156. and Compleat Ambaſſador, p. 152—159, 166—172, 180, 191—211.

(y) P. 154, &c.

'was nor ſhall be, vaine imaginations, fantaſies of 'Philoſophers, to occupy the time, and to exerciſe 'their wits: but as England ſtandeth, and is gouerned 'at this day the eight and twenty of March, Anno '1565, in the ſeventh yeere of the Raigne and Adminiſtration thereof by the moſt religious, vertuous, 'and noble Queene *Elizabeth*, daughter to King 'Henrie the eighth, and in the one and fiftieth yeere 'of mine age, when I was Embaſſadour for her Ma'jeſty in the Court of France, the ſcepter whereof at 'that time the noble Prince of great hope Charles 'Maximilian did hold, hauing then raigned foure 'yeeres.' This work is divided into three books. The 1ſt treats of the diverſities of Commonwealths, or Governments; of the King, and the ſeveral ranks and orders of men. The 2d of the Laws of this realm in general; and of the Parliament, and Courts of Juſtice, &c. And the 3d of Appeals, Courts of Starre-Chamber, Wards and Liveries, Dutchy-Court, Court of Requeſts; of wives and children; Eccleſiaſtical Court, &c. It was firſt publiſhed in 1584. 4to, and again in 1621, 4to. in the old black Gothick character: and again in 1624, and 1635, 12mo. He wrote it in Latin, as well as Engliſh; and it is compriſed in one of the Volumes of the *Reſpublicæ*.

[L] *About this time, he was engaged in a project for tranſmuting iron into copper.*] Being of a working brain, and a philoſophical head, he engaged into a project of Alchimy, hoping to tranſmute iron into copper. Into this chargeable, but, as was hoped gainful buſineſs, he brought Secretary Cecil, who had alſo a philoſophical genius, the Earl of Leiceſter, Sir Humfrey Gilbert, and others. The firſt occaſion of this buſineſs was from one Medley, who had by vitriol changed iron into true copper at Sir Thomas Smith's houſe at London, and after at *his houſe* in Eſſex. But this was too coſtly, as Sir Thomas ſaw, to reap any benefit from it. Therefore he propoſed to find out here in England the *primum Ens Vitrioli*, and therewith to do the ſame work at a cheaper rate. Upon which, Sir Thomas, Sir Humfrey Gilbert, and our Medley entered into a company under articles to find this out: namely, That Medley ſhould be employed in this buſineſs, at the charge of the two others, 'till by the profit he ſhould reap from the thing found out he might bear his proportion. The place where this was to be attempted, was in the iſle of Wight, or at Pool, or elſewhere. But at Winchelſey he had made the firſt tryal, becauſe of the plenty of wood. He received of Sir Thomas, and Sir Humfrey 101 l. a piece, for the buying of veſſels and neceſſaries. They removed to Pool, thinking this *Ens* of vitriol to be there, and took a leaſe of land belonging to the Lady Montjoy of, of 300 l. *per annum*. For the payment of which, Sir Thomas with the other two entred into a bond of 1000 l. While theſe things were in this ſtate, Sir Thomas went embaſſador to France in 1572, and a quarrel then happening between Medley and Sir Humfrey (and Medley, gone to Ireland, being reported to be run away) the buſineſs lay aſleep for ſome time. But Sir Thomas revived it at his return; tho' he found arrears of rent, and wages due to workmen, &c. to the amount of 200 l. and no copper nor any crocus of copper made. About December 1574, he perſuaded the Lord Treaſurer Burghley, and the Earl of Leiceſter, to enter into the Society; which they did, after due examination, and depoſited each 100 l. towards carrying on the buſineſs. Medley was now removed to Angleſey, where was proper fuel, earth, and water, ſufficient to do it for ever, or at leaſt for a very long time. The things he undertook to do, were theſe: To make of raw iron good copper, and of the ſame weight and proportion, abating one part in ſix; as 600 tun of iron ſhould by boyling make 500 tun of perfect copper. The liquor wherein the iron was boyled, to make copperas and allom ready for the merchant: which, keeping the price they then bore, ſhould, of the liquor of 500 tun of copper, be worth 10000 l. that is, for every tun 2000 l. There appearing a great probability of ſucceſs in the undertaking, Sir Thomas got a patent ſigned, in January 1574, for the Society, which was therein ſtyled, 'The Society of the new 'Art.' But, after many delays and diſappointments, all the hopes and proſpects of great Gains vaniſhed into ſmoke. Sir Thomas ſmarted in his purſe for his chymical covetouſneſs; Gilbert ſeems to have been impoveriſhed by it; and Medley was beggered: the common end of moſt alchymiſts, and projectors (22).

(22) Life, &c. p. 133—140.

[M] *Having obtained——a grant of a rich parcel of land called the Ardes in Ireland, he ſent a colony thither,* &c.] This is a rich and pleaſant country, or *peninſula*, on the eaſtern coaſt of Ulſter, and of conſiderable extent, lying well for trade by ſea. It was formerly the eſtate of the Savages, an Engliſh family; one of which is famous for that ſtout and witty ſaying, 'That he would not rely upon a caſtle of ſtones, but 'a caſtle of bones,' meaning his own body. Afterwards the O-Neals took it out of their hands; but they being attainted of treaſon, Sir Thomas got a grant of that diſtrict from Queen Elizabeth (23): whereby he was to be Lieutenant-general there for war, and for the diſtribution of lands, orders, and laws in the matters pertaining thereunto. In a word, to obtain and govern the country to be won, following inſtructions and orders to him to be directed from the Queen and her council; and this for the firſt ſeven years. Afterwards the government of the country to return to ſuch officers as the cuſtoms and laws of England did appoint, except the Queen ſhould think him worthy to be appointed Governor thereof, as being a frontier-country. The right to remain only in him, as to the inheritance; the authority to muſter and call together

(23) Camden Britannia, Vol. II. col. 1403.

memorable action of his, was in 1575, when he procured an Act of Parliament for the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the two colleges of Eaton and Wincheſter; importing, that, in all college-leaſes, a third part at leaſt of the old rent ſhould be reſerved and paid in corn [*N*]; that is to ſay, in good wheat at the rate of ſix ſhillings and eight pence the quarter, or under, and good malt at the rate of five ſhillings the quarter, or under. About the year 1576, he began to be afflicted with a violent defluxion upon the glands of his mouth and throat; which having kept him in a decaying, conſumptive, and waſting condition all that year, and part of the next, put an end to his life on the 12th of Auguſt 1577, in the 63d year of his age. During his lingring illneſs, he diverted part of his melancholy hours in looking over his papers and manuſcripts [*O*], of ſome of which an account is given below. He was buried in the chancel of the church of Theydon-Mount, in which pariſh Hill-hall ſtands: and a handſome monument was erected to his memory [*P*]. By his will he gave all his Latin and Greek books to Queen's college in Cambridge, the place of his education; with a great globe of his own making: and a rent-charge of 12 *l.* 7 *s.* 4 *d.* [*Q*]. Notice is taken below, of the ſeveral pieces of his own compoſition [*R*]. Sir Thomas Smith was of a fair ſanguine complexion; and had a calm

together his ſoldiers throughout the ſame country, and to diſpoſe of them upon the frontiers, as he ſhould ſee cauſe for the better defence of the country. His natural, and only, ſon Thomas Smith was joyned with him in the patent; and, under his conduct, he ſent a colony thither, which did good ſervice againſt one Sarleboy, and other Iriſh rebels. But Mr Smith being intercepted, in the beginning of the year 1573, by a wild Iriſhman, was thrown alive to the dogs, and deſtroyed (24). The ſettling of this colony coſt Sir Thomas above 10000 l. without his reaping any benefit from it. After his death the Ardes were loſt to his heirs, being begged of King James I. by ſome of his Scottiſh favourites, particularly one Hamilton. And in vain did Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Smith petition the crown, after the Reſtoration, and the Revolution, for the recovery of ſo valuable an eſtate (25).

(24) Camd. Britannia, ibid. and Life, as above, p. 176, &c.

(25) Life, p. 176—183. and Appendix, p. 324.

[*N*] *He procured an Act of Parliament for the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the two colleges of Eaton and Wincheſter; importing, that in all college-leaſes, a third part at leaſt of the old rent ſhould be reſerved and paid in corn.*] This is further explained in the act, thus.—— 'To be delivered yearly upon days prefixed 'at the ſaid colleges, &c. And for default thereof to 'pay the ſaid Colleges in ready money at the election 'of the ſaid Leaſees, after the rate as the beſt wheat 'and malt in the market of Cambridge, and in the 'market of Oxford, and of Wincheſter and Windſor, 'for the rents that were to be paid to the uſe of the 'Houſes there, were, or ſhould be, fold the next mar-'ket-day before the ſaid rent ſhould be due, without 'fraud or deceit.'—T. Fuller ſaith (26), that 'Sir Thomas Smith was the chief procurer of the paſſing of this act, and is ſaid by ſome to have ſurprized the Houſe [of Commons] therein, where many could not conceive how this would be at all profitable to the Colledge, but ſtill the ſame on the point, whether they had it in *money*, or *wares*. But the politick Knight took the advantage of the preſent cheap year, knowing thereafter grain would grow dearer, mankinde daily multiplying, and licence being lately legally given for tranſportation At this day, much emolument redowndeth to the antient Colledges in each Univerſity by the paſſing of this Act, ſo that though their Rents ſtand ſtill, their Revenues doe increaſe.'

(26) Hiſt. of the Univerſitie of Cambridge, p. 344.

[*O*] *He diverted part of his melancholy hours in looking over his papers, and manuſcripts.*] Particularly, his book *Of the Value of the Roman Coins according to the Engliſh ſtandard.* This he had compoſed, when he was Secretary to King Edward VI; upon a queſtion put to him by his fellow-ſecretary Sir William Cecil, viz. 'What was the ordinary Wages of a Soldier at Rome.' But he had loſt it, as well as ſeveral others written by him in his youth. He remembred, he had ſent one copy of it to Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leiceſter, and another to Sir William Cecil. Upon ſearching the Earl's ſtudy, the copy ſent to him could not be found. Wherefore Sir Thomas 'requeſted the 'Lord Treaſurer Cecil, to look for his copy: eſpe-'cially he deſired the Tables, which were exactly and 'plainly drawn up. For, ſearching among his old 'Papers, he could find the firſt draught of that Book, 'and the *Adverſaria*; whereby he was able to fill up 'all the Chapters in a manner as they were at firſt: 'But the Tables, or any Draughts of them, he could 'not find. Therefore he prayed the Lord Treaſurer, 'in his letter dated April 22d, 1576, to look out the 'Book, eſpecially the Tables.' His Lordſhip having found the book and Tables among his papers, ſent them to Sir Thomas. Mr Camden, in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth, calls this Treatiſe an exact commentary, worth publiſhing (27). The induſtrious Mr Strype made great enquiry after the compleat Book, but without ſucceſs: at length he met with Sir Thomas's rude draught of it, in ſeveral Tables of his own hand-writing; of which he hath publiſhed a true extract, at the end of his Life of Sir Thomas Smith (28).

(27) Annal. Eliz. ad ann. 1577.

(28) Appendix, No. V. p. 128, &c.

[*P*] *And a handſome monument was erected to his memory.*] At the top of it is this Engliſh Stanza

What Earth, or Sea, or Skies contain,
What creatures in them be,
My mind did ſeek to know;
My ſoul the heavens continuallie.

The reſt of his Epitaph is in Latin, and ſo much of it as contains his character, is in theſe words.—— *Juris civilis ſupremo titulo etiamnum adoleſcens inſignitus; Orator, Mathematicus, Philoſophus excellentiſſimus; Linguarum Latinæ, Græcæ, Hebraicæ, Gallicæ etiam & Italicæ callentiſſimus: Proborum & ingenioſorum hominum Fautor eximius; Plurimis commodans, Nemini nocens; Ab injuriis ulciſcendis alieniſſimus: Denique Sapientia, Pietate, Integritate inſignis: Et in omni Vita, ſeu æger ſeu valens, intrepidus mori.* —— i. e. 'Adorned with the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law, when he was but 'very young; A moſt excellent Orator, Mathemati-'cian, and Philoſopher: Well ſkill'd in the Latin, 'Greek, Hebrew, French, and Italian languages: A 'great favourer of good and ingenious men; Lending 'to many, hurting none; Free from all inclination to 'Revenge: In a word, remarkable for Wiſdom, Piety, 'and Integrity: And all his life, whether well or ill, 'not afraid to dye.——

[*Q*] *And a rent-charge of twelve pounds ſeven ſhillings and four pence.*] Payable out of the maner of Overſton in Northamptonſhire. Which he appointed to be thus diſpoſed of; viz. Four pounds for a Lecture in Arithmetick: Three pounds for a Geometry-Lecture: Four pounds ſeven ſhillings and four-pence for two Scholarſhips; directing, that his own relations, or the Scholars from Walden-School, *cæteris paribus*, ſhould be made his Scholars before any others: And the Twenty ſhillings remaining, for a yearly commemoration (29).

(29) Life, &c. p. 224.

[*R*] *Notice is taken——of the ſeveral pieces of his own compoſition.*] Beſides his two Treatiſes, *De rectâ & emendata Linguæ Græcæ Pronunciatione*; and, 'of 'the correct Writing and Pronouncing the Engliſh 'Tongue:' as alſo his book 'Of the Commonwealth 'of England;' mentioned above in Notes [*D*] and [*E*]—— he wrote, *four Orations*, for and againſt Queen Elizabeth's marriage; thus intituled, 1. *Agamus*, or Wedſpite, his Oration for the Queen's ſingle Life. 2. *Philoxenus*, or Love-Alien, his Oration for the Queen's marrying with a Stranger. 3. Another Oration upon the ſame ſubject. 4. *Axenius*, or Home-friend, his Oration for the Queen's Majeſty's Marrying with an Engliſh Nobleman, rather than any foreign Prince. Publiſhed in the Appendix to Sir Thomas's

, a calm ingenious countenance, as appears by his picture hanging in the parlour at Hill-hall, ſaid to have been done by Hans Holbein: which repreſents him with a round cap on his head, and in a Civilian's gown; a great ruby-ring upon his fore-finger, with a curious ſeal; (which ring is ſtill preſerved in the family,) laying one of his hands upon a globe (z). Mr Strype informs us, that he was one of the beſt ſcholars of his age; a great admirer of the Platonick Philoſophy; a good Phyſician and Chymiſt; an excellent Mathematician, Aſtronomer, and Arithmetician; a cunning Politician; maſter of the Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and Engliſh languages; a great Hiſtorian, eſpecially in the Roman Hiſtory; a compleat Orator; well ſkilled in architecture, gardening, &c. And, as to his Virtuous accompliſhments; he was a ſincere Proteſtant; exemplary, for Truth and Integrity, for an inviolable love to Juſtice and Uprightneſs, a moſt unchangeable Faithfulneſs and Zeal to the concerns of his Queen and country. His life and manners were unreprovable; he was of a grave and yet obliging behaviour; a perfect ſtranger to the too common practices of Courts, Fraud and Falſehood, Flattery and Treachery, Vice and Debauchery. He was likewiſe of a reſolute and active mind; and of univerſal Charity and Benevolence towards all mankind (a). He had two wives; the firſt was, Elizabeth daughter of William Karkek, or Carkyke, of London, Gent. and the ſecond, Philippa, widow of Sir John Hamden: but leaving no iſſue by either of them, and his natural ſon being killed in Ireland as is above related, his eſtates deſcended to his brother George's ſon, Sir William Smith, who dyed in 1626, and whoſe poſterity have enjoyed them ever ſince (b).

(z) Life, &c. as above, p. 176—204.

(a) Life, p. 211, &c.

(b) Life, by Strype, p. 42, 203, 211—236.

(30) No. III. p. 7, &c.
(31) P. 154, 206, 169, 176, 191—202, 23, 246, 253, 252, 263, 262, 274, 282, 299, 3 c, 315, 324, 333, 346.
(32) Edit. Oxon. 1703, p. 423.

mas's Life, by Mr Strype (30). —— Several of his Letters to the Lord Burleigh, and Sir Francis Walſingham, are printed in the Compleat Ambaſſador, &c. (31). —— One of his Letters to Roger Aſcham, is printed among that learned and polite Writer's (32): who frequently makes mention of him in the moſt obliging and reſpectful terms. —— Great many of his Diſpatches and Letters are preſerved in the Paper-Office: and ſome of his MSS. are diſperſed, and remain in private hands. —— Mr Strype ſays, that 'there is a Book printed in 1685. which ſome make him 'the Author of, namely, The Authority, Form, and 'Manner of holding Parliaments.' But, upon inſpection, it appears only to be the ſecond and third Chapters of the ſecond book of his *Commonwealth of England*; prefixed to a little book, intitled, *Arcana Parliamentaria*: 'or Precedents concerning Elections, 'Proceedings, Privileges, and Puniſhments in Parliament.' Lond 1685. 12mo. C

SMITH [THOMAS], a learned Engliſh Divine, and author of ſeveral books, in the beginning of this century, and part of the laſt, was the ſon of Mr John Smith of All-hallows Barking, London (a), and born in that pariſh June 3, 1638 [A]. In the year 1657, he was admitted Battler of Queen's college in Oxford, and ſoon after Clerk of the ſame. Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts March 15, 1660 [B], and that of Maſter October 13. 1663 (b), he was choſen, in 1663, Maſter of the free-ſchool adjoining to Magdalen-college: and, in 1666, he was made perpetual Fellow of that college. He was then remarkable for his great ſkill in the oriental languages [C]. In Auguſt 1668, he went as Chaplain to Sir Daniel Harvey, Embaſſador to Conſtantinople [D], and returned thence in 1671. Five years after he travelled into France; and, after a ſhort ſtay there, became Chaplain to Sir Joſeph Williamſon, one of the Principal Secretaries of State, with whom he continued many years, and was very ſerviceable to him, but at length was diſmiſſed without any preferment, or reward (c). He took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, October 29, 1671 (d). In 1677, he was ſollicited by Biſhop Pearſon, Biſhop Fell, and Dr Lloyd then Dean of Bangor and afterwards ſucceſſively Biſhop of St Aſaph and Worceſter, and others; to return into the Eaſt by the way of Venice, in order to collect antient Manuſcripts, eſpecially of the Greek Fathers [E]; but the

(a) Wood, Ath. edit. 1, 21, Vol. II. col. 1020.

(b) Idem, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 127, 151.

(c) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra.

(d) Idem, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 190.

(1) No. V. p. 296.
(2) Vol. III. p. 188. note, and Vol. V. p. 138.

[A] *And born in that pariſh, June* 3, 1638] The time of his birth he expreſsly mentions in a letter to Mr Hearne, publiſhed by the latter in the Appendix to his *Collection of curious Diſcourſes* (1). See alſo Mr Hearne's edition of Leland's Itinerary (2).

[B] *Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, March* 15, 1660] He was recommended to the Chancellor of the univerſity, by Dr Barlow the Provoſt of his college, for his progreſs in learning far beyond his age and ſtanding, and therefore would be capable of a place deſigned for him towards his ſubſiſtence, if he had taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, for which he wanted a little time. Whereupon the Chancellor deſired that he might be diſpenſed with, for the want of two terms, which was accordingly done (3).

(3) Wood, Faſti, col. 127.

[C] *He was then remarkable for his great ſkill in the oriental languages.*] And therefore was commonly called *Rabbi Smith*, and *Tograi Smith*; to diſtinguiſh him from others of his name in the univerſity (4).

(4) Idem, Ath. col. 1020.

[D] *In Auguſt* 1668, *he went as Chaplain to Sir Daniel Harvey embaſſador to Conſtantinople.*] He wrote a journal of his voyage, which is inſerted in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (5). —— Of Sir Daniel Harvey there is a good account, in the Earl of Clarendon's Life (6).

(5) No. 230. p. 527.
(6) Vol. I. of the 8vo edition, p. 21, &c. and of the folio edit. p. 11, 12.

[E] *In* 1677, *he was ſollicited* —— *to return into the Eaſt by the way of Venice, in order to collect antient Manuſcripts, eſpecially of the Greek Fathers*] He hath given an account of that Propoſal, in a Latin Letter to Mr Hearne; publiſhed by the latter in the Appendix to John of Glaſtonbury's Chronicle (7), an extract of which is as follows:

(7) Vol. II. p. 470.

'——D. *Pearſonus*——conſilio communicato 'Viris plurimum reverendis et doctiſſimis, D. Joanni 'Fello, Epiſcopo Oxonienſi, et D. *Gulielmo Lloydio*, 'Decano Bangorienſi, mox Epiſcopo Aſaphenſi, et 'jam Wigornienſi, aliiſque, pari vetuſtiſſima pri-'mævæ Eccleſiæ monumenta, quorum memi erunt 'Euſebius, S. Hieronymus, et Photius, quæ hactenus 'deſiderantur, recuperandi, inque publicam lucem 'è reconditis receſſibus, ſi forte ibi occulerentur, 'aſſerendi zelo, amore, et deſiderio incenſi., apud 'hoſce præclariſſimos Triumviros de idoneo homine in 'Orientem hac de re mittendo anno M.DC LXX VII. 'ſeriò deliberatum erat. Spes enim bonas alebant, 'S. Clementis * Romanas binas Epiſtolas integras, * Qu. Romani. 'Epiſtolarum S. Ignatii Syllogen, à S Polycarpo 'factam, una cum hujus ad Philippenſes Epiſtola, 'Acta Martyrii tum S. Ignatii, tum S Polycarpi, 'Hegeſippi Hiſtoriam Eccleſiaſticam, Græcum librorum 'S. Irenæi

the dangers of the voyage, and other conſiderations, made him decline that otherwiſe advantageous propoſal (e). Having already given the world ſome monuments of his extenſive learning [F], he publiſhed, in 1678, Remarks upon the Manners, Religion, and Government of the Turks: with a Survey of the Seven Churches of Aſia [G]. And, in 1680, An Account of the Greek Church [H]; as alſo ſome other pieces ſoon after

(e) Vide Append. ad Johannis Confratris Glaſtonienſis Chronica, Vol. II. p. 470, &c.

'S. Irenæi adverſus hæreſes exemplar, Origenem, præſertim περὶ ἀρχῶν, alioſque quamplurimos incorruptæ antiquitatis libros, ex quibus ingens rei Chriſtianæ lumen eſſet affulſurum, illic adhuc latere, idque quidem veriſimillimum videri antea ſuggeſſeram. Ita autem de me bene ſentiebant, quaſi huic negotio qualiquali modo præſtando non plane impar fuiſſem, me, tunc temporis ſacro munere facellani apud D. J. W. [illiamſon] alterum è primariis, uti pro more vulgari loquimur, *Statûs* Secretariis fungentem, propoſitis lautis conditionibus, amploque commeatu, invitarunt, ut Conſtantinopolim, unde ante ſexennium redieram, remigrare vellem, ſi ex Venetiis compendioſiorem viam verſus montem Athon, adſcito in ſocium itineris aliquo Græco ſacerdote, ingredi non liceret: deinde ut ad celebriores Aſiæ Minoris urbes, puta Smyrnam, Nicæam, Nicomediam, et Ancyram, et denique in Ægyptum, tanquam hujus peregrinationis metam, me conferrem, Græcos codices ſupradictos, alioſque ſupparis ævi, ſi qui occurriſſent, inſpecturus, aſſignatis duobus tribuſve pro mora extra patriam annis: interim ſe omnia fidei, induſtriæ, prudentiæ, imo et arbitrio meo relicturos lubentes profitentur. Sed in hac re graviſſima maximique momenti nihil * erat ſubito et temere ſtatuendum videbatur: imo longa et matura deliberatione opus erat. Stimulabant quidem ab una parte de re Chriſtiana et literaria bene merendi deſiderium; virorum clariſſimorum, qui mihi optime volebant, conſilia et ſuaſiones; et inſita quædam regiones. quas olim levi pede præterieram, iterum viſendi, tum in novas, aliaſque longinquiores, penetrandi curioſitas: Sed ab altera parte multa interceſſere, quæ ſingulas circumſtantias ſedatiori animo perpendentem ab hoc incepto dimoverunt: cujuſmodi erant, certa, in quæ me conjecturus eſſem, pericula; incommoda, eaque fere innumera, quaſi ineluctabiliter ſubeunda, quibus ſuſtinendis, an vires ſuppeterent, plane animo dubius hærerem; diſcrimen, idque non vanum, ſi qua ægritudine fatiſcerem, mortis vix evitandæ, contra quam nulla ex arte medica remedia in media iſta barbarie, quacum mihi conſligendum erat, peti poſſent: juſta potiundæ cujuſpiam Eccleſiaſticæ dignitatis, quâ me lactabat vir ille ampliſſimus, cui, neglectis aliorum patrociniis, me totum dederam, et ad quem, poſthabito omni illicito indebitoque ambitu, aſpirare fas erat, exſpectatio; importunæ Propinquorum preces, ne me, qui tot pericula tam mari quam terra ex ſumma divina benignitate ægre evaſiſſem, in extremum diſcrimen iterum darem præcipitem; maxime vero viri optimi et ſapientiſſimi D. P. W. cujus conſulta et reſponſa, tanquam oracula, reverebar, objurgationes, imò et exprobrationes, quod tam facilem patientemque aurem iſtiuſmodi blandis compellationibus adhibuerim: hæc omnia meditantem plane abſterruerunt, magnumque ad deprimendam lancem, in æquilibrio pendentem, momentum et pondus attulerunt, ne huic honorificæ legationi ſuſcipiendæ conſentirem ——' (8).

* Fort eſſe.

(8) Appendix ad Johannis Confratris Glaſtonienſis Chronica, Vol. II. p. 470, &c.

The ſubſtance of this relation is. That it was propoſed, he ſhould viſit mount Athos, accompanied with a Greek Prieſt; and thence proceed into Aſia-Minor, to Smyrna, Nicæa, Nicomedia, Ancyra, and into Egypt; in order to find out the two entire Epiſtles of Clemens Romanus, the Collection of St Ignatius's Epiſtles made by Polycarp, Polycarp's Epiſtle to the Philippians, Hegeſippus's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, the Greek original of Irenæus againſt Hereſies, ſeveral pieces of Origen, eſpecially his treatiſe concerning Principles, &c. But the difficulties and dangers of the voyage, among barbarous nations, who had no phyſicians if he ſhould have fallen ill; the diſcouragements and perſuaſions of his friends and relations; and the juſt expectation he had of good preferment from his patron Sir Joſeph Williamſon, prevailed upon him not to accept of this advantageous offer: tho' he was well diſpoſed to ſerve in that reſpect the Chriſtian world. —— What he did not think fit to undertake, was afterwards effected by the late learned Archbiſhop Wake; who kept a Grecian Gentleman in pay, to ſearch for Manuſcripts in the Eaſt. By that means, his Grace procured ſeveral valuable ones, particularly a curious old Lectionary on vellum, containing the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the Epiſtles: and many others.

[F] *Having already given the world ſome monuments of his extenſive learning.*] He publiſhed, I. *Diatriba de Chaldaicis Paraphraſtis, eorumque verſionibus, ex utraque Talmude & ſcriptis Rabbinorum concinnata.* Oxon. 1662, 8vo. i. e. A Diſſertation upon the Chaldee Paraphraſts, and their verſions, taken from both Talmuds, and the writings of the Rabbins. II. *Syntagma de Druidum Moribus ac Inſtitutis.* Lond. 1664. 8vo. i. e. A Treatiſe concerning the manners and cuſtoms of the Druids. III. Sermons. 1. A Sermon preached before the Company of Merchants trading into the Levant, at St Olave's Hart-ſtreet in London, June 2, 1668, on 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20. Lond. 1668, 4to. 2. A Sermon of the Credibility of the Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion, preached before a learned audience, on 1 Tim. iii. the former part of the 16th verſe. To which is added, An Appendix containing a Diſſertation about the Authenticalneſs of that famous Text in St John's firſt Epiſtle. [Chap. v. 7.] Lond. 1675, 4to. —— And, to bring in one view all the Sermons made public by him; he publiſhed, 3. A Sermon concerning the Doctrine, Unity, and Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith, preached in St Mary's Church in Oxford, on Epheſ. iv. 5. To which is added An Appendix concerning the Apoſtles Creed. Lond. 1682. 4to. 4. A Sermon about frequent Communion, preached before the Univerſity of Oxford, Aug. 17, 1679, on 1 Cor. xi 26. Lond. 1685, 4to. IV. *De Cauſis & Remediis Diſſidiorum quæ orbem Chriſtianum hodie affligunt, exercitatio Theologica in Rom. cap. iv. ver.* 19. Oxon. 1675. 4to. Printed afterwards among his *Miſcellanea*, mentioned below: And tranſlated by him into Engliſh, under this title, 'A Pacific Diſcourſe: or, the Cauſes 'and Remedies of the Differences about Religion, 'which diſtract the Peace of Chriſtendom.' Lond. 1688, 4to.

[G] *Remarks upon the Manners, Religion, and Government of the Turks, &c.*] This book he wrote firſt in Latin, and publiſhed it in two Letters; with this title, V. *Epiſtolæ duæ, quarum altera de Moribus & Inſtitutis Turcarum agit, altera Septem Aſiæ Eccleſiarum notitiam continet.* Oxon. 1672, 8vo. Afterwards he added two Letters more, and made the title thus, *Epiſtolæ quatuor, quarum duæ de Moribus ac Inſtitutis Turcarum agunt; & duæ Septem Aſiæ Eccleſiarum & Conſtantinopoleos notitiam continent.* Oxon. 1674, 8vo. And underſtanding that a perſon was about tranſlating them into Engliſh, he was neceſſitated to do it himſelf, with ſome few enlargements (9). The title of his book thus tranſlated, is, 'Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Go-'vernment of the Turks. Together with a Survey of 'the Seven Churches of Aſia, as they now lye in their 'ruines: And a brief Deſcription of Conſtantinople.' Lond. 1678, 8vo. It is very entertaining, and he has inſerted ſeveral Greek Inſcriptions in his Survey of the Seven Churches of Aſia.

(9) See his Preface.

[H] *And in* 1680, *An Account of the Greek Church.*] This alſo was written at firſt by him in Latin, and publiſhed under this title, VI. *De Græcæ Eccleſiæ hodierno Statu.* Oxon. 1676, 8vo. Reprinted, with additions and corrections, at London 1678, 8vo. There was inſerted, at the end, An Account of the State of the Greek Church, under Cyrillus Lucaris Patriarch of Conſtantinople, with a Relation of his ſufferings and death: and *Hymnus Matutinus*, taken from the Alexandrian MS. Gr. and Lat. He tranſlated it afterwards himſelf into Engliſh, and intitled it, 'An Account of the Greek Church, as to its Doctrine 'and Rites of Worſhip: with ſeveral Hiſtorical Re-'marks interſperſed, relating thereunto. To which 'is added, an account of the State of the Greek 'Church, under Cyrillus Lucaris Patriarch of Conſtan-'tinople, with a Relation of his Sufferings and Death.' Lond. 1680, 8vo. In the Preface he obſerves, 'that 'you will here clearly ſee, with what great difficulties

after [I]. In 1679, it was designed that he should be employed, in transcribing and publishing the Alexandrian Manuscript of the Greek Bible, in the Royal Library (f), and to have for his reward, as King Charles II. had promised, a Prebend of Westminster, or Canonry of Windsor; but that good design came to nothing (g). He proceeded Doctor in Divinity June the 22d, 1683 (h); and, on the 20th of December 1684, was presented by the President and Fellows of his college to the Rectory of Stanlake in Oxfordshire; which not liking, he resigned within a month (i). In 1687, when King James II. was endeavouring to compel Magdalen-college, in an arbitrary manner, to admit Antony Farmer for their President: our author and Captain Bagshaw, two of the Fellows, presented, April the 10th, a *petition to the Earl of Sunderland President of the Council, wherein the college* did humbly beseech his Majesty, either to leave them to a free election, or to recommend *a qualified person. To which the only answer was, That his Majesty having* sent his *letter to the college, expected to be obeyed. Whereupon Dr Thomas Smith, with Dr Fairfax and Dr Pudsey, were for presenting a second address to his Majesty, before* they proceeded to the election. And on the 16th of November, Dr Smith, and Mr Chernock, were the only two Fellows, that submitted to the authority of the royal Commissioners and Visitors of the college, and acknowledged the justice of their proceedings. With whose behaviour therefore King James II. was so well satisfied, that they remained unmolested, when the rest of the Fellows were deprived (k). In January 1687-8, Dr Smith was presented to the Prebend, or Church, of Heytesbury in Wiltshire, by Dr Thomas Pierce Dean of Sarum. Notwithstanding his compliance hitherto with the Court, he would not sacrifice his Religion to them; for, in August 1688, he was deprived of his Fellowship by Bonaventure Gifford, the Popish President of Magdalen-college, because he refused to live there with the new set of Popish Fellows, being then senior Bursar. He was restored to his Fellowship, in the October following. But he lost it again July 25, 1692, as well as his preferment at Heytesbury, because he would not take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary (l). From that time, he lived chiefly in Sir John Cotton's family (m), in a studious and retired manner, and employed himself in publishing several books [K]. He

(f) See above the article LOE [Sir THOMAS.]

(g) Wood. Ath. ut supra, col. 1020.

(h) Idem, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 221.

(i) Ath. ut supra. It is a very low and watry *narration.*

(k) *An impartial Relation of the whole Proceedings against St Mary Magdalen College in Oxon.* Printed in 1688, 4to. p. 2, 24, 36, 37, 39.

(l) Wood. Ath. ut supra, col. 1020.

(m) Vide Præfat. ad Catalogum Librorum MSS. Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ.

'the poor Eastern Christians struggle; against what 'mighty opposition they still maintain the profession of 'Christianity; and how the cross of Christ triumphs, 'notwithstanding the cruel mockings and insultings of 'the profest enemies of it; though it must be most 'sadly confessed, that several corruptions and errours 'in point of doctrine and superstitious rites and prac-'tices in worship have crept in among them, to the 'great disadvantage, scandal, and dishonour of our 'holy Religion, which is hereby continually exposed 'to the censure and contempt of the Mahometans, 'who, dull and stupid as they are, do not pretend to 'examine the grounds and reasons of the Christian be-'lief, but judge of the whole by such odd phantastick 'misrepresentations, and fortify their old prejudices 'every day more and more with fresh matter of dislike. '——— Though it is manifest to all, who understand 'antiquity, how much the *present Greeks* have in se-'veral *Points of Doctrine* varied from the belief of 'their ancestours, and have corrupted the simplicity 'and purity of Religion by a mixture of odd Opinions 'and Fancies, they pretend notwithstanding, that 'their Tenents are agreeable to the Fathers, and that 'they follow the Traditions of the ancient Church. 'But without looking back much beyond this last 'century, whoever will compare the answers of the 'Patriarch Jeremias to the letters of the Divines of 'Wittenberg in the year 1576, with their Confession 'of Faith published in the year 1662, and with the 'Bethleemitick Synod held in the year 1671, will find 'such a vast difference between the modesty of that 'Patriarch, and their bold determinations, as will en-'cline any sober and considering man to believe, that 'they have of late more than ever been wrought upon 'by the sly artifices and insinuations and under-hand 'dealing of the subtile emissaries of Rome, who watch 'continually over the poor Greeks, and take advan-'tage of their *Poverty* and *Distress* to bring them to a 'further compliance, and in time, to a downright 'subjection. [viz. to the Church of Rome.]——— 'This design of the Romanists, which has been carry-'ing on for so many years, was soon discovered by 'Cyrillus Lucaris Patriarch of Constantinople, a man 'of great parts, and of an extraordinary courage, who 'was resolved to give a check and put a stop to it, as 'much as in him lay, and by degrees to reform those 'abuses and errours, that had prevailed among the 'Greeks, and introduce a stricter alliance and union 'of the Eastern Church with the Reformed Churches 'of Christendome. This drew upon him the indigna-'tion of Urban the eighth, then Pope, and the Con-'gregation of Cardinals *de propagandâ Fide*, as they 'speak at Rome, who knew no good could be done, 'while he sate upon the Patriarchall throne. And 'therefore finding, after several attempts to bring him 'over by fair means to relinquish his pretensions, that 'he was too stout and too honest to submit to their 'overtures and proposals, they made use of several 'evil arts to dethrone him; and in order thereunto 'blackened and defamed him with a thousand calum-'nies, and pursued him with unwearied diligence 'and malice, and never desisted 'till they had got him 'strangled.'

[I] *As also some other pieces soon after.*] Namely, VII. 'A Voyage from England to Constantinople.' Printed in the Philosophical Transactions (10) VIII 'Historical Observations relating to Constantinople.' Printed in the same Transactions (11) IX. 'An 'Account of Prusa in Bithynia; and the Observations 'in Turky continued.' Printed in the same Transactions (12). X. Conjectures about Under-Currents in the Downs, at the Streights of Gibraltar's mouth, and in the Baltick. Printed in the same Transactions (13). XI. Miscellanies; *Miscellanea, in quibus continentur,* 1. *Præmonitio ad Lectorem de Infantum Communione apud Græcos.* 2. *Defensio Libri de Græcæ Ecclesiæ Statu contra Objectiones Authoris Historiæ Criticæ,* &c. 3. *Brevis & Succincta Narratio de vitâ, studiis, & martyrio D. Cyrilli Lucaris, Patriarchæ Constantinop.* 4. *Commentatio de Hymnis matutinis & vespertinis Græcorum.* 5. *Exercitatio Theologica de causis remediisque Dissidiorum,* &c. Lond. 1686, 8vo. Some of these had been printed before. See Note [F] XII. 'The 'Life of St Mary Magdalene of Pazzi, a Carmelite 'Nunn. Newly translated out of Italian by the Reve-'rend Father Lezin de Sainte Scholastique, Provincial 'of the Reformed Carmelites of Touraine.' Printed at Paris 1670. And now done out of French: With *a preface concerning the nature, causes, concomitants, and consequences of Ecstacy and Rapture, and a brief discourse added about discerning and trying the Spirits, whether they be of God.* Lond. 1687, 4to

(10) No. 230, p. 527.

(11) No. 128, p. 335. Octob. 1683.

(12) No. 155, p. 431. Jan. 1683 4.

(13) No. 168. p. 264. 1684.

[K] *And employed himself in publishing several Books.*] After the Revolution, he published, XIII. *V. Cl. Gulielmi Camdeni, et illustrium Virorum ad G. Camdenum Epistolæ. Cum Appendice variis argumenti. Accesserunt Annalium regni Regis Jacobi I. Apparatus, et Commentarius de Antiquitate, Dignitate, & Officio Comitis Mareschalli Angliæ. Præmittitur G. Camdeni Vita. Scriptore,* Thoma Smitho, *S. T. D. Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbytero.* Lond. 1691, 4to. i. e. Letters to and from Mr Camden, with an Appendix. To which are added Annals,

He died at London May the 11th, 1710 (*n*), and was buried, two days after, in St Anne's Church. His writings ſufficiently manifeſt his univerſal learning; but his ſtyle, eſpecially his Latin ſtyle, is ſomewhat intricate, and too full of long periods.

(*n*) Mr Hearne's edition of Leland's Itinerary, Vol. III. p. 128. in note.

Annals, or rather Memorials, of the reign of King James I. And a Treatiſe of the Antiquity, Dignity, and Office of the Earl Marſhal of England. With verſes and epitaphs compoſed by Mr Camden. To the whole is prefixed Mr Camden's Life. XIV. *Miſcellanea, in quibus continentur Reſponſio ad nuperas D. Simonii in libro ſuper fide Græcorum de dogmate Tranſubſtantionis cavillationes. Diſſertatio, in quâ integritas illius celeberr. loci* 1. *Epiſt. S. Johannis cap.* 5. *ver.* 7. *vindicatur. Defenſio ſuperioris Diſſertationis contra exceptiones D. Simonii in Criti.â Hiſtoriâ Novi Teſtam. Commentar. in* 2 *S. Petri.* Lond. 1692. 4to. XV. *Catalogus Librorum Manuſcriptorum Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ. Cui præmittuntur Illuſtris viri, D. Roberti Cottoni, Equitis Aurati & Baronetti, Vita: et Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ Hiſtoria & Synopſis. Scriptore Thoma Smitho, Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Preſbytero. Oxon.* 1696. fol. But had this Catalogue of the Cottonian Library been more particular than it is, it would have been much more uſeful; as Mr D. Caſsley has ſhewn, in his Catalogue of the Royal Library. XVI. *Inſcriptiones Græcæ Palmyrenorum, cum Scholiis & annotationibus Edwardi Bernardi & Thomæ Smithi.* Utrecht, 1698, 8vo. i. e. The Greek Inſcriptions at Palmyra, &c. XVII. *Clariſſimi ac doctiſſimi Viri, Joannis Gravii, olim Aſtronomiæ in Academia Oxonienſi Profeſſoris Saviliani, Vita: in qua de illius Studiis, Itineribus in Italiam, ad Conſtantinopolim, & in Ægyptum ſuſceptis, et Libris editis ineditiſque, fuſè diſſeritur. Scriptore Thoma Smitho,* &c. Lond. 1699. 4to Reprinted afterwards in his Collection of Lives mentioned below. XVIII. *Adnodum Reverendi & doctiſſimi Viri D. Roberti Huntingtoni, S. Theologiæ Doctoris, et Epiſcopi Raſotenſis, Epiſtolæ. Præmittitur de ejuſdem D. Huntingtoni vita, ſtudiis, peregrinationibus, & obitu* ἱπομνηματιον. i. e. The Letters, and Life, of Dr Robert Huntington, Biſhop of Raphoe. At the end of which is printed, *Vita clariſſimi & doctiſſimi Viri, Edwardi Bernardi, S. Theologiæ Doctoris, et Aſtronomiæ apud Oxonienſes Profeſſoris Saviliani. Subnectitur Veterum Mathematicorum, Græcorum, Latinorum, & Arabum Synopſis. Collectore D. E. Bernardo.* Lond. 1704, 8vo i. e. The life of Edward Bernard, D. D. Savillian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford. To which is ſubjoyned a Synopſis of the antient Mathematicians by Dr Bernard. XIX. *Vitæ quorundam eruditiſſimorum et illuſtrium Virorum.* Lond. 1707. The Lives of certain very learned and illuſtrious Men. This Volume contains, The Lives of James Uſher, Archbiſhop of Armagh; John Coſin, Biſhop of Durham; Henry Brigges, Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry in Oxford; John Bainbridge, and John Greaves, Savilian Profeſſors of Aſtronomy in Oxford; Peter Young, Preceptor to King James I; Patrick Young, Library-keeper to King James, and King Charles the firſt; and John Dee, the mathematician. XX. *Ignatii Epiſtolæ.* Oxon. 1709, 4to. A new Edition of Ignatius's Epiſtles. XXI. He kept a great correſpondence with Mr Tho. Hearne; having writ to him, between Novemb. 9, 1703, and April 1, 1710, no leſs than *a hundred and ſixty eight* Letters; the laſt of which hath been publiſhed by Mr Hearne, in the Appendix to his Collection of Curious Diſcourſes (14), and is as follows.

(14) No. 5. p. 296.

'SIR,

'I write this to acknowledge the receipt of your 'Letter of the 25. March. The Inſcription in it I do 'not beleive to bee genuine (15): but of this I am 'not able to write more, by reaſon of the utter ex- 'ſtinction of my right eye, and the weakneſs of my 'left: which forbids me to make uſe of it either in 'reading or writing for above four or five minutes at a 'time: which together with an inflammation in my 'other uſeleſſe eye gives mee extreme great paine, and 'that continued: ſo that I am forced, to obtaine ſome 'kind of eaſe, to lye upon my bed a great part of the 'day. God grant mee patience under, and ſubmiſſion 'to his heavenly will. So that now at laſt there is 'like to bee a fatall interruption put to our correſpon- 'dence, on my part at leaſt: and therefore I would 'not have you give yourſelfe the trouble of writing to 'mee, til you heare from me firſt, either by a ſhort 'letter of my owne, or by the hand of a friend In 'the midſt of all my paine and anguiſh, I thanke 'God, I am not ſick, and find no ſymptomes of ap- 'proaching death upon mee: yet conſidering my great 'age, having now almoſt run out the threeſcore and 'twelvth yeare of my life (for I was borne 3 June '1638) I conclude I have not long to live, and that 'there may bee ſome unforeſeen ſuddain change, 'which may carry mee off. My Br told mee this 'weeke, that Mr Fiſher acquainted him, that his 'kinſman, Dr Hudſon, would bee in London very 'ſpeedily. If ſo, deſire him to come and viſit mee: 'for I heartily deſire to ſee him and diſcourſe with 'him. I cannot hold out any longer. I conclude 'this, I feare my laſt, letter to you with my prayers 'to our gracious and mercifull God to bleſſe you 'with long life, vigorous healthe, and a perpetual 'uſe of your eyes. *Diſce meo exemplo.*

(15) This inſcription is printed in Vol. V. of Leland's Itiner. p. 137.

'I am,

'SIR,

London, 1 April, 1710. 'Your affectionate Friend,

'and humble Servant,

'Tho. Smith.'

C

SMITH [Dr JOHN], an orthodox Divine of diſtinguiſhed learning, in the latter end of the laſt and beginning of the preſent century, was deſcended of an ancient family [*A*] of his name, originally ſeated at Durham (*a*), and was the eldeſt ſon of William Smith, Clerk, Rector of Lowther in Weſtmoreland (*b*), by Elizabeth his wife, the fifth and poſthumous daughter of Giles Wetherell, of Stockton near Durham [*B*]. Our author was born at Lowther in 1659, on the tenth of November, and baptized the next day. As ſoon as he was fit to receive the rudiments of learning, his father took the pains himſelf of inſtructing him, and he had ſo happy a genius, that, in the fifth year of his age, he learned his Latin Grammar, and his Greek in the ninth. After which, by the unlucky advice of ſome friends, he was ſent to Bradford in Yorkſhire, to Mr Chriſtopher Neſſe, a leading man among the Preſbyterians; where he miſ-ſpent two years, having forgot almoſt

(*a*) Dr Smith was deſcended of a younger branch at Knareſborough in Yorkſhire. Blome's Britannia.

(*b*) His father, our author's grandfather, Matthew Smith, was a Counſellor at Law, and eminent both for his ſkill in the Law, and for his genius in Poetry, as appears by what he publiſhed that way. He ſuffered much in his eſtate, in defence of the royal cauſe. Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 223.

(1) Blome's Britannia, in the liſt of poetry for Yorkſhire and Durham; Warburton's Book of Arms; and Map of Lond n and Middleſex illuſtrated, edit. 1740, 8vo.

(2) Baronetage of England, under Marwood.

[*A*] *Deſcended of an ancient family.*] The firſt perſon we meet with of this family, which is recorded in the Herald's office, is Thomas Smith, who lived in the reign of Henry VI. he behaved with great valour in that King's expedition to Scotland, and in one of his engagements with the Scots broke his ſword, which gave occaſion to him and ſome of his poſterity to aſſume for their creſt the broken falchion (1).

[*B*] *Daughter of Giles Wetherell of Stockton.*] She was alſo niece to Sir George Marwood, Bart. (2), and to Barbara Marwood, who married the grandſon of Toby Matthews, Archbiſhop of York; families not only of good antiquity, but of conſiderable repute for their learning (3). N. B. Robert Wetherell, ſon of Henry and grandſon of the abovementioned Giles, ſettled in Ireland, and was ſome time Mayor of Dublin, and poſſeſſed of a good eſtate there, his ſon Captain Wetherell was killed at the battle of Falkirk, January 17, 1745 (4).

(3) Thoreſby's Topography of Leeds, &c. p. 21, and 515.

(4) Ray's Hiſt. of the Rebellion in Scotland, p. 252. *in* 12mo. His patron, Sir John Lowther, was buried there alſo the ſame day.

[*C*] *His*

almoſt all his Grammar rules. This loſs, however, though not without ſome difficulty, was repaired by the care of Mr William Lancaſter, ſome time Provoſt of Queen's-college Oxford (*c*); but he going, by the recommendation of Mr Smith's father, with Sir John Lowther's ſon, afterwards Lord Viſcount Lonſdale, to Oxford, as his Preceptor, adviſed that this his young ſcholar ſhould be committed to the inſtruction of Mr Thomas Lawſon, by ſect a Quaker, but an excellent ſchoolmaſter, who grounded him well in the three learned languages (*d*). An early foundation of claſſical learning being thus laid, his father had ſome thoughts now of ſending him to the univerſity, but which he could not for ſome time determine. The nearneſs of the place, and the company of a young ſtudent who was going thither, recommended Glaſgow in Scotland, and the day was fixed for the journey; but it proved ſo rainy and tempeſtuous a ſeaſon, that his father would not then venture him from home. Thus the deſign of a Scotch education being laid aſide *, Queen's-college in Oxford (where generally the youth of the two northern counties are admitted) ſeemed to bid fair for him. He was therefore ſent for a ſhort time to Appleby-ſchool, and Dr Thomas Smith, then Biſhop of Carliſle, as well as Archdeacon Muſgrave, who had been both Fellows of this college, promoted his going thither. But neither did this ſcheme take effect; for a neighbour telling his father, that he was ſending up two of his ſons to St John's-college Cambridge, he was at laſt prevailed on to yield to the great deſire of his own ſon to go with them [C]. Accordingly our author was admitted in St John's-college, June 11, 1674 (*e*). From his firſt entrance, he was much eſteemed for his learning, his ſtrict and exemplary life, and cloſe application to his ſtudies; by which means, he made ſo good a proficiency in the Sciences, that he more than equalled moſt of his contemporaries. He took his degree in Arts at the regular times, and, being always deſtined for the Church, was ordained both Deacon and Prieſt by Dr Richard Stern, Archbiſhop of York, probably as ſoon as his age would permit. In the latter end of 1681, he was called to Durham by the Dean, Dr Denys Granville, who had a great regard for his family, and eſteemed him highly for his excellent endowments. He was firſt admitted a Minor Canon of that church, on the 20th of July, 1682, and on the 29th collated to the curacy of Croxdale; and to the living of Witton-Gilbert, July 1, 1684. He went in 1686 to Madrid, by the recommendation of Dr Granville, Chaplain to his nephew Charles Lord Lanſdowne, afterwards Earl of Bath, on his Lordſhip's being made Ambaſſador to the Court of Spain. He returned home ſoon after the Revolution: when he had the misfortune to loſe a curious collection of books, he had bought while abroad, which were caſt away in their paſſage by ſea, together with ſome ſermons he had taken no little pains to compoſe, by which he was obliged to go to work again. In 1694, Dr Crew [afterwards Lord Crew], Biſhop of Durham, who was a very good judge of men, and a great encourager of learning, conſtituted him his domeſtic chaplain, and ever after had a high ſenſe of his diſcretion and prudence, inſomuch, that he generally conſulted him in all eccleſiaſtical affairs of moment. His Lordſhip alſo collated him to the Rectory and Hoſpital of Gateſhead, on the 12th of June, 1695, and to a Prebend of Durham, September the 25th following, into which he was inſtituted the next day. Upon this promotion, he was created Doctor in Divinity at Cambridge in 1696, and was Treaſurer of the church of Durham in 1699. His munificent patron (*f*) gave him alſo, July 28, 1704, the Rectory of his own pariſh, Biſhop's-Wearmouth; where he not only repaired the chancel in a handſome and ſubſtantial manner, but built a very ſpacious and elegant parſonage-houſe, entirely at his own expence, beſides what he laid out upon his prebendal houſe,

(*c*) See a further account of this gentleman, in the article of Dr Joſeph Smith.

(*d*) This was an extraordinary Quaker, and did not hold human learning in ſuch contempt as that ſect generally do by principle.

* The family looked on this as a providential eſcape from the Scotiſh religion, to which his intended companion was proſelyted, and became a Paſtor to proſelyte others.

(*e*) Carter's Hiſt. of Cambridge, under that college.

(*f*) Dr Smith wrote ſome memoirs of his Lordſhip, which are ſtill extant in the family.

[C] *His father went with him as far as York.*] Here he took leave of his father, not expecting to ſee him in this world any more as he was then under a regimen for a dropſy and jaundice, occaſioned by too hard ſtudy. He died ſoon after on St Andrew's day 1675 aged forty-five years, and was buried in the chancel of the old church * the 5th of December. He was a perſon of probity and piety as well as learning. The foundation of which he laid at Clare-Hall in Cambridge, where he was admitted July 15, 1649, under Mr David Clarkſon, and ſo became a fellow-pupil with Archbiſhop Tillotſon, who had a great regard and friendſhip for him. He was an excellent Grecian, and wrote, among other things, learned and uſeful notes upon Homer's Iliad and Odyſſey. He was ordained Prieſt (being a Deacon before) April 17, 1654, at Southill-Hall in Yorkſhire by Dr Henry Tilſon, then Biſhop of Elphin in Ireland (5), who being a native of Yorkſhire, had retired thither upon the breaking out of the rebellion. In 1655 he was preſented to the Living of Lowther, by Sir John Lowther, at the requeſt of his kinſman and quondam pupil Sir Henry Marwood, Bart. of Buſly-Hall, in the county of York, who was then to have married a daughter of the ſaid Sir John Lowther, to which family Sir Henry Marwood was nearly allied by Dorothy his ſecond wife (6) daughter of Sir Henry Bellingham, Bart. and by the iſſue of Sir Henry's only ſon George Marwood, who married Conſtance ſecond daughter and coheir to Sir Thomas Spencer, Bart. of Yarnton in Oxfordſhire, he had only one daughter and heireſs Jane Marwood, the wife of Cholmley Turner of Kirkleatham, Eſq; who became heir general to the conſiderable eſtate of the Marwoods. But the title was not extinct 'till the death of her kinſman Sir William Marwood, who died February 22, 1740, and was buried in the chancel of the church at Paddington in Middleſex, with two of the children of Joſeph Smith, Eſq; LL D. of Kidlington in the county of Oxford. A handſome marble monument is erected for them, and to the memory of the ſaid Sir William. To return to Mr Smith. He was ejected from his living of Lowther among other loyaliſts, under the uſurpation of Cromwell; but in conſequence of the Bartholomew Act was inſtituted on the 10th of October 1662. After his death his widow removed with the family to Guiſborough in Yorkſhire, where ſhe entered into a ſecond marriage with Mr John Bell, a worthy Clergyman, who had been bred at St John's college in Cambridge, and was now Rector of Stainton, and afterwards of Horkſtow in Lincolnſhire. But unfortunately ſhe did not ſurvive this marriage above nine months, for being on a viſit at her couſin Turner's, at Kirkleatham in Yorkſhire (7); ſhe died in Auguſt 1680, at the age of forty-three years, in childbed (8) of a daughter Elizabeth Bell, who afterwards married Mr Couſon, a gentleman of a good eſtate at Eaſt-Halton in Lincolnſhire.

* Lord Lonſdale has ſince built a new church at a little diſtance from the ſcite of the old one.

(5) See an account of him in Harris's Hiſt. of the Iriſh Biſhops.

(6) His firſt wife was Margaret, fourth daughter of Conyers Lord D'Arcy.

(7) Some time Knight of the Shire for that county.

(8) She was buried at Stockton

houſe, and other inſtances which might be mentioned of a truly liberal and noble ſpirit. But his chief delight was in his books and in his ſtudy, by a too aſſiduous and indefatigable application to which, he greatly impaired his health; ſo that he began to decline about two years before his death, which happened July 30, 1715, in the 56th year of his age, after a fortnight's illneſs, occaſioned by a weakneſs of ſtomach, grown unable to do it's office. He died at Cambridge, where he had been for ſome time, in order to finiſh an edition of the Hiſtorical Works of Venerable Bede; and his remains were depoſited in the chapel of St John's college in that univerſity; where a handſome marble monument is erected for him, with an elegant Latin inſcription (*g*), wrote by his learned friend and Antiquarian Mr Thomas Baker, then Fellow of that college (*b*). But his character appears at length to advantage, in the following terms, by a friend; who obſerves, that he was very modeſt in ſtirring for his ſecular intereſt; ſtudying to deſerve favours rather than ſollicit for them; that he took great delight in reading the Sacred Code, and took much pleaſure in weighing and penetrating into the full force and true meaning of them; in which he paid always a religious regard and veneration for Primitive Antiquity. He was alſo a good Hiſtorian, and would talk of the moſt remarkable paſſages with great acuteneſs. He was well verſed in the ſeptentrional literature, and was likewiſe a good maſter of the French and Spaniſh tongues. The moſt conſiderable Antiquaries, both in England and Scotland, courted his correſpondence upon the ſubject of Antiquities. In ſhort, he was acknowledged a general ſcholar, having a fertility of genius, joined to an uncommon penetration and ſolidity of judgment, with a ſurprizing memory; ſo that he ſeemed to be born for promoting literature. He could ſay as pleaſant things as any perſon when diſpoſed to be facetious, and his mirth was always ſeaſoned with gravity, and innocence. He delighted to converſe with ſcholars, and was likewiſe of a communicative temper, the peculiar excellency of a learned man. He was a great encourager of young divines; ſo obliging to them, ſo ready to aſſiſt them, and ſo diſpoſed to reſolve their doubts and ſcruples, that none went from him but with pleaſure and ſatisfaction. In argument and diſputation, no one leſs paſſionate or dogmatical; no one more happy in delivering himſelf in a way that both convinced and entertained. He was in all reſpects an ornament to the Church, and a bleſſing to the neighbourhood, eſpecially to his brethren the Clergy, his whole converſation being ſincere, honeſt, diſcreet, and profitable, and his whole life one entire piece and continued teſtimony of his piety and devotion towards God, and his friendſhip and charity to men, and of his humility and ſobriety towards himſelf. His labours in preaching, catechizing, and other duties of his function, were extraordinary, and beyond moſt examples; and ſuch a God-like diſpoſition appeared in every thing he ſaid or did, that he commanded reſpect and veneration from every one. He was never wanting in any of the duties or good offices of charity, being of a kind and ſympathizing diſpoſition to all under any calamity or neceſſity; and he was a very rare example of temperance, abſtaining from all ſorts of ſtrong liquors, and a ſtrict obſerver of the days of faſting and abſtinence appointed by the Church. He imagined this great abſtemiouſneſs made his head clearer and better prepared for ſtudy, and which he thought too his conſtitution required: but in this he was miſtaken; for by that, and too intenſe ſtudy, he broke the vigour of it. He left by Will ſeveral generous legacies; beſides a kind remembrance to his ſurviving brothers [*D*], which, to uſe his own words, he *bequeaths to them as*

(*g*) It is inſerted in Stanton, and Le Neve, as alſo in Blome's Cantabrigia.

(*b*) He was ejected ſoon after.

[*D*] *A kind remembrance to his ſurviving brothers.*] He was at the head of ten brothers, ſix of whom beſides himſelf lived to the age of maturity.

The ſecond, William, was bred to Phyſic, which he ſtudied at Edinburgh, and afterwards ſettling at Leeds in Yorkſhire, practiſed there with great reputation and ſucceſs. He died April 7, 1729, and was buried in St Peter's church at Leeds *.

* He married the daughter of John Harriſon, Alderman of Leeds, and left iſſue one ſurviving ſon, William, now of Richmond in Surrey.

The third, Mathew Smith, of Newcaſtle Underline, was a Blackwell-Hall Factor. He died February 21, 1721, and was buried at Bettley in Staffordſhire.

The fourth, George Smith, B. D. who was much admired for his knowledge in polite literature, as alſo for his integrity and chriſtian conduct of his life; was bred at St John's college in Cambridge, of which he was ſome time Fellow, and while Chaplain to Brigadier Meredyth's regiment in Flanders, he became acquainted with General [afterwards Earl] Cadogan, he ſtaid a conſiderable time with his Lordſhip, who upon his being appointed Envoy and Plenipotentiary to the States-General in 1706, made him his Chaplain. He alſo attended his Lordſhip in the ſame character when he was ſent Ambaſſador thither in 1716, and his Lordſhip being conſtituted General of all His Majeſty's forces the year following, in the room of the Duke of Marlborough, appointed Mr Smith to ſucceed Dr Hare, afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter, as Chaplain-General to the army (9). While he reſided at Ghent in Flanders, he married Anne, daughter to Colonel John Reddiſh of Skains, by Edenbridge in Kent, by whom he had iſſue Richard Smith, who was bred at Jeſus college in Cambridge, and is now Rector of Burmarſh and Alkham in Kent, and George Smith, a merchant, who died at Bengal in 1735. Their father died at Kenſington, April 17, 1725, and was buried at his living of Higham in Kent, in the church-yard adjoining to the Eaſt window, according to his deſire where a handſome tomb is erected for him.

(9) Supplement to Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory, p. 1058.

Fifth, Joſeph Smith, the fifth ſurviving brother, went to Queen's-college in Oxford, where he became Provoſt, of whom hereafter.

Sixth, Benjamin Smith, a Student in the Inner-Temple, died in the twenty-ſeventh year of his age, December 6, 1699, by too aſſiduous application to the Law, and was buried in St Andrews Church, Holborn, London.

Seventh, Poſthumus Smith, L.L.B. his youngeſt brother, became ſo eminent a Civilian, that he was early appointed Auditor to Lord Crew, and principal Regiſter to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, as alſo Surrogate to Dr Brookbank Chancellor (10), and Commiſſary, and Official-General of that Archdeaconry. He died October 5, 1725, and was buried in the Cathedral of Durham behind the altar. He left iſſue one ſon John Smith of Durham, Eſq; † and three daughters, Grace, Mary, and Elizabeth, by Mary, his wife, daughter to Sir George Wheeler, of whom a further account is given in remark [*H*]. Grace, the eldeſt, married her couſin-german, Francis Middleton, Eſq; ſon of Ralph Middleton of Offerton, in the county of Durham, by Frances, his wife, daughter to Sir George Wheeler; Mary married Breams Wheeler of Durham, Eſq; nephew to Sir George Wheeler; and Elizabeth, married John Bedford, M. D. of Durham.

(10) This gentleman was alſo Fellow of Trinity-hall in Cambridge, where he died in 1723.

† He died unmarried, December 13, 1744; whereby his ſiſters became his heirs, and he was buried with his father.

as a token of the brotherly love he had for them from their cradle, and which he leaves with them at his grave. He married Mary, eldeſt daughter of William Cooper, of Scarborough, Eſq; by his wife Philadelphia, fifth daughter of Henry Smith (*i*), of Weſt Herrington and Moreton-houſe; which Henry was half-brother to Sir George Baker, of Crook near Durham [*E*], by their mother Mary, daughter to Lionel Heron, of Chipchaſe-caſtle, Eſq; who was married firſt to Oſwald Baker, Eſq; and after his death to William Smith of Durham and Weſt-Herrington, Counſellor at Law; whence the ſaid Mary Cooper was allied in blood to George Baker, Eſq; the founder of ſix exhibitions in St John's-college Cambridge. By his marriage to this lady, who died in Auguſt 1728, Dr Smith had a very conſiderable fortune, and a fair iſſue to enjoy it: as 1. George Smith of Burnhall, Eſq; of whom hereafter. 2. John, a Blackwell hall Factor, who died at Durham November 22, 1731. 3. Joſeph Smith, Fellow of Trinity-college Cambridge, who died July 13, 1734, and was buried in All-Saints church at Cambridge. 4. William, who died very young a ſudden death, being choaked with the core of an apple. 5. Another William, who was bred to the Common-Law, and ſettled at Newcaſtle; he died November 2, 1730, and was buried with his mother and brother John, in the church-yard of Durham cathedral, where a handſome tomb is erected to their memories. Beſides his compleat and accompliſhed edition of *Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, which will be mentioned in the next article, our author publiſhed ſeveral Sermons, the titles of which are inſerted below [*F*]; and ſeveral manuſcript ſermons of his were in poſſeſſion of his ſon Joſeph, which ſince his death have not been found. He had alſo made ſome progreſs in writing the Antiquities of Durham, for which undertaking Biſhop Nicholſon obſerves (*k*), he was the moſt proper perſon. He likewiſe furniſhed Dr Gibſon with the additions to the Biſhoprick of Durham, which are inſerted in the laſt edition of *Camden's Britannia* by that prelate. He alſo ſupplied Mr Anderſon with materials in the publication of his Hiſtorical Eſſay; wherein he ſhews, that the crown and kingdom of Scotland is imperial and independent [*G*]. Laſtly, he communicated to Dr Thomas Smith (*l*) two manuſcripts

(*i*) By this marriage the families were again united.

(*k*) In his Hiſtorical Library, Part ii. p. 131. 8vo. edition.

(*l*) The writer of *Vitæ quorundam illuſtrium Virorum, &c.* See his article.

[*E*] *Sir George Baker of Crooke.*] This gentleman, after having done and ſuffered much for his King and country, eſpecially for gallantly defending Newcaſtle againſt the rebellious Scots, at laſt ſubmitted to an unequal fate, unworthy of his great deſerts on the fourth of Auguſt 1662, and was buried in the chancel of the great church at Kingſton upon Hull in Yorkſhire, where a monument (11) was erected for him in 1710, by his nephew Thomas Baker before mentioned.

This learned, ingenious, and induſtrious Antiquarian, was born September 14, 1636, at Lanchester in the county palatine of Durham (12), and being ſent to St John's-college in Cambridge, was choſen Scholar and afterwards Fellow upon Dr Aſhton's foundation (13), which he held 'till the acceſſion of King George I. ſoon after which he was ejected for refuſing to take the oaths to the government (14). However he kept his chamber in the college, and reſided there as a Commoner-Maſter 'till his death, which happened on the ſecond of July 1740 (15). He was buried in the ante-chappel of the college, and his various works printed and manuſcripts ſupply the place of a monument. Theſe are, 1. *Reflections upon Learning*, &c. which has gone through ſeveral editions, and is generally much eſteemed, notwithſtanding the cenſure paſſed upon it by a late ingenious writer. 'Baker, ſays he, in 'his *Reflections upon Learning* defended Eraſmus, and attacked Le Clerc with a virulence, which one would 'not have expected from a man, who, as I remember 'was accounted, and who deſired to be accounted a 'candid, genteel, and polite perſon. But party zeal 'guided his pen: *Tantum religio potuit!* Le Clerc 'gave him a ſhort anſwer in the *Index* to the fourth 'edition of the *Ars critica* under the word Eraſmus. '— Baker hath one chapter upon *Metaphyſics*, in 'which he hath made no mention of Locke; juſt as if 'a man ſhould write the lives of the Greek and Latin 'poets, and only omit Homer and Virgil! He obſerved cap. 16, that there was little or nothing left 'for the ſagacity and induſtry of modern critics; and 'thereby he ſhewed that he was no critic himſelf, and 'not at all acquainted with the true ſtate of claſſical 'books, and particularly of Greek authors (16).' There are ſeveral other ſhafts occaſionally lanced at Mr Baker's book in the *Life of* Eraſmus, which is confeſſedly formed upon the plan of Le Clerc, the writer's guide and maſter. Will not then his own words be retorted upon him? but party zeal guided his pen: *Tantum religio potuit.* 2. Mr Baker reprinted Biſhop Fiſher's funeral Sermon of Margaret Counteſs of Richmond, with a preface containing ſome account of the hiſtory of learned men of his own college, which is obſerved to be excellent in it's kind, and makes us wiſh the remainder of it had come forth, as he ſeemed to give us hopes of in page 55, finiſhed by the ſame maſterly hand. He did however, carry on it's hiſtory through a ſucceſſion of it's maſters, from the foundation to the end of Biſhop Gunning's maſterſhip, which together with many other volumes (17) of thoſe valuable collections he made towards a *hiſtory* of the Univerſity in general, he preſented to his great friend and patron the late Lord Oxford (18), in whoſe Lady's cuſtody they remained with many others of extraordinary value, to the no ſmall regret of the learned, inacceſſible, 'till they were lately purchaſed with the Harleian manuſcripts, by the Parliament in 1753, and make now a very conſiderable part of the Britiſh Muſæum The reſidue of his collections (19) Mr Baker bequeathed to the univerſity, in hopes that a more favourable opportunity might offer, and more ſuitable encouragement be given to ſome other, for ſetting about ſo great a work (20).

[*F*] *His Sermons in print.*] Theſe are, 1. A Sermon preached before the univerſity of Cambridge, on Proverbs iv. 13. Lond. 1700, 8vo. 2. An Apology to Chriſtians for the goſpel and it's miniſters, &c. on 1 Cor. xv. 1, 2. Lond. 1709, 4to. 3. A Sermon preached before the Sons of the Clergy upon their firſt ſolemn meeting at St Nicholas church in Newcaſtle, Sept. 10, 1711, on Exod. xx. 12. Lond. 1711, 4to. and reprinted the ſame year. N B. He was the chief inſtrument in ſetting on foot this branch of charity. 4. A Sermon preached at the conſecration of the chapel of Stockton, &c. on Math. xxi. 9. ibid 1712, 8vo. and reprinted the ſame year.

[*G*] *Anderſon's Hiſtorical Eſſay*, &c.] Our author ſupplied him with the chief part of the large appendix to this book, containing copies of charters, and other writings relating to Scotland, in which, as he obſerves, that nation is much obliged to Dr Smith for letting them know where ſo many of their valuable deeds and writings are, which by their being carefully lodged at Durham, have eſcaped the repeated miſerable fate that moſt of their ancient charters and records have undergone, firſt, by the general havock and deſigned extirpation of their memory by Edward I. who carried off or deſtroyed all the marks of their antiquity and independency, as well as the rights of their lands that came into his clutches, with the famous library kept at Ruſhnet (21); next, by the burning of the city of Edinburgh by the Engliſh, under the command of the Duke of Lancaſter; and afterwards by the deſtruction or tranſportation

(11) The inſcription is printed in Gent's Hiſtory of Hull, and Le Neve.

(12) Maſters's Hiſtory of Corpus Chriſti-college in Cambridge, in the Appendix, No. LIX. p. 84. edit. 1753. 4to. in note, by Browne Willis, Eſq;

(13) Carter's Hiſtory of Cambridge, p. 273. who tells us, Mr Baker had a good picture of Dr Aſhton, which he much valued.

(14) He always bore a quick reſentment of his ejection, and would never believe, but that the maſter, Dr Jenkins, might have ſcreened him by connivance, as he had done in the preceding reign. This he expreſſed particularly, by writing in the blank leaves of all the books he gave to the college himſelf, *Socius ejectus.*

(15) Browne Willis, as before.

(16) Jortin's *Life* of Eraſmus, Vol. I. p. 550, 551. edit. 1758, 4to. Vol. II. come out this year, 1760, 4to.

(17) Viz. 23 vols in folio.

(18) The Treaſurer's ſon, who gave him, if I miſtake not, yearly for his life, an annuity of 60*l.* Biſhop Burnet alſo was a friend to him in the like way.

(19) Viz. 16 vols fol. and 3 4to. with ſeveral valuable printed books noted in his own hand.

(20) Maſters's Hiſtory of Corpus-Chriſti college, in the Preface, p. i, ii. and Sir Hans Sloane's article, in this work.

(21) See Spotiſwood's Church Hiſtory, ad ann. 1300.

ſcripts of Biſhop Coſins [*H*], one intituled, *A Vindication of the Orders of the Church of England*, againſt the exceptions and cavils of a certain Romiſh Prieſt of our nation; and the other, containing an *Anſwer to* A Letter inſcribed to a Noble Engliſh Lady, *in Defence of adminiſtring the Euchariſt to the Laity in one Kind only*, together with a *learned Epiſtle concerning the Sabbath*, of Dr Coſins, then Maſter of Peter-Houſe college in Cambridge, to Dr Samuel Collins, Provoſt of King's-college there in 1635, when there was a warm controverſy in England upon that ſubject. All which, ſays Dr Smith, will deſerve to be inſerted in a new edition of Biſhop Coſins's Engliſh Works, whenever ſuch a one ſhall be publiſhed (*m*). In return for theſe favours, Dr Thomas Smith gave our author a manuſcript, in his own hand-writing, of the proceedings againſt Magdalen-college, in King James the Second's time, and his oppoſition in that affair drawn up by himſelf: and it contains a more particular and authentick relation than has hitherto been publiſhed (*n*) [*I*].

(*m*) Preface to the laſt-mentioned book, p. viii, viii, edit. 1707, 4to.

(*n*) Which manuſcript is ſtill in the family, and, as I am informed, a copy of it is in the hands of his nephew Joſeph Smith, Eſq; LL.D. of Kidlington near Oxford.

portation of moſt of what was left by the Popiſh clergy at the Reformation; and laſtly by the carrying of their records to London, in the late civil wars, and the diſaſter that befel them in their return.

[*H*] *He gave Dr Thomas Smith two manuſcripts of Biſhop Coſins*] This favour was procured from our author, by the interceſſion of Sir George Wheeler, his relation, and much eſteemed and reſpected by him. This reverend and pious Knight was ſon to Colonel Charles Wheeler of Charing in Kent (22), whoſe father Thomas Wheeler, married the daughter of Sir Nicholas Gibbons of Charing. Sir George was born in 1650, at Breda in Holland *, and educated in Lincoln-college, under the learned Dr George Hickes, the deprived Dean of Worceſter, but before he had a degree conferred on him he went to travel, and in the company of Dr James Spon of Lyons took a voyage from Venice to Conſtantinople through the leſſer Aſia, and from Zant to ſeveral parts of Greece to Athens and thence to Attica, Corinth, Bootha, &c. Some time after his return he made a preſent to the univerſity of Oxford of ſeveral pieces of antiquity, which he had collected in his travels, whereupon the degree of A. M. was conferred upon him being then a Knight. Soon after he took holy orders, and about December 12, 1684, was inſtalled into a prebend of Durham (23), on the promotion of Dr Denys Granville to the Deanry of that place. He was made Vicar of Baſingſtoke, and was afterwards preſented to the rich rectory of Houghton le Spring by Biſhop Crew his patron. He was created, D. D. by Diploma, May 18, 1702 (24). He publiſhed an account of his journey into Greece, in ſix books, in 1682, folio. He alſo publiſhed, *An account of the churches and places of aſſembly of the primitive Chriſtians from the churches of* Tyre, Jeruſalem, *and* Conſtantinople, *deſcribed by* Euſebius, *and accular obſervations of ſeveral very edifices of churches, yet remaining in thoſe parts, with a ſeaſonable application.* Lond. 1689, and we have a third piece of his, intituled, The Proteſtant Monaſtery, or *Chriſtian Oeconomicks*, containing directions for the religious conduct of a family. It appears by this treatiſe, *that he was remarkably pious and devout.* It contains his thoughts on that ſubject of near twenty years before, being penned ſoon after his entrance (they are his own words) into the conjugal ſtate, and he ſuppoſes ſeven years before his entrance into holy orders; though now much abbreviated and ſomewhat altered. He married Grace Higgons, daughter of Sir Thomas Higgons of Odiham in Hampſhire, Ambaſſador to Venice, Leghorn †, &c. She died 1703, and was interred at Charing. Sir George died February 18, 1723-4, aged ſeventy-four (25), and being a true admirer of Venerable Bede, had ſeveral of his children buried hard by him, and ordered his own corps to be interred as near Bede's tomb as it conveniently could, without violating the ſacred aſhes. A marble monument with a long inſcription in Latin is erected for him, by his ſon Granville Wheeler, in the body of the church, contiguous to the wall, behind which the body lies buried. Sir George built the chapel in Wheeler's ſtreet, Spittlefields, London, commonly called Wheeler's chapel, which is for the uſe of Mr Wheeler's tenants and inhabitants thereabouts. He died poſſeſſed of a conſiderable eſtate and fortune, and had a numerous iſſue of which four ſons Thomas, George, Granville, and Charles, lived to maturity, beſides ſeven daughters who all married. Thomas the eldeſt ſon married the daughter of Sir George Curtis, Lord of the manor of Otterden-place and Monkton in Kent, and dying in the life-time of his father without iſſue, as did alſo George the ſecond ſon, who was a Counſellor at Law, Granville the third ſon, ſome time of Chriſt-college in Cambridge, and now D. D. became heir to his father. He has diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a learned member of the Royal Society (26), and is no leſs eſteemed for his abilities as a Divine, than for his great piety, which was the motive of his going into Orders. He is now Rector of Lake in Nottinghamſhire. He married firſt, Katharine Maria, daughter to Theophilus, Earl of Huntington, and to his ſecond wife Mary daughter of John Dove, Eſq; by Elizabeth his wife, daughter and coheir of John Bridgeman, younger brother to Lord-Keeper Bridgman, but has iſſue only by his firſt marriage

[*I*] *A manuſcript, containing a particular account of the proceedings againſt Magdalen-college*, &c] A copy of this MS. being communicated to me, I ſhall gratify the reader with ſome extracts from it, wherein Dr Thomas Smith, the author, vindicates himſelf from ſeveral miſrepreſentations in the printed account of this affair. He begins his account thus:

'Hearing from Dr Ironſide, then Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, and others, that they had met with a report, that I had endeavoured to get the King's mandate for the Preſidentſhip of the college, then vacant by the death of Dr Clerke; I replied, that I had as good a pretenſion (it may be without the leaſt guilt of immodeſty) as any other, and that I knew ſo well how the Preſidentſhip had been diſpoſed of by the Kings and Queens of England, that I ſaw no ill or indecency in ſuch an application.'

He then proceeds to give a detail of the affair; that his friend and colleague, Dr Younger, came to his lodgings at Charing Croſs, London, on Eaſter-Eve, March 26, 1687, and told him, he had received a meſſage from Lady Shuttleworth in Lancaſhire, that her father Dr Clerke died at her houſe a few days before, and that this was a ſecret, and to be made uſe of accordingly; that Dr Smith told him, that the lady intended him, by this quick meſſage, a particular kindneſs, and that he ſhould by all means procure, by the intereſt of the Princeſs Anne, whoſe domeſtic chaplain he was, and is ſtill, the King's recommendatory letters to the college, which would put the matter out of all doubt and queſtion; but this being declined by Dr Younger, who adviſed him to uſe his intereſt in Court to procure it, and to take time by the foretop, he thereupon went to Thiſtleworth on Monday morning, March 28, to Dr Parker, Biſhop of Oxford, with whom he had then, and ſeveral years before, an intimate acquaintance, to beg his intereſt with his Majeſty. That the Biſhop wrote a letter, which he gave him incloſed in another directed to his landlord, where he had lately lodged, dwelling in the Haymarket, telling him, that he muſt not know or enquire to whom it was directed. This, ſays he, if any thing, will be effectual. Nor, continues Dr Smith, would he ever tell me afterwards who the perſon was to whom he wrote, tho' I learned it not long after by a meer accident. After three or four days I went to Thiſtleworth a ſecond time, to know what anſwer he had to his letter; for I was not to ſtir, or ſay any thing of the buſineſs, 'till I heard from him. He then told me, that he was not my competitor, notwithſtanding the noiſe of the town, that the King would make him Preſident. That the King expected the perſon recommended ſhould be favourable to his religion, and then aſked me what I would do, or could do therein? I replied, My Lord, I pray acquaint the King that if his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to recommend me to the College, I will make it my buſineſs to advance piety and learning, to make men dutiful and obedient to his perſon, and to promote true Catholic Chriſtianity, and I hope, ſaid I, the King will

(22) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 1004.

* His parents were then exiles there, on account of the rebellion. See his epitaph. The words are, *ex ſtirpe generoſa inter Cantianos oriundus, Bredæ tamen inter Batavos natus, parentibus ob regiam cauſam exulantibus.*

(23) Willis's Cathedrals, Vol. I.

(24) Catalogue of the Oxford Graduates.

† She was granddaughter to Sir Bevil Granville, whoſe ſon was created Earl of Bath.

(25) From his epitaph in the Antiquities of Durham-abbey, printed in 12mo.

(26) Some of his papers are printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

will require no more of me, for this is all I can do. He answered me, this I assure you will not do. I said to him, then let who will take the Presidentship for me. I will look no more after it. After this I made no address in the least to any person, either in the Court or out of it, about this matter, as having been fully convinced by the discourse which I had with Bishop Parker, that all future attempts, as things then stood, would be vain and to no purpose.

April 5, I went over to wait upon my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth. After dinner his Grace came to me standing by the window, and spake to me in these words. Doctor, will the Presidentship of your college fall into your hands? I answered, no my Lord, I don't expect it. I shall never agree to the conditions. He replied, what conditions? I said again in general terms only (without mentioning the discourse I had a few days before with Bishop Parker) I know very well what I say to your Grace; then said he, without asking any further question, well Doctor, I know you are an honest man, may you have your reward: if not in this world, yet God is a good paymaster.

Dr Smith then proceeds to give what he calls An Impartial Relation of the election of a President of St Mary Magdalen-college, Oxon. in April 1687, and the following visitation. In which he continues to vindicate his conduct from some misrepresentations in the printed account of that affair. In order thereto he observes, that when the college sent Mr Bagshaw to him at London, with their request to deliver their petition against the King's mandate, to admit Mr Farmer to the Presidentship. He was directed to deliver it to the Earl of Sunderland, which he complied with, though against his own opinion, being desirous to have delivered it to the King immediately *. That afterwards, upon the college citation of the Fellows to proceed to an election on the 15th of April, he went to Oxford, where at a meeting of the Fellows on the 15th in order to proceed to an election immediately, he declared his opinion for petitioning the King again as most prudent and dutiful, before they proceeded to an election, the King having interposed his royal pleasure and authority, which if it had not been done he readily acknowledged, that they not only might but ought to proceed to the election that very instant, according to the express letter of the statute in every particular. That the Vice-president as well as Dr Fairfax and Dr Pudsey, concurred with him in this opinion, but the majority appearing on the other side against such second petition, the election was made, and Dr Hough chosen President, and confirmed afterwards by the Bishop of Wincheſter their local visitor, though he, Dr Smith, did not give his vote for him. That it was thought necessary, in order to maintain this election, and to keep off the King's displeasure, to address the Duke of Ormond, whose chaplain Mr Hough, had the honour to be, that he would use his interest with the King, and intercede for the college. That a letter was accordingly drawn up, dated April 19, 1687, and sent to him in the country, of which, continues Dr Smith, I was wholly ignorant, much less did I subscribe it, though it appears by the very letter which the Duke of Ormond sent up to Court, that they very knavishly and basely foisted my name into the subscriptions of the Fellows, which forgery I did not discover 'till I read the letter with the subscriptions, printed by Dr Johnston in his vindication of the King's visitatorial power (27) about a year ago, which was matter of amazement to me. Besides they all knew if I had been spoken to, I should never have consented, several things contained in it being contrary to my express declaration and judgment. I did not vote for Mr Hough at all, either in the first nomination or after-scrutiny: but first named two others, and when the majority elected Mr Maynard and Mr Hough to be returned to the thirteen Seniors to chose one of them, I voted for Mr Maynard.

That about the 23d of April a letter written two days before the twenty-first, came from my Lord Sunderland, directed to the Fellows of the college, requiring us to give an account of what had passed at the election the week before, and whether the King's letter mandatory had not been delivered before the election of Mr Hough; to this an answer was framed, to which I told them I could not subscribe, nor approve of the case drawn up in several particulars alledged in it, and therefore I desired to be wholly unconcerned in it for the future as I really was in this troublesome business, which might have been prevented by our petitioning the King a second time; and upon the reading both of the letter and case, I bid Mr Almont, our Steward and public Notary, take notice, that I disliked several things both in the one and the other; and before him, and in the presence of the Fellows in the Chequer publicly interposed my dissent. After this I refused to be present at other meetings which were had about petitioning the King, and the President accompanied by three or four of the Fellows went up on Wednesday the 27th of April to deliver it. Upon the 6th of June I desired leave of absence for some time and went to London.

Hearing of the intended visitation by the King's Commissioners, he returned to the college on the 14th of October. On Tuesday the 25th the Commissioners having received the King's letters mandatory for the admission of Dr Parker Bishop of Oxford into the Presidentship; they first asked Dr Pudsey whether he would install the Bishop by his proxy, and upon his refusal the question was put to Dr Smith, who read his answer as follows:

My Lords Commissioners, I answer with all humble and dutiful submission to the King's Majesty's authority and your Lordship's visitatorial power, that it is not in my power to do this. Your Lordships, who have deprived Dr Hough, and declared the Bishop of Oxford President, may install him. This method being altogether new and extraordinary, I cannot be satisfied how I can or ought to be the executioner of your Lordship's sentence. Besides, I beg leave to propose a short case to your Lordships, whether, and how I can install or give possession, without being impowered and authorized by a rule out of the High Court of Chancery or King's-bench for my security, if there were nothing of conscience in the case. The Chief Justice answered, that they, acting by authority under the Broad-Seal, had the power of those Courts. I humbly begged their pardon and demurred. Then the Commissioners installed the Bishop, after which, returning to the common room, they proposed this question to every Fellow, will you submit to the Bishop of Oxford now installed President, by virtue of the King's mandate, to which Dr Smith's answer was: I own from my heart, and acknowledge the King's supremacy; I do now, and always will pay all dutiful and humble obedience to his Majesty's authority, and this out of a principle of conscience and loyalty, as becomes a Priest of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of England established by Law. I have made no exception to the legality of your Lordship's commission, nor to the exercise of it in this present visitation. I am ready and willing to obey *in licitis et honestis*, the President, whom the King has been pleased to constitute President, whenever he shall come and reside in the college (28).

Friday October 28. The Commissioners telling the Fellows that they had received an express that morning from London, wherein the King required, that the Fellows should acknowledge their disobedience, in contesting his authority, ordered that they should make this acknowledgment in a writing under their hands. In this affair, says Dr Smith, I was wholly unconcerned, as to any kind of obligation lying upon me, to join in such an address, who had been absent from the college, with statutable leave, during the heat of the contest (the Fellows refusing my advice for deferring the election, 'till the King had been petitioned a second time: which method, if it had been followed, had prevented all the troubles which fell upon the college). The Commissioners, upon my saying thus much, acknowledged that I was not obliged, nor was a subscription required of me (as is subtilly, but most falsely suggested, in the printed relation) (29); who was so far from being press'd, as is there said, that I was not so much as spoken to. But, however, after some little demurr, I went up to the hall, where the Fellows were retired to discourse with several of them, and interpose my advice. I told them, they might make their acknowledgment in such a form, as might neither displease the Commissioners, nor prejudice themselves; as that we are heartily sorry to have incurred your Majesty's displeasure; and that if, in the management of this cause, we have done any thing amiss tending that way, we humbly beg your Majesty's pardon; or to this purpose. I told them, moreover, that I would not accuse them, but that I was to defend myself; that in the management of the best cause, there might be misbehaviour and miscarriage, and therefore

* The reason for this will appear presently.

(27) P. 11, 12, 13.

(28) He says that, foreseeing what would happen, he had wrote these answers down in his pocket-book.

(29) P. 37, 38.

therefore I begged them, for God's ſake, very earneſtly, that they would conſider what they had to do. But I not prevailing, they drew up a paper, which being ſubſcribed, they went down with it to the common room, to preſent it to the Commiſſioners. As ſoon as it was read, the Commiſſioners ſaid, it was not a paper to be offered: that they had offered more in a former addreſs, which was read: and that it was not agreeable, but directly repugnant, to the ſubmiſſion made on Tueſday. The Biſhop of Cheſter adding, that it was *proteſtatio contra factum*, Dr Bailey deſired to explain himſelf as to the paper, that by the word ſubmit, they only meant, that they would not oppoſe; and that as to owning the Biſhop of Oxford Preſident, they had no ſuch deſign or meaning. This appeared to me, ſays Dr Smith, matter of aſtoniſhment, for that the ſubmiſſion was made after the Commiſſioners had inſtalled him.

Reflecting upon this interpretation, I have ſaid, continues he, ſeveral times to them, If we may faſten an interpretation upon words, contrary to their plain, obvious, and common ſenſe and meaning, let us henceforward ceaſe to condemn and preach againſt the jeſuitical wicked doctrine of equivocation and mental reſervation: and that if we now thought ourſelves bound to obſerve the founder's ſtatutes *ad literam* in every particular, and that we could not be diſpenſed with from them, as we have been diſpenſed with formerly in diverſe inſtances, and eſpecially about elections, we ought to take ſhame to ourſelves, by a publick acknowledgment, that we have lain ſo long under thoſe fatal errors, and do penance for our manifeſt and wilful perjuries.

After the general ſubmiſſion made by all the Fellows except, Dr Fairfax, and all the college beſides, except the under-porter, both of whom were expelled, I obſerved, that there was great diſſatisfaction taken by ſeveral at this their compliance, blaming them for leaving Dr Fairfax in the lurch; and beſides, they were piqued by Mr Obadiah Walker and his party's upbraiding them, that they durſt not ſtand it out: and it being commonly ſaid in the town by the ordinary people, *Here is your Magdalen-college conſcience*, beſides other motives, they thought fit to evacuate their ſubmiſſion, by this equivocal interpretation.

Tueſday November 15. The ſame Commiſſioners came to town, being brought in by three troops of horſe, and were lodged in the college.

That night I was ſent for to the Preſident's lodgings by the Biſhop of Oxford, not knowing in the leaſt that the Commiſſioners were with him, forbearing to viſit him above once or twice at moſt, upon his taking poſſeſſion of the lodgings, notwithſtanding our intimate friendſhip many years before, which I then chiefly waved, to avoid all poſſible umbrage of me. I was ſurprized at the ſight of them, where we had but little diſcourſe, and that of indifferent things; only, before I took my leave, Baron Jenner took me aſide, and aſked me very ſeriouſly, Doctor, I pray tell me, when you delivered the petition of the college to my Lord Preſident? I told him, upon the faith of an honeſt man and a Chriſtian, that it was on Sunday the 10th of April. Afterward, the Biſhop of Cheſter invited me to his chamber, and aſked me the ſame queſtion, which I anſwered word for word as before I did to Baron Jenner. He further aſked, when I had my anſwer? I told him, on Wedneſday the 13th of April, and that I would atteſt it upon oath, if there was any doubt or denial of it. This brought into my mind what the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Ironſide, told me, that in a diſcourſe the King was pleaſed to have with him, when he was in Oxford, in September, about our college, his Majeſty aggravated the undutifulneſs and rudeneſs of the Fellows, in not petitioning him, and repreſenting our caſe to him before the election. The Vice-Chancellor interpoſing, ſaid, that he had heard we had done it: the King anſwered, Ay, after the election was over. This, continues our author, ſeemed demonſtration, that the Earl of Sunderland did not deliver our petition in good time (30), and which I concluded fully was the reaſon, why Baron Jenner and the Biſhop of Cheſter were ſo inquiſitive to know the exact time from me.

(30) This he had apprehended from the firſt, which was the reaſon of his inſiſting ſo much as he did, upon petitioning the King a ſecond time, before they proceeded to an election.

The Biſhop of Cheſter told me, that I had a great enemy in the Cabinet-Council, called juſt before they came away. I aſked him who were preſent? He ſaid, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Preſident, Lord Privy-Seal, the Marquis of Powis, Father Peter, the Earl of Caſtlemain, and I think he ſaid Biſhop Leybourn. He would not tell me who the Lord was, but left me to gueſs, as I did eaſily; but he ſaid the King was pleaſed after all to ſay, that he was fully ſatisfied as to my behaviour.

In the interval between the Commiſſioners going away and return, I was ſoon convinced, that the Fellows were encouraged to perſiſt in their oppoſition to the King by ſeveral great men at London; that they ſhould be taken care of, in caſe they were expelled; that they would be looked upon as confeſſors for the Proteſtant religion, and ſuch like plauſible arguments, with which they were wrought upon; ſo that it was very eaſy to foreſee, that, upon their non-ſubmiſſion, the Commiſſioners came with full power to expel them.

Wedneſday November 16. The Commiſſioners met in the common room, and the buttery-book being ſent for afterwards, upon reading the King's mandate for the admiſſion of Mr William Joyner, who had been Fellow of the college about forty years before, and loſt his Fellowſhip by turning Papiſt, and Mr Job Allibon, brother to the Judge of that name, they were admitted and their names regiſtred, both of them taking only the oath required by the founder. The names of all the Fellows were called over, and certificates were produced in behalf of ſeveral of the abſent Fellows, which were read and allowed. Dr Younger was excuſed, upon the account of his attendance upon the Princeſs of Denmark. The names of the reſt, who had not taken the like care to get themſelves excuſed, were noted down. Soon after, the Biſhop of Cheſter made a long ſpeech, recapitulating the whole affair. All being ordered to withdraw but the Fellows, the Commiſſioners required ſuch of them, and only ſuch, as had contended with the King (for I was not ſo much as ſpoken to, much leſs preſſed, as is baſely and falſely ſuggeſted (31) in the printed pamphlet, intituled, *An Impartial Relation of the whole Proceedings againſt St Mary Magdalen college in Oxon.* which is very partial and faulty in ſeveral particulars relating to me), to ſubſcribe the following paper.

(31) P. 37, 38.

Here follows the petition, &c. as in p. 37. of the printed account. The expulſion being read ſoon after, Dr Smith then proceeds.

After the expulſion of my colleagues, which they had brought upon themſelves, I being extremely concerned for them, reſolved that very minute to go to London, and live there.

Accordingly he ſet out on Friday November 18, and ſtaid at London all that winter, and part of the following year (32), 'till he was expelled from his Fellowſhip by Biſhop Giffard, the then Preſident and Popiſh Fellows, and went down to Oxford a few days after, to remove his books, bedding, and other furniture of his chamber.

(32) A letter dated January the nineteenth, had been ſent to him by Mr Charnock the Vice-Preſident, citing him to come to the college; but he ſlighted the citation, and did not think fit to anſwer the fooliſh letter, (ſo he calls it) and left them to proceed againſt him as they pleaſed.

Upon my coming to town, continues he, I found the whole tranſaction of the affair relating to the college generally condemned, the King arraigned, as guilty of arbitrary government, in turning men out of their freeholds, the Commiſſioners loaded with calumnies, for executing the King's pleaſure, and acting, as they ſaid, againſt Law, in defence of a prerogative, which thoſe revilers would not acknowledge due to the Crown, and myſelf beſpattered with horrible, ſcandalous, and diabolical reflections; as that I was a Papiſt, or at leaſt would ſoon declare myſelf ſuch; that I had perjuriouſly violated my founder's ſtatutes; and that by this compliance I was making my court to get preferments, and ſuch like ſtuff. I confeſs it troubled me extremely to be thus calumniated, knowing that in the whole affair I acted according to my judgment and conſcience; upon which I did not chuſe to rely wholly, though I might have done it ſafely, knowing, from the regiſters of the college, what had been done in the like caſes by our predeceſſors, and eſpecially in Dr Walter Haddon's caſe, who was a lay-gentleman, and bred up in the univerſity of Cambridge in the time of King Edward the Sixth; in that of Dr Bond, under Queen Elizabeth; of Dr Oliver, who was recommended by King Charles the Firſt (though the King, then in Oxford, was aſſured, that the election would light neither upon Dr Oliver, or another of his Majeſty's chaplains; the King ſaying, as I have been moſt credibly informed, that he would ſend his letters however); and in thoſe of Dr Pierce and Dr Clerke, at which latter I was preſent*; and in the elections and admiſſions of Fellows (to the formalities of which we were as much obliged by ſtatute), whenever the King thought fit to interpoſe his royal authority. Beſides, I ſay,

* In the caſe of Haddon the ſtatutes were over-ruled, on account of the Reformation, as then eſtabliſhed by act of Parliament. Life of Walter Haddon, prefixed to his Poemata. Lib. dup. Lond. 1592, 8vo. and as to Bond, Oliver, Pierce, and Clarke, they were or had been all Fellows of the college, and ſtatutably qualified. See Impartial Relation, &c. p. 21. Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 280. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 838. So that none of theſe caſes are like the preſent one, as is alledged by Dr Smith.

say, not relying upon my own understanding, I consulted both divines and civilians as to my behaviour in this perplexed affair, whose judgment, which could be no ways biassed, agreed with mine. Hereupon, to do myself right, and to vindicate my injured fame and credit, I found myself obliged to give a particular relation of my behaviour in the whole transaction, so far as I was concerned, either at the election or visitation, which I sent to my friend Dr William Lloyd, Lord Bishop of St Asaph, in a letter dated November 24; which satisfied his Lordship; who, as much as he disliked the exercise of the King's visitatorial power at that time, and the behaviour of the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical affairs, and for visiting the Universities either at London or Oxford, did me the justice to vindicate me in the midst of all the clamours raised upon me (as did several other persons), whenever a discourse happened to be started about me. I, finding that the case was either through ignorance misunderstood, or through malice and design perverted, to run down the King and his authority royal, in interposing in college elections, and that not one in a thousand has a right notion of it, designed to publish that letter, to satisfy my friends, that I was not so black a criminal as some of my maligners represented me to be; and therefore consulted and advised with Bishop Lloyd, whether I ought not to lay open the whole affair to the view of the world, at least to publish the letter written to him; which he would by no means give way to, or advise me to do, adding, among other reasons, that hereby I should but gratify the Jesuits; and this afterwards was the opinion of Dr Thomas Tenison (33), whom, in Bishop Lloyd's absence, and by his particular desire, I now and then consulted upon some emerging difficulty.

(33) Afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

I can justly say it, and I appeal to God Almighty, the searcher of all hearts, that in the course of my life, in matters relating to the publick, I have endeavoured to discharge a good conscience; and that, the Grace of God assisting me, I have abhorred, and, the same Grace assisting me, shall continue to abhor, a wilful and designed contradicting the lights and directions of my conscience, or doing any thing contrary to it, though it were to gain the best preferment in the Church, or to save my life. And as to the other crimination, of my being a Papist, or would at least become such, I need only appeal to all who know me intimately, both before and since, and to the several theological writings which I have published in Latin and English, in which I have defended the doctrine of the Church of England against the Papists, to render it absurd, false, and incredible. It was a grievous affliction to me, to be so unworthily reproached by my brethren of the Clergy: one of whom brake out in a coffee-house into scurrilous language against me, such as was fitter for a rude, ill-bred, and hair-brained porter, than a scholar, a gentleman, or priest. But I have lived to see this man especially (with several other of my severe censurers), notwithstanding their pretended zeal at that time, in the defence of the Church of England against Popery (which certainly is the duty of every honest and conscientious clergyman of this Church), renounce his oaths, faith, declarations, and formerly avowed principles, and swear allegiance to an usurper, and justify all the villainies of the late Revolution.

Our author then takes notice, that collections were not long after made for the expelled Fellows, and the news being sent over into Holland, with many aggravating circumstances, the Princess of Orange sent over 200*l.* to be distributed among them, as one of the Fellows afterwards told him. After which he proceeds thus:

That night [of November 24] having sent away my letter, by a sure hand, to Bishop Lloyd: in the morning a gentleman came to me to my lodging, telling me, that the King hearing I was in town, commanded me to come to his levee the next morning: which was extremely surprizing to me. Friday morning, November 25, I went to Whitehall. The King was then under the Barber's hand; several lords and gentlemen attending, as is usual. Soon after, the King admitted me to the honour of kissing his hand, and called me into his closet; where he said, he had heard well of me, and that I was a loyal and honest man. I answered, that I had endeavoured to do my duty to his Majesty, as became a loyal and honest man, for which I suffered a thousand reproaches. He bid me not to value them; and then he was pleased to tell me, that he had a letter from the Bishop of Oxon, that the demies were mutinous. I said, that I had endeavoured to satisfy some of them, but I feared they were not to be wrought upon. The King was pleased to add these very words, The college has been mutinous and factious ever since my brother was restored: Some little discourse happened, about my having lived some time at Constantinople; and I thought fit to acquaint the King, that of late I had not been constantly resident in the college, but lived in London; which I thought proper to say, because I resolved to go down no more, while things continued in this disorderly condition After this short stay, the King said, *Doctor, I thank you, I will stand by them who stand by me, you shall find it so*, or words to that purpose. I most humbly thanked his Majesty, and was dismissed (34).

(34) When he returned to his lodgings, he set down this discourse while it was fresh in his memory.

Notwithstanding the King's gracious intentions, proceeds he, towards me, I never made any kind of application to his Majesty, either by Protestant or Romanist; and at that time dreaded preferment, as much as others were ambitious of it, and courted it; and scorned to make a visit to my Lord Sunderland, who, to make his court the better, had renounced his religion, and was primier minister (35); much more to the Jesuit Peters, whose face I never saw, but once *en passant*, though invited thereunto by one who had a considerable interest in them both; for though I might have pretended, with some tolerable kind of allowance, to a Prebend in the church of Windsor, which King Charles was pleased to promise me, or to a Prebend in Westminster, for which Archbishop Sancroft, of his own accord, without my request or suggestion, told me, that he would speak to the King [James] in my behalf; his Grace thinking it most agreeable for me to live in London, as well as others, who I saw advanced to great dignities in the Church: yet after that the troubles in the college had happened, I made it my business and endeavour to avoid it; and I thanked God heartily, that no preferment was forced upon me. So much do I prefer the credit and reputation of having acted according to my judgment in the affair of the college, before the best preferment which fell afterwards in the King's gift, though it had been the Bishoprick of Oxford, which not long after was vacant by the death of Bishop Parker; who being succeeded by Dr Giffard, titular Bishop of Madaura, in the Presidentship, the college began to fill with Papists, and our author was expelled the third of August, 1688 (36).

(35) The Doctor intimates his opinion, that his Lordship influenced Father Peters in sending the twelve Popish Fellows to Magdalen, and expelling the Protestants, in the general design to embarrass the King's affairs, and render him more odious to his Protestant subjects. In which last sentiment our author was not singular.

But upon the address of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and several other Bishops, October 3, to the King to restore the President and Fellows. His Majesty, on the 12th of that month, ordered the Bishop of Winchester to settle the Society regularly and statutably, which that Bishop shewed to our author and Dr Younger. In pursuance hereof, a citation was set up on the chapel gate, October 16, warning the President, Fellows, and all persons concerned to meet the Visitor there on the 2d of November following, by which time the Popish Fellows were ordered to be gone, which was a strain of the Bishop's civility to them. My Lord of Canterbury, and several others of great quality hearing of this delay, signified their just displeasure at it. Of which, the Bishop being sensible he hastens to Oxford on Saturday the 20th of October, anticipating the time prescribed by him in his instrument almost a fortnight, upon the security of which, continues our author, I staid in London. He was extreamly blamed for deferring it, and might if he had pleased at first have gone directly to Oxford, where a great many of the Fellows upon the news of the designed restoration were come already, and the King knew nothing, but that he had before this time obeyed his orders, and restored the college.

(36) Upon this occasion, he went to the college, removed his books and furniture, and after staying three or four days in a private lodging in the town, returned to London, without taking any notice of any of the Popish Fellows.

But thus it happened. The King designing to have, on Monday the 22d of October, a great assembly of the Lords, Bishops, and Personages of great quality, dignity, and office, to satisfy them, and by them the whole nation, about the legitimacy of his son the Prince of Wales, and to obviate and confound the villanous and diabolical slander, which was most maliciously spread abroad among the people, by his implacable enemies, who were then designing his overthrow and deposition, that it was a suppositious child, among others, took particular care, that the Bishop of Winchester, of whose loyalty at that time his Majesty had a very good opinion, should be sent for to be present, and an express was sent to him accordingly to Farnham. But he being gone thence to Oxford, the express went after him, and delivered him the King's

letter

letter for his appearance in the council-chamber on Monday. He not knowing the meaning and reaſon of the King's order delivered to him on Saturday night, was reſolved to be gone early the next morning for London, without reſtoring the college. The Fellows hearing of his intended ſudden departure went to St John's-college, where his Lordſhip lodged, and importuned him to reſtore them that morning, urging that the whole might be done in an hour or two's time; and upon his refuſing to comply with their earneſt requeſt, they uſed very rude expreſſions towards him, which put my Lord into a very grievous paſſion, and he made his coachman drive away, as ſome of the Fellows told me.

On Monday about one o'Clock in the afternoon, I ſpoke to him in the gallery at Whitehall, and aſked his Lordſhip when he would return to Oxford, he ſaid on Wedneſday. That afternoon I hired a couple of horſes and a man, and went to Beconsfield that night, and the next day to Oxford. The Biſhop got thither on Wedneſday the 24th, and reſtored and reſettled the college the next day in the morning, being the 25th.

In the pamphlets, which were ſoon after publiſhed, giving an account of the Revolution, and in order to the juſtification of the wickedneſs and villany of it, this accidental delay of our being reſtored, which is wholly to be imputed to the Biſhop of Winchester, is horribly miſrepreſented, particularly by Mr Bohun, and afterwards by Mr Tirryl, and by the whole litter of envenomed lying ſcribblers, upon this idle, abſurd, and forged pretence, that by the poſt juſt before the Biſhop was ſent for back, there came news, that the Dutch had on the 16th of the ſaid month ſuffered much in a ſtorm, and that they would not be able to ſail 'till the ſpring, and that therefore the Biſhop of Winchester was commanded to deſiſt, and the order given to him for reſtoring the college was revoked, which was a horrible lye. The King knowing nothing all the while, but that the college had been reſtored, before he ſent for the Biſhop to be preſent in that auguſt aſſembly, which was the only reaſon he was ſent to, and not in the leaſt to hinder or defeat the reſtoration of the college, as thoſe villainous writers have moſt falſely and wickedly aſſerted. The Viſitor returning in four or five days to Farnham, our author deſigned to return to London. But the Preſident deſiring him to ſtay to help ſettle the college, and make up the perplexed accounts of it, he complied. And, continues he, upon a diligent ſearch and inſpection, we found our writings and muniments ſafe, the old gold in the Tower which we wanted, untouched and entire, the plaſe left as we left it, and nothing as I remember miſſing. But after the Viſitor's departure I quickly found that I was an eye-ſore to ſeveral of my colleagues, who neither would nor could, it ſeems, forgive me for my behaviour at the election and viſitation, which caſt ſuch a reflection upon them. And the King's affairs being now more and more embroiled, they grew inſolent, many of them having gotten the victory over the King, and the whole nation, as they fancied, on their ſide; and being thus got again into poſſeſſion of the college, ſome of the junior Fellows eſpecially began to ſhew their malice and revenge upon me, taking occaſion in the common room, or in the cloyſters, to aſſault and abuſe me with baſe, dirty, and opprobrious language, for my not joyning with them. All this I could eaſily have digeſted, 'till my old friend Mr Dodwel acquainted me, that he had juſt then heard that both Preſident and Fellows, endeavoured to prepoſſeſs the Viſitor when lately in town, with a deſign to expel me. This, I confeſs, put me out of all patience, and filled me with equally great trouble and indignation, and made me almoſt reſolve, whatever the effect of this barbarous uſage might be, to quit the college, (as the leſſer evil of the two) where I had ſo many open maligners, and others, who ſeemed to carry all things fair with me, and treated me outwardly with reſpect, thus ſecretly to envy me *. Though I could not give an entire credit to Mr Dodwel's information, eſpecially as to what concerned the Preſident, whoſe pretenſions of reſpect and friendſhip were never greater than at that time, and who, I hoped and believed, abhorred the very thought of being in that black deſign againſt me; yet I thought fit not to ſlight it, but the ſame day, October 31, I wrote to my friend the Biſhop of St Aſaph; it concerning me, both in point of reputation and intereſt, to prevent the miſchief from falling upon me.

The pretence was that I had aſſiſted Dr Johnſton in the compoſure of his book, intituled, *The King's viſitatorial power aſſerted*, &c. He mentioning me there with honour, and citing my diary (37) in three or four places. The caſe in ſhort lies thus. I had made an acquaintance with this worthy, honeſt, and learned gentleman in the year 1671, at Pontefract in Yorkſhire, where he then lived, and where I continued ſeveral days, taking a progreſs that ſummer with one of our Yorkſhire Fellows into the north parts of England, which in all my perambulations I had not ſeen before, and whoſe friends lived in that town. This acquaintance quickly grew up into a ſtrict and dear friendſhip, which was afterwards kept up by a correſpondence of letters, during his ſtay in Yorkſhire, and after his coming to live in London. The King being made acquainted with the loyalty and worth of this gentleman, and his great ſkill in the hiſtory, antiquities, and laws of England, and his induſtrious reſearches into old records, gave him a conſiderable penſion, to render the loſs of his practice as a Phyſician, (and certainly a learned and judicious one) which he could not if otherwiſe employed, attend with conſtancy and aſſiduity, leſs uneaſy: and his chief province was to defend the rights and prerogatives of the Crown, which were then attacked by ſeveral little writers, with deſign to inflame the nation, under the pretence of liberty and property, againſt the encroachments of arbitrary power. Theſe calumnies were levelled againſt the King, not ſo much for his being of the Roman communion (though of this they made great advantage, in order firſt to leſſen him in the minds of the people, and turn their minds againſt him, and afterwards to abdicate and dethrone him) as for his being a King. For they were the ſame with which they had aſperſed the King his father of bleſſed memory, who died a martyr for the Church of England. This gentleman then was to give a true and impartial relation of the Viſitation of our college, and to that end had all the papers and regiſter of the Commiſſioners, both in London and at Oxford, which related to that affair, put into his hands. He was ſo civil as to conſult me about what concerned myſelf merely as matter of fact. I read ſeveral things out of my diary to him, and at the ſame time acquainted him particularly with what the Lord Chief Juſtice ſaid, as I had put it down in my note-book; whoſe words I found in the prints, and in common diſcourſe, to have been horribly perverted to his great prejudice and diſhonour; and for the Doctor's further ſatisfaction afterwards, I gave him a copy of a declaration or two I made, which only concerned myſelf, which he has printed. But as to any matter of arguments, ſtatutes, cuſtoms, uſages, and practices of the college in other viſitations, and the like, I never communicated to him one ſyllable, or gave him the leaſt light: for if I had deſigned it, things had been urged in ſeveral particulars with greater ſtrength and authority. But he mentioning in the cloſe of his book, that a member of the college had written a tract upon that ſubject; it was preſently concluded that I was the perſon. Tho' when I challenged the Doctor upon it, and deſired him to acquaint me who that Fellow was, he told me that it was Mr Charnock, ſome of whoſe papers he had ſeen, whoſe name I told him he ought to have mentioned to take off all poſſible umbrage and ſuſpicion from me. This ſilly and falſe ſuggeſtion was the only ground of the accuſation ſecretly managed againſt me; which ſoon after fell, and I heard no more of it (38).

Our author proceeds to mention ſeveral particulars relating to Oxford, after the arrival of the Prince of Orange, and among the reſt obſerves, that an aſſociation paper was ſigned by the Vice Chancellor, ſeveral Heads of Colleges, and ſome of the Canons of Chriſt-Church (39), to ſtand by that Prince. But that Dr Turner, Dr Adams, Dr Bury, Dr Halton, Dr Mills, Dr South, &c. refuſed to ſubſcribe it, as he was told by one of the non-ſubſcribers. Reflecting, ſays he, upon the horrible defection of theſe very heads of colleges, and others, who had been ſo zealous for the paſſing of the famous Decretum in a full Convocation 21 July 1683, and now renouncing that doctrine and their loyalty, and entering into a confederation or aſſociation in defence of the Prince of Orange, who came to pull the King his uncle and father-in-law out of his throne, and uſurp his crown. I ſoon after vented my juſt indignation againſt ſuch baſeneſs and wickedneſs, in theſe following lines:

(37) So he calls this MS.

(38) He ſtaid at Oxford 'till Auguſt 1, and then went to London. His ſuſpenſion from his preferments, for refuſing the oaths, taking place on that day, by the Act of Parliament for that purpoſe.

(39) Viz. On Wedneſday, December 12. Prince George came to Oxford the ſame day; and the Princeſs [afterwards Queen] Anne, came thither on the fifteenth.

In

In aſſociationem a quibuſdam Academiæ Oxonienſis Doctoribus initam.

Nuper ſacrilegos infandi ſchiſmatis auſus,
Atque monarchomos, perculit Oxonia:
Oxoniæ antiquæ fidei, verique Magiſtra,
Regibus effuſo ſanguine fida ſuis
Unde hæc fluxa fides? hæc inconſtantia morum?
Scottorum fœdus ſic revocare decet?
Fallimur. En matrem non hæc infamia tangit,
Dediſcunt pauci, quam docet illa, fidem.

The accounts of the college being pretty well ſettled, the Doctor went with leave to London about the middle of January, and ſoon after viſited Lord Preſton, to aſk his advice about going to the King in France, in which he was diſcouraged by his Lordſhip. On the 12th of April, the day after the coronation, he went to Oxford, to preach before the univerſity on Sunday following; and he did accordingly, and his ſermon was printed ſoon after the news came of the diſmal earthquake at Jamaica, under the title of, *A Diſcourſe concerning Divine Providence, in relation to National Judgments* London, 1693. But the licence could not be obtained from the Biſhop of London's chaplain, before he had ſtruck out two or three paſſages, which he ſaid reflected upon the government. Our author had been ejected from his Fellowſhip at Magdalen-tide, 1692, but not before the following letter from Dr Hough, the Preſident, and now Biſhop of Oxford, was put into his hands on July 4, 1692, by Mr Shaw, to whom it was thus directed:

To William Shaw, Eſq; at his houſe in St James's ſtreet.

'My dear brother,

'You have a neighbour on the other ſide of the 'ſtreet, Dr Thomas Smith, Fellow of this college, to 'whom I muſt beg the favour of you to deliver a meſ- 'ſage in the name of myſelf and this ſociety, viz. that 'we deſire he will come down to Oxford and take the 'oaths, or ſend us a certificate of his having done 'ſome time before the 22d of this month, otherwiſe 'we can no longer forbear to elect another perſon into 'his place. You may aſſure him, it is not without a 'great deal of reluctance we proceed to this extremi- 'ty; but we have received a freſh command from the 'Queen, by the Judges of the Aſſize, requiring us to 'tender the oaths again to all ſuch as have not taken 'them, and to execute the laws immediately upon ſuch 'as refuſe. I am,

'Dear Sir,

'Your moſt affectionate friend,

'And faithful ſervant,

'JO. OXON.'

To this Dr Smith returned an anſwer the next day, in theſe terms:

'SIR,

'I deſire you to give my thanks to the Preſident 'for his civilities, which I ſhall always acknowledge; 'and withal to acquaint him, that I cannot come 'down to Oxford upon the accompt for which I am 'ſummoned; much leſſe can I or ſhall I ſend a certi- 'ficate, as I am required, preferring the peace of my 'mind and the ſatisfaction of my conſcience before the 'enjoying of my Fellowſhip, which, for the ſake of 'my principles, I am ready to loſe and be diſpoſſeſſed 'of: and that with the ſame (not to ſay a greater) 'willingneſſe and alacrity as I was firſt choſen and ad- 'mitted to it. That I wiſh all happineſſe and proſpe- 'rity to the college: and that I ſhall, during the re- 'mainder of the time, which, by the good providence 'of God, I have to live, endeavour to ſerve it, as I 'may, and as I ought, to the utmoſt of my power.

July 5, 1692. 'T. S.'

The reader ſees in this extract, ſeveral inſtances of thoſe long periods that render this writer's ſtile a little intricate, as is remarked under his [preceding] article. In which we ſhall take this opportunity of ſupplying ſome particulars there omitted. As that the Doctor was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and ſome time Keeper of the Cottonian Library. As alſo, that he left all his manuſcripts, and ſome printed books, to Mr Hearne, who bequeathed them, by his Will, to Dr William Bedford, ſon of Hilkia Bedford, mentioned in remark [*B*] of the ſubſequent article (40).

(40) N. B. To note (*a*) add, And Thoreſby's Leeds, &c. who ſays, this family is remarkable for eminent men and learned writers. And to note (1) prefix, From tradition in the family. In note (3) dele families remarkable, &c. And in remark [C], note (8), for Stockton read Stainton.

P

(*a*) *This name was given him in reſpect to his godfather, Sir George Wheeler, Knt.*

(*b*) *In 1736, he was a benefactor to the new buildings, then carrying on by his uncle at the college.*

SMITH [GEORGE] (*a*), of Burnhall in the county of Durham, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of the preceding, was born at Durham, May 7, 1693; and after laying a good foundation of claſſical learning at Weſtminſter ſchool, was ſent to St John's-college in Cambridge. But he continued there only about two years, being removed to the ſiſter univerſity, and entered May 1, 1711, of Queen's-college, as well in regard to this being his uncle's college (*b*), as alſo for the ſake of having the learned Mr Edward Thwaites [*A*] for his tutor, who was a friend and correſpondent of his father; and being well ſkilled in the ſeptentrional literature, was the means of this his pupil's becoming a perfect maſter of the Saxon language, in which his father alſo took ſome pains to inſtruct him. He afterwards removed to the Inner Temple in London, in the view of ſtudying the Law, and he made a great proficiency in it, eſpecially in the more genteel and hiſtorical branch, his fortune ſetting him above purſuing the lucrative part by practice, for which he alſo became diſqualified by not complying to the government. This principle carried him into the Nonjuring Church, in which he took Holy Orders, and was made titular Biſhop of Durham. He imbibed theſe notions from his uncle, the learned Mr Hilkia Bedford [*B*], whoſe daughter

[*A*] *His Tutor Mr Edward Thwaites.*] This gentleman, then Fellow of Queen's-college, was likewiſe Regius Profeſſor of Greek in the univerſity. Beſides his accurate ſkill in the Greek and Latin tongues, as appears by his editions of Longinus and Ephraim Syrus, made himſelf a maſter of the ancient Septentrional languages. He ſuperviſed not only Dr Hickes's two books of thoſe languages for ſeven years ſucceſſively, while they were printing at the Theatre in Oxford, but gave the world the Saxon Heptateuch with King Alfred's preface, in a correct and beautiful edition, and encouraged Chriſtopher Rawlinſon, Eſq; a gentleman of the college to publiſh King Alfred's Saxon verſion of Boëthius *de conſolatione philoſophiæ*. Our Profeſſor alſo publiſhed a ſhort critical grammar, entituled *Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica ex Hickeſiano linguarum Septentrionalium Theſauro excerpta*, which is much eſteemed. He did not long ſurvive the publication of this ingenious performance. He had the misfortune by a fall from his horſe to break his leg, which being cut off by a ſurgeon, who had not properly ſecured the ſtump, an effuſion of blood enſued in the night, when having no perſon with him, he with much ado got out of bed, and had the courage and reſolution to fear it with his poker then in the fire. He died December 12, 1711, at the age of forty-four years, and was buried in Iſley church near Oxford (1).

(1) See his monument, in Le Neve, Vol. V. p. 226.

[*B*] *Hilkia Bedford.*] This famous Nonjuring writer was the ſecond ſon of Helkia Bedford of Sibſey near Boſton in Lincolnſhire, (an ancient ſeat of the family) ſome time a merchant of London, by Mary his wife, eldeſt daughter to Richard Gardiner, Eſqr of Thame in Oxfordſhire, whoſe wife Anne was ſecond daughter to William Plat of Highgate (2). The founder of ſeveral Fellowſhips and Scholarſhips in St John's-college Cambridge, Mr Bedford was born in Hoſier-lane, London, July 23, 1663, and was burnt out of his father's houſe by the great fire in 1666. He was admitted of St John's college, Cambridge, November 4, 1679, the firſt ſcholar of Mr Plat's foundation, of which he likewiſe became a Fellow. He was afterwards introduced to the patronage of Heneage Finch,

(2) Son and heir of Sir Hugh Plat of Kirkley caſtle and Bednal-green, author of a famous piece, intituled, The Garden of Eden, of which ſee ſome account in Sir Walter Raleigh's article.

Earl

daughter Chriſtian, by Ellis his wife, ſecond daughter to William Cooper, of Scarborough, Eſq; he afterwards married; and ſhe brought him a numerous iſſue, whereof only two daughters ſurvived his death [C], which happened, after a very ſhort illneſs, on the fourth of November, 1756. He was buried, according to his own requeſt, in the church-yard joining to the chancel-wall of the church at Elwick, in which pariſh his ſeat of Burn-hall is ſituated. He is repreſented as an univerſal ſcholar. The Philoſopher, it is ſaid, found no ſcience out of the reach of his comprehenſive genius, nor the maſters of polite literature any graces in the claſſics, which had eſcaped his obſervance. He was particularly knowing in Antiquities, and had a curious collection of that kind [D]. But he applied himſelf much to the ſtudy of controverſial points, as appears by ſeveral excellent tracts which he publiſhed of that kind, to which, through his great modeſty, he never put his name. One of the lateſt of theſe pieces is intituled, *Britons and Saxons not converted to Popery, in anſwer to a Popiſh book, bearing the title of* England's Converſion and Reformation compared. He alſo ſupplied Mr Carte with ſome materials for his Hiſtory of England. But he is chiefly known in the republick of letters, by the edition of Bede's Hiſtorical Works (c), which was prepared for the preſs by his father, and publiſhed by this ſon at Cambridge, in 1722, folio, in a pompous manner, comprizing the venerable Father's Latin and King Alfred's Saxon verſion, compared with ancient manuſcripts; as alſo all his other hiſtorical works, with variety of remarkable readings, and brief but learned and uſeful notes; to which is added, his Life and Character, with curious remarks, &c. according to his father's direction, and ſome few additions prefixed by himſelf. An Abridgment of Bede, with his Life and explanatory notes, tranſlated into Engliſh from this edition, was publiſhed the following year in 8vo.

(c) See an account of this work, in Dr Hickes's Dedication to his Sermons, Vol. I. as alſo in Thoreſby's Catalogue of MSS. in his Topography of Leeds, &c.

Earl of Winchelſea, to whom he was a conſtant companion and friend; but was deprived of his preferments in 1689, upon refuſing to take the oaths to the new government (3). In April 1714, being tried in the Court of King's Bench, before Lord Chief-Juſtice Parker, for writing, printing, and publiſhing, *The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England aſſerted*, in anſwer to Dr Higden's *View and Defence*, he was ſentenced to pay a fine of a thouſand marks, to remain a priſoner three years, and to give ſecurity for his good behaviour during life (4). He likewiſe publiſhed an Engliſh tranſlation, done by himſelf, from the French, of an anſwer to Fontenelle's Hiſtory of Oracles; with a continuation of the ſame, in which is inſerted a letter of Mr Baker, the Antiquarian and his fellow-collegian, to him; wherein that gentleman obſerves, that the tranſlator had ſcarce finiſhed one laborious taſk, when he found himſelf obliged to undertake another of more labour and leſs ſatisfaction. Mr Bedford alſo publiſhed the Latin life of Dr Barwick, which he likewiſe tranſlated into Engliſh, with additions, and publiſhed it in 1724, 8vo. He alſo ſupplied Mr Hearne the Antiquary with Biſhop Fiſher's oration before King Henry VII. at Cambridge, anno 1507 (5). Our author had by his wife abovementioned, 1. Dr William Bedford, late Phyſician to Chriſt's-hoſpital London (6), and regiſter of the College of Phyſicians there, of which he was a Fellow and Cenſor, when he took the oaths as a qualification for that office (7). 2. Mr Thomas Bedford of Aſhburn in Derbyſhire, the editor of *Hiſtoria Eccleſiæ Dunelmenſis* (8), publiſhed, with his notes, in 1732, 8vo. 3. Dr John Bedford, a Phyſician at Durham, who married to his firſt wife a daughter of William Daviſon, of Bemiſh in that county, Eſq; ſiſter to the lady of Sir Robert Eden of Weſttaukland. His ſecond wife was Elizabeth, third daughter of Poſthumus Smith, Eſq; Commiſſary and Official-general of the Archdeaconry of Durham. He had alſo a third wife, Dulubella Horſeman, one of the co-heireſſes of Edward Horſeman, of Stretton in Rutlandſhire, Eſq; but has iſſue only by his ſecond marriage.

(3) Carter's Hiſtory of Cambridge, as before.

(4) Salmon's Chronological Hiſtorian, under the year 1714. The real author of this piece was one Herbin, a non-juring clergyman, and the preface was written by Theoph. Downes, once a Fellow of Baliol-college in Oxford. Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 317. note (x), edit. 1753.

(5) Leland's Itinerary, by Hearne, Vol. II. p. 122. Mr Bedford alſo wrote the preface to Dr Hickes's Defence of the Miracle of the Thebæan Legion, publiſhed in 1714.

(6) He was appointed Nov. 27, 1746. From the regiſter of that hoſpital.

(7) From private information.

(8) The author of this book, Simeon Dunelmenſis, was a Monk, and Præcentor of Durham, anno 1164. See Selden's article.

[C] *Whereof only two daughters ſurvived him.*] Theſe were, 1. Anne, who married Anthony Salvin, Eſq; of Croxdale and Sunderland-bridge in the county of Durham. 2. Elizabeth, who married Rowland Burdon of Newcaſtle in Northumberland, Eſq; who was heir to his uncle John Reeve, Eſq; of Great-Milton in Oxfordſhire; ſhe died in childbed * April 8, 1758, and was buried at Sedgefield, leaving iſſue a ſon, Rowland Burdon, born December 8, 1756. His grandfather, Rowland Burdon, married Martha, daughter of John Reeve, who was ſon to Mr Reeve of London, by Anne his wife, ſiſter to Francis Nourſe, Eſq; of Woodeaton in the county of Oxford, and became heir to his uncle Reeve, a rich Spaniſh merchant, who dying in November, 1757, worth about 100000 l. left the beſt part of it to the ſaid Rowland Burdon, his nephew, and the reſt to his youngeſt nephew, John Burdon, Eſq; of Great-Milton. This family of Burdon, which came from Stockton near Durham, took the name of Rowland for three ſucceſſions, from a marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Rowland Wetherell of Stockton; by which marriage there was a prior alliance to the family of the Smiths.

* Of a daughter that died ſoon after.

Our author, George Smith, Eſq; had alſo a ſon, John Smith of Durham, M. D. who lived to the age of maturity. He was educated at Edinburgh, where applying himſelf to the ſtudy of Phyſic, he gave very extraordinary proofs of his abilities, of which he left a ſpecimen, in a book he publiſhed, intituled, *Commentarius Medicus de aphthis noſtratibus, ſeu Belgarum Sprow.* Lond. 1749, 8vo. He alſo publiſhed an elegant Latin theſis upon the theory of Phyſic, an exerciſe for his degree of Doctor in that faculty, which he took in November, 1747. He died in the twenty-ninth year of his age, 1752, at Durham, and was buried in Little St Mary's church there, leaving iſſue an only ſon George, a minor, by his wife Anne, daughter of Nicholas Shuttleworth of Durham, Eſq; a near relation of Richard Shuttlewoth, Eſq; of Gawthorp-hall in Lancaſhire, ſome time Member of Parliament for that county. The ſaid Dr John Smith was a perſon of great merit, virtue, and ſkill in his profeſſion, which ſkill was never more readily and attentively employed, than towards the comfort and relief of the poor. His ſole delight, indeed, was in acts of benevolence and charity towards his fellow-creatures. But the character of this ingenious young gentleman is with great truth expreſſed in the following epitaph:

Would'ſt thou be told, O reader! whoſe remains
This peaceful grave in ſacred truſt contains,
Know it is one whoſe inoffenſive plan
The good approv'd, and dignified the man.
Thro' whoſe juſt ways one gentle ſpirit mov'd,
In all reſpected, and in all belov'd.
So in thoſe lights that vary human life,
His duty pleas'd to parent, ſiſter, wife;
To theſe a friend, to no man elſe a foe;
His humble mind ev'n merit bluſh'd to ſhew:
Thus lov'd enough, tho' not enough enjoy'd,
He hail'd thoſe manſions oft his thoughts employed.
In life's gay ſpring bid the vain world adieu,
And left it's cares and fleeting joys to you (9).

(9) London Magazine, for 1752, p. 288, 331.

[D] *He had a curious collection of antiquities.*] Among others, he was poſſeſſed of a curious antique pot, found in February 1756, in a field belonging to his eſtate. It contained 142 pieces of Scotiſh ſilver coin, about 300 years old, with which he was much delighted.

P

SMITH [Dr JOSEPH] (*a*), younger brother to the preceding Dr John Smith, became alſo an eminent Divine, and was likewiſe born at Lowther on the 10th of October, 1670, though not baptized 'till the 30th of that month. Loſing his father at five years of age, his mother took him, with the reſt of her family, to Guiſborough in Yorkſhire, where he received the firſt rudiments of Grammar learning: but in the latter end of the year 1681, by the advice of his eldeſt brother, who had been lately preferred at Durham (*b*), he was removed to the publick ſchool in that city [*A*], under Mr Thomas Batterſby, ſome time of Queen's-college in Oxford, a very diligent maſter; and, as the ſcholar had two qualities, inclination and genius, which can hardly fail of ſucceſs, he made a ſuitable proficiency, and was thought very fit for the univerſity at the age of fifteen. However, for further improvement, he was put under the tuition of Mr Francis Woodmas, then Minor Canon of that cathedral, a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed learning, and a compleat maſter of the claſſics. This ſtep, as well as his removal to Durham, was taken in compliance to the Dean, Dr Denys Granville, who now kindly invited him to his houſe, which he with pleaſure accepted of; and it was of no ſmall advantage to him in his future conduct: for here he received many uſeful inſtructions from this worthy patron, in whom he had alſo an excellent pattern of piety and learning ſet daily before his eyes. He continued at the Deanery 'till the Revolution; when Dr Granville, not being able to reconcile his conſcience to the new government, followed his maſter King James into France (*c*). At his departure, he preſſed this favourite youth to ſhare his fortunes, giving him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances to continue his kindneſs after their return (for that party much depended upon being recalled). But the young gentleman not being willing to run this riſk, nor to loſe the opportunity of an univerſity education, which was become his moſt ardent deſire, he reſolved now to purſue it; and receiving an account of the arrival of his eldeſt brother from Madrid ſoon after, he went with this deſign to meet him at London. During his ſhort ſtay at the metropolis, he found, in the room of Dean Granville, another patron in his godfather Sir Joſeph Williamſon; to whom being now firſt introduced, he met with a very kind reception. After a ſhort ſtay (*d*), he took his leave of his godfather, and departed with his recommendation to Oxford, where he was admitted, May 10, 1689, a ſcholar upon the foundation at Queen's-college; and being placed under the care of Mr William Lancaſter aforementioned, who was now become a noted tutor there, he imbibed ſuch ſalutary inſtructions, and acquired ſuch a fund of erudition both in divine and human literature, as rendered him an honour to the College and an ornament to the Church [*B*]. In 1693, being choſen a Taberder [*C*] of his college, he took his firſt degree in Arts in Michaelmas-term that year, and was intent on his ſtudies, when Sir Joſeph Williamſon took him from the college, by conſtituting him his Deputy-Keeper of the Paper-office at Whitehall; and Sir Joſeph being ſent ſoon after a Plenipotentiary to Ryſwick, Mr Smith accompanied him to that treaty [*D*] as his ſecretary. While he was abroad in this employ, the Univerſity created him Maſter of Arts by diploma, March 1, 1696. He was likewiſe elected in his abſence Fellow of his college, October 31, 1698, though not in Orders; the want of which qualification, though ordinarily requiſite, was diſpenſed with (*e*). He continued abroad ſome time longer with his godfather, making excurſions, and viſiting ſeveral foreign Courts, and obſerving the conſtitution and policy of each; upon which he left ſome memoirs in manuſcript, as he did alſo of the Ryſwick treaty: and he had a ſhare in the publication of *The Acts and Negotiations, with the particular Articles at large of that Peace.* In the interim, he kept up a correſpondence with ſeveral perſons of high character and eminent learning, who were of his acquaintance, both at home and abroad, having an excellent talent at the eaſy and familiar epiſtolary ſtyle, as he was alſo peculiarly happy in expreſſing himſelf in converſation. Theſe extraordinary accompliſhments procured him an offer of being promoted in the Secretary's office, by his godfather, which his old friend and aſſociate Mr Prior much perſwaded

(*a*) This name was given him by Sir Joſeph Williamſon, who ſtood godfather at the font, being then on a viſit to his friends at Bridekirk, where he was born.

(*b*) See his article.

(*c*) See his article.

(*d*) At this time he had a propoſal of marriage made to him from Mrs Sidney, a maiden lady of good birth and fortune; but he declined it then, and ſhe died of the ſmall-pox ſoon after.

(*e*) The ſame favour had been granted to Sir Joſeph Williamſon, as it was alſo to Mr Tickel the poet, both ſome time Fellows of the college.

[*A*] *He was removed to Durham.*] Soon after his coming thither, an unlucky accident happened to him, which had like to have proved fatal. Being at play with ſome of his ſchoolfellows, jumping from one tomb-ſtone to another, in the church-yard, he fell againſt one of the ſtones, and cut his ſkull near the temple very deep. That it was the cauſe of his left eye ſinking a little ever after, which, as he advanced in years, became more perceptible.

[*B*] *An ornament to the college.*] He had the good fortune to be contemporary with Mr Tanner and Mr Gibſon, both afterwards Biſhops, and well known in the learned world; and an intimacy was now contracted between the three, which ſubſiſted ever after. Biſhop Tanner, in his Will, directed his executor to conſult with Dr Smith and Dr Gibſon, in conjunction with Dr Conybeare Biſhop of Briſtol, about a proper perſon to finiſh his edition of *Leland de Viris Illuſtr. & Boſtonus Burienſis*; and Dr Gibſon, in the publication of his *Quintilian*, and ſome other authors, engaged the aſſiſtance of Mr Smith, who afterwards reaped the fruits of his friendſhip, as will be ſeen in the courſe of this memoir.

[*C*] *He was now a Taberder.*] The name of Taberder, though loſt every where elſe, ſtill continues in uſe at Queen's-college, where part of the members of that foundation (1) were uſually elected under twelve years of age, and diſtinguiſhed by that name, from *taberdum*, a ſhort gown they formerly wore, which was a coat without ſleeves, or a coat of mail, not unlike that worn by the Heralds of Arms; the coat of arms of the wearer was embroidered on it, on which account vanity brought it into much vogue among the nobility and gentry. The famous Jeffery Chaucer takes notice, in his prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, of a well known inn on St Margaret's-hill, Southwark, noted by the ſign of the Taberd.

[*D*] *He went with Sir Joſeph Williamſon to Ryſwic.*] In the paſſage there happened ſuch a ſtorm, as put them into imminent danger of being ſhipwrecked in the river Maes. This incident is related, becauſe it proved an occaſion of Mr Smith's manifeſting an extraordinary firmneſs of mind; while moſt of the company were trembling under the apprehenſions of being every moment ſwallowed up in the gulph, he remained quite compoſed and reſigned.

(1) From a MS. of Dr Langbain, Provoſt of the college, in the Muſæum at Oxford. See alſo Langtoft's Chron. by Hearne, Vol. II. p. 656.

[*E*] *Dr*

perſwaded him to accept. He had alſo an offer from the Earl of Mancheſter, Charles Montague, to go with his Lordſhip as his ſecretary in his embaſſy to the Court of France, and another from Sir Philip Meadows, to accompany him in the ſame character, on his being appointed Envoy to the Court of Vienna. But he gave up all theſe hopeful proſpects for the ſake of the Church, to the ſervice of which his pious diſpoſition determined him to dedicate himſelf. In this reſolution, ſoon after his return in 1700 to Oxford, where he was moſt welcomly received by his friends, and much courted and admired by the politeſt perſons of the univerſity, he took Deacon's and Prieſt's Orders at Chriſt-Church, from the hands of Dr William Talbot, then Biſhop of that ſee; upon which occaſion he was often heard to ſay, that when he laid aſide his lay-habit, he did it with the greateſt pleaſure, as looking upon Holy Orders to be the higheſt honour that could be conferred upon him; and it was not long before he had an opportunity of exerciſing his new function. Dr Timothy Halton, then Provoſt of his college [*E*], being alſo Archdeacon of the dioceſe, gave him the donative of Iſley near Oxford, which belongs to the Archdeaconry. At the ſame time, he appointed him Divinity-lecturer in the college; and how acceptable thoſe favourite diſcourſes, (for ſo they were called) which he read in the diſcharge of that office, were to his auditors, is ſtill remembered to his praiſe. Upon Queen Anne's viſiting the univerſity in 1702, Mr Smith was pitched upon to addreſs her Majeſty with an oration; and in 1704, being elected Senior-Proctor of the univerſity, he diſcharged that office with remarkable prudence and diligence, and conſtantly attended the diſputations, and other exerciſes in the publick ſchools [*F*]. Dr Halton dying on the 21ſt of July this year, Mr Smith's friends propoſed him for a candidate to the Provoſtſhip, but he declined it, and employed his intereſt, which was very great, in the behalf of his quondam tutor Dr Lancaſter, who by that means carried the election, notwithſtanding he had quitted his Fellowſhip ſome time before [*G*]. This gentleman, as well as

[*E*] *Dr Timothy Halton, Provoſt of Queen's-college.*] This gentleman was the ſon of Miles Halton, of Greyſtock in Cumberland, Eſq; High-Sheriff of that county, and younger brother to Emmanuel Halton, of Wingfield manor in Derbyſhire, Eſq; a very good Mathematician and Algebraiſt (2). Dr Halton was extremely well qualified for ſo important a poſt as the Provoſtſhip of his college, as alſo for that of Vice-Chancellor of the univerſity, which he filled with great honour in the moſt troubleſome times, though upon that account he was very hardly prevailed on to undertake it; as appears by ſome letters from his friends, particularly Biſhop Fell, Sir Leoline Jenkins, and Biſhop Compton. We ſhall inſert a copy of this laſt, which is in ſubſtance the ſame with the reſt.

(2) See Flamſtead's article, and Foſter's Mathematical Miſcellanies.

'Dear Sir,

'Give me leave, for the ſake of the publick, to 'make a moſt unwelcome propoſition to you, that you 'would be content to be Vice-Chancellor one year 'more; as you are, without a compliment, the moſt 'fit and able perſon. In good truth, this is not very 'kindly propoſed; but the preſent juncture of affairs 'ſeems ſo earneſtly to require it, that I could not con'tain. This requeſt I hope you will oblige me in, 'and let me beg of you, in the freedom of friendſhip, 'and under the ſeal of it, to let me know, if any 'thing may be more particularly grateful to you than 'another, as ſome recompence for ſo great a truſt and 'trouble. And in all things I would deſire you to 'believe me,

'Dear Sir,

'Your very affectionate friend and brother,

May 2, 1685. Hen. London.'

Dr Halton had very conſiderable preferments beſides the Provoſtſhip, being Canon of St David's, Prebendary of Brecknock, and Archdeacon of Llanvais in the ſaid county; as he was likewiſe Archdeacon of Oxford, he was Rector too of Charleton * upon Otmore, and many years Juſtice of Peace for Oxfordſhire. His firſt ſtep to preferment was his being made chaplain to Dr Lucy, Biſhop of St David's, by whom he was promoted to the dignities in Wales, and he obtained the Archdeaconry of Oxford by the intereſt of Sir Joſeph Williamſon. As to his character, he was not only learned in his own profeſſion as a Divine, but well ſkilled in the Common as well as Canon Law, and no leſs eminent for keeping up a ſtrict regularity and diſcipline in the ſeveral publick ſtations to which he was advanced, without regarding perſons, or courting favour or rewards †. He had ſomething awful and auſtere in his look, but was of a humane, friendly, and generous, diſpoſition. He was a conſiderable benefactor to his college in his life-time, as well as at his death (3). His corpſe was depoſited in the old chapel, but has been ſince removed into the vault under the new one.

(3) Particularly in his donation of an eſtate at Llanvais, which dropped to him while Archdeacon of Brecknock.

[*F*] *He was a prudent and diligent Proctor.*] While he was in this office, he had the appellation of the handſome Smith, being tall and genteel and of a comely and engaging countenance, in oppoſition to his colleague Mr Smith, of St John's-college, the junior Proctor, who had a ſwarthy complexion. Their diligence in attending the publick diſputations provoked Mr Tickel's wit, who obſerved, *there was a ſtorm work at the ſchools, for that the two Smiths made the ſparks fly* In the exerciſe of this office coming once to a tavern, he ſtepped into ſome company, one of whom happened to be a relation of Prince George of Denmark: upon our magiſtrate's admoniſhing them for ſome irregularity, they began to ſpeak to one another in French diſgracefully of him, for ſo abruptly intruding upon them. Hereupon Mr Smith acquainted them, in the ſame language, with the nature and duty of his office, which, with his polite addreſs to them, as being foreigners, brought them to behave with much complaiſance; ſo that they prevailed upon him to ſtay ſome time with them, and were ſo much pleaſed with his converſation, that they gladly complied with his invitation to ſpend the next evening with him in his college; and always after treated him with great reſpect.

(4) See Mr Thom ſ n's State of his Caſe, publiſhed in 1704, 4to.

[*G*] *Dr Lancaſter had quitted his Fellowſhip ſome time before.*] Upon that account, the election was diſputed by his competitor Mr Thompſon, who being an actual Fellow, appealed to the Archbiſhop of York, their Viſitor (4). But his Grace confirmed the election, upon the opinion of his commiſſary, Dr Thomas Bouchier, who heard the cauſe. Dr Bouchier was likewiſe Regius Profeſſor of Civil Law in the univerſity, and had the reputation of being one of the ableſt and moſt eminent Civilians of his time. This Provoſt, Dr Lancaſter, was born at Bampton in Weſtmoreland, and educated at Queen's-college; was ſome time maſter of Barton-ſchool near Lowther (5), and afterwards became chaplain to Dr Compton, Biſhop of London, whoſe kinſwoman he married (6), and was promoted by him to the archdeaconry of Middleſex, as alſo to the vicarage of St Martin's in the Fields (7). But the Biſhop's right of preſentation being conteſted, Dr Gouch was nominated by the other claimant, *pendente lite.* However, the cauſe being determined in favour of Dr Lancaſter, he was confirmed in the vicarage (8). He was ſome time Vice-Chancellor of the univerſity (9), and had the offer of the Biſhoprick of St David's, which he refuſed, being fond of a collegiate life, and intent upon carrying on the buildings of his college. He had been very early ſent abroad, by the order and at

(5) See the article of Dr John Smith.

(6) She was a daughter of —— Wilmer of Sywell in Northamptonſhire.

(7) On the promotion of Dr Teniſon to the ſee of Lincoln.

(8) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 692.

(9) While he held this office, Clarendon's printing-houſe happened to be finiſhed, and was leaſed out, together with the privilege of the univerſity to print Bibles, &c. to Mr Baſket, who obtained it chiefly by Dr Lancaſter's procurement.

* He rebuilt the greateſt part of this parſonage-houſe in 1691, leaving only one wing ſtanding, which had been erected by his predeceſſor Dr (afterwards Archbiſhop) Lamplugh.

† In that ſpirit he refuſed to ſign the Aſſociation paper, to ſtand by the Prince of Orange, as is mentioned in the extract of Dr Thomas Smith's MS. p. 3731.

as his predeceſſor, proved a conſiderable benefactor to the college-buildings. In which ſpirit, he began to raiſe thoſe on the ſouth ſide, upon the benefaction of ſix thouſand pounds left by Sir Joſeph Williamſon for that purpoſe; in procuring which conſiderable donation, Mr Smith had been very inſtrumental [*H*]: and, in return, Dr Lancaſter, in 1704-5, preſented him firſt to Ruſſell-Court-chapel, and then to the Lecture-ſhip of Trinity-chapel, in Conduit-ſtreet Hanover-ſquare (*f*); which were both at that time in his gift, as Vicar of St Martin's in the Field's Weſtminſter. Theſe promotions brought Mr Smith to town, and he was ſoon after appointed chaplain to Edward Villiers Earl of Jerſey, Lord-Chamberlain, to whom he had the honour of being known at Ryſwick, where his Lord-ſhip was one of the Plenipotentiaries. My Lord now took him into his friendſhip and intimacy, not only introduced him to the Queen, and gave him an opportunity of preaching ſeveral times before her Majeſty, but obtained an actual promiſe of the firſt Canonry that ſhould become vacant in the church of Windſor; which he moſt deſired, as being neareſt to his other preferments. But this and all other proſpects in view from the ſame quarter were cut ſhort by his Lordſhip's death. Mr Smith had alſo the misfortune to loſe another view of promotion, by the death of William-Henry Granville, nephew to Dean Granville, and the laſt Earl of Bath of that family; to whom he was ſome time tutor, and read a courſe of lectures, ſome of which were upon points of religion, while his Lordſhip reſided with his aunt, the Lady Auverquerque, ſiſter to the Earl of Grantham. But having made two campaigns in Flanders, he died of the ſmall-pox in May 1711 (*g*). Mr Smith attended him during his illneſs to the laſt moments, and received a token from him, as a memento of his eſteem and affection (*b*); of which his Lordſhip had alſo, on many occaſions, before given diſtinguiſhing proofs. The death of theſe two great and valuable friends, which happened ſo near together, was a very great concern, as well as diſappointment, to our author. However, in the interim, having accumulated his degrees in Divinity, November 2, 1708 (*i*), he had been preſented by his college, on the 29th of the ſame month, to the Rectory of Knights-Emham, and the Donative of Upton-Grey, both in the county of Southampton: ſoon after which, he reſolved to perform his engagement, to marry Mrs Mary Lowther [*I*], niece to the late Provoſt Dr Halton, having

(*f*) This was the relict of that famous portatile or moving tabernacle, erected by King James II. on Hounſlow-Heath, and afterwards refounded here, for the convenience of the nobility and gentry in the neighbourhood. Maitland's Survey of London.

(*g*) See the article of GREENVILE [Sir JOHN], in remark [*P*].

(*b*) Viz. A couple of handſome ſilver candleſticks, and his pocket-watch of gold, the caſe chaſed and ſet with diamonds, which his Lordſhip took from his bed's head, and preſented it with his own hands.

(*i*) Catalogue of Oxford Graduates.

at the expence of King Charles the Second, upon the advice of Sir Joſeph Williamſon, then Secretary of State, to ſend ſome young gentlemen of parts and abilities to the courts of France, Germany, &c. in order to qualify them for miniſterial offices abroad (10): Dr Lancaſter was ſent to Paris (11). He ſided with the High-Church party in Queen Anne's reign, and was one of the bail for Dr Sacheverell. He died February 4, 1716, of the gout in his ſtomach, and was buried in the old church of St Martin's in the Fields. We have a ſermon of his preached on Lam. v. 16. before the Houſe of Commons, and printed in 1696, 4to. as alſo a Latin ſpeech, ſpoken upon preſenting Dr Jane, Canon of Chriſt-Church, to be Prolocutor of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, when that divine was choſen againſt Dr Tillotſon in 1689.

(10) This ſcheme was further purſued, by founding a profeſſorſhip in modern languages in each univerſity, to inſtruct young ſtudents there, with the ſame view, by King George I. at the advice of Lord Townſend, then Secretary of State.

(11) Dr Nicolſon was ſent at the ſame time to Vienna. See his article.

[*H*] *Dr Smith was inſtrumental in procuring Sir Joſeph Williamſon's benefaction.*] Upon ſome ſlight ſhewn by the college, Sir Joſeph had made a Will, wherein he had given but little to his *alma mater*, having diſpoſed of this intended benefaction there, towards erecting and endowing a college at Dublin, by the name of Queen's-college, the provoſts whereof were to be choſen from Queen's-college in Oxford. But ſoon after his arrival in Holland with Mr Smith, being ſeized with a dangerous fit of the gout, he ſent for his ſecretary, who had before reconciled him to the place of his education, and calling him to his bed-ſide, whiſpered him in the ear to go to his bureau, where he would find his Will in ſuch a drawer, which he ſhould take out, and make the alteration in favour of his own college, as abovementioned. All was done and ready to be executed, when the matter was in ſome danger of a miſcarriage, by the coming in of Sir Joſeph's lady (12), before the paper had been read to him. Our ſecretary, well knowing Sir Joſeph had no mind her Ladyſhip ſhould be acquainted with the affair, endeavoured to conceal it; which ſhe perceiving, ſaid briſkly, Mr Smith, What have you got there? To which he readily replied, Nothing but news, Madam; meaning ſuch news as ſhe was not to know: and ſhe was put off by this ſeaſonable and ready turn from enquiring any further.

(12) This lady, Katharine Obrien, Baroneſs Clifton, became the widow of Henry Lord Obrien, in Auguſt 1678; and in December following engaged with Sir Joſeph Williamſon, then Secretary of State. She was ſiſter and ſole heir to Charles Duke of Richmond, and brought Sir Joſeph large poſſeſſions in Kent and elſewhere, beſides the hereditary ſtewardſhip of Graveſend. But by the match he loſt the Secretary's place, thro' the means of Lord Danby, who had intended the Baroneſs for his ſon. Rapin's Hiſtory of England, Vol. VII. p. 491. and Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 114.

[*I*] *He married Mrs Mary Lowther.*] This gentlewoman was the fourth and youngeſt daughter, and coheir, of Henry Lowther, Eſq; of Ingleton hall in Yorkſhire, of Cockermouth in Cumberland, and of Lowther in the county of Fermanagh in Ireland (13); which laſt eſtate is very conſiderable, and came into his poſſeſſion by the Will of his uncle, Sir Gerard Lowther (14), Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas in Ireland; who married firſt Anne, daughter of Ralph Bulmer, Eſq; of Wilton in Yorkſhire, widow of John Welbury, of Caſtle-Eden in Durham, Eſq; His ſecond wife was Anne, daughter of Sir Lawrence Parſons, anceſtor to the Earl of Roſſe, to which family Sir Gerard left his manor of St John's Enniſcorty, in the county of Wexford, with the rectory and tythes in the territory of Murroughs in the ſaid county; which, after thirty-one years, he bequeaths to the church †, and gives to the ſaid family his manor of Dunamore in the county of Meath. His third wife was Margaret, daughter of Sir John King of Abbey-Boyle (from whom proceeds Lord Kingſton). But Sir Gerard dying without iſſue, entailed by his Will his ſaid eſtate and manor of Lowther on the iſſue male, firſt on his nephew Henry Lowther aforeſaid, of Ingleton-hall, &c. and then on the younger brothers of Henry, viz. Thomas and George Lowther, Eſqrs, of Skreen-abbey in the county of Meath, and on Edward, ſon of the ſaid George Lowther; and in caſe of failure thereof, then to the right heirs of the ſaid Henry Lowther, which were four daughters, co-heirs. 1. Dorothy, who married Chriſtopher Dalſton, Eſq; of Acorn bank, and of Lorton in Cumberland. 2. Barbara, who married Mr Wilſon of Aldermaſton in Berkſhire. 3. Margaret, the wife of Abraham Tudor, Eſq; of Glamorganſhire in Wales, who commanding a ſhip of war in the Britiſh fleet, was, after ſeveral victorious attacks for the liberty of his country, mortally wounded, in the deſtroying and taking the Spaniſh galleons in 1708. 4. Mary, who married Dr Joſeph Smith, the ſubject of the preſent memoir, and was allied to Lord Viſcount Lonſdale *,

(13) See an account of him in Philips's Grandeur of the Law, 8vo. p. 173.

(14) This Sir Gerard Lowther was ſecond ſon to Sir Richard Lowther of Lowther in Weſtmoreland, and brother to Sir Lancelot Lowther, one of the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland.

† Lodge's Iriſh Peerage, Vol. II. p. 63.

* This Lord rebuilt the family-ſeat at Lowther in an elegant manner, but it was deſtroyed by fire about 1720. After which, the two wings, being offices detached from the houſe, were repaired and altered for the reſidence of the family, and ſo of the laſt Lord Lonſdale; upon whoſe death, March 11, 1751, the peerage title became extinct, and the real eſtate deſcended to his heir, the preſent Sir James Lowther of Lowther, Bart. who, beſides a conſiderable fortune from his father Robert Lowther of Meburn in Weſtmoreland, ſome time Governor of Barbadoes), is alſo poſſeſſed of all the real and a great part of the perſonal eſtate of the late Sir James Lowther, of Whitehaven in Cumberland, Bart. who died Jan. 2, 1755, the richeſt commoner (as was ſaid) in Great-Britain. Beſides him, there are two other Baronets of the Lonſdale family, viz. Sir William Lowther of Swillington in Yorkſhire *, and Sir William Lowther of Marſh and Holker in Lancaſhire †; which laſt dying a Bachelor April 15, 1756, this title became extinct. He was Knight of the Shire for Cumberland, and being alſo Cuſtos Rotulorum for Weſtmoreland, he was ſucceeded in that poſt by the aforementioned Sir James Lowther, of Lowther in the ſame county.

* Son of Sir W. Lowther, by his wife Arabella, daughter of Bannaſter Lord Maynard.

† Son of Sir Tho. Lowther, by his wife Eliz. daughter to the Duke of Devonſhire.

both

having contracted a friendſhip with her while reſident in the college. In 1716, the Doctor exchanged the donative of Upton-Grey with Dr Grandorge [*K*], Prebendary of Canterbury, for the rectory of St Dionis Lime-ſtreet, London, to which he was preſented by that Dean and Chapter, on the 10th of February this year. While the cure of ſouls committed to his charge was chiefly confined to the pariſhes he was concerned in, it was amiable to ſee with what labour he applied himſelf to the diſcharge of his miniſtry, how orthodox in his doctrine, how warm and affectionate in his private exhortations; and as he was zealous in all the ſpiritual exerciſes of his parochial function, ſo was he happy in ſuch a force and readineſs of expreſſion, and command of reading and judgment, that even in the moſt difficult caſes he convinced at the ſame time that he informed. Upon this account he was much followed by perſons of rank and character, in points of conſcience. He reclaimed ſome perſons of diſtinction *, among others, from Popery, and being applied to by the Methodiſt party, about ſome points of their doctrine and tenets, he gave a full and unanſwerable ſolution. Theſe are evidences how much he was held in eſteem as a ſkilful divine; and that ſenſe of God and religion, which was blended with his ſcholarſhip, gave a luſtre to his knowledge and accompliſhments. At the ſame time, he kept a careful and tender eye upon the ſtate of his pariſh at St Dionis, of which he was incumbent above forty years. The church, in his time, was not only greatly beautified, but improved with a very valuable organ, a new ring of bells, and a clock, &c. by ſubſcriptions in the pariſh, raiſed through his application

* Particularly Lord Waldegrave and Lady Charlot Herbert, who was ſole daughter and heir to Philip Earl of Pembroke, and widow of John Lord Jefferies, whoſe daughter, Lady Pomfret, was the donor of a curious collection of antique ſtatues (part of the Arundelian marbles given before) to the univerſity of Oxford; which noble benefaction is celebrated in a poem intituled *Gratitude*, by Mr William Thompſon, late Fellow of Queen's-college, author of a Collection of Poems in 8vo.

both by conſanguinity and affinity. Her grandfather, Sir Richard Lowther of Ingleton, Knt. having married Iſabella, ſecond daughter of Sir Richard Fletcher, of Hutton in Cumberland, Bart. whoſe third daughter, Mary, was the wife of Sir John Lowther, of Lowther in Weſtmoreland, brother to Sir Richard Lowther aforementioned, and father to the firſt Lord Viſcount Lonſdale. Her ſaid grandfather ſerved his Majeſty King Charles the Firſt in the poſt of Colonel of Horſe, and was alſo Governor of the town and caſtle of Pontefract in Yorkſhire, at the firſt ſiege of that garriſon, December 25, 1644, when he, with his brother Chancellor Lowther, then adjutant, and Gerard his ſon, with ſeveral other of his kindred, behaved valiantly, and at length became great ſufferers in the royal cauſe, beſides his whole eſtate being confiſcated for his loyalty (15).

(15) See a MSS. in the Ro'ls-office London, of thoſe claimants who compounded for their eſtates in the time of the Rebellion.

Mrs Mary Lowther was endowed with many amiable qualities and Chriſtian graces; ſhe died April 29, 1745, and was buried where ſeveral of the family lie, in the church of Kidlington near Oxford; ſhe brought Dr Smith three children, Joſeph, Anne, and William. This laſt died young, and was buried in the north church-yard of St Dionis London.

The firſt, Joſeph Smith, Eſq; LL.D. of Kidlington near Oxford, is ſtill living, and has iſſue one ſon, Joſeph Bouchier Smith, and a daughter, Mary Smith, by his ſecond wife, Elizabeth, only daughter of Dr James Bouchier, of Hanborough in Oxfordſhire, who ſucceeded his father, Dr Thomas Bouchier abovementioned, in the Regius Profeſſorſhip of the Civil Law at Oxford, and as Commiſſary of the dioceſe of Canterbury ‖; and was eſteemed for the quickneſs of his parts and knowledge in his profeſſion. By his father's marriage to Mrs Aſtell, who was niece to Sir Thomas Millington, of Gadfield in Hants (Phyſician in Ordinary to King William and Queen Mary, as alſo to Queen Anne, and Preſident of the College of Phyſicians †), this family came into a very conſiderable fortune, which, after ſome years conteſt at Law, was recovered, by the extraordinary aſſiduity of Dr William Bouchier, a Phyſician of great abilities, now living at Charleton-houſe near Sunbury in Surrey, who is another ſon of Dr Thomas Bouchier.

‖ As alſo in the principality of Alban-hall, where he expended 500 *l.* in the improvement of the lodgings.

† A further account of him may be ſeen in Carter's Hiſtory of Cambridge.

2. Anne Smith is alſo ſtill living, the wife of Major James Hargrave, by whom ſhe has iſſue one ſon, Joſeph-Smith Hargrave, a minor. She was firſt married to the Reverend Mr William Lamplugh, once Fellow of New-college in Oxford, and preſented by that ſociety to the rectory of Alton-Barnes in Wiltſhire, and at the ſame time he became Rector of Sutton-Mandeville in that county, by an exchange for the rectory of Soham in Suffolk, which had been procured for him by his father-in-Law Dr Smith *, by whoſe intereſt he alſo obtained a Prebend of Lincoln, and the lecture-ſhip of Conduit-ſtreet chapel near Hanover-ſquare. Dr Smith alſo would willingly have reſigned the donative of Paddington to him, but the Biſhop of London, Dr Gibſon, did not approve of the propoſal, without a reſignation of Soham; which being equal in value to Paddington, the deſign did not take place. Mr Lamplugh's life was cut ſhort by the ſtone in 1737 ‡, after a ſhort enjoyment of his rectory of Alton-Barnes, where he had laid out about 600 *l.* in rebuilding the parſonage and outhouſes; which benefaction is recorded in a memorial of him in that church. He was grandſon to Dr Thomas Lamplugh, Archbiſhop of York, of whom we have ſome account by Le Neve §; to which we ſhall add the following remarkable anecdote, from the manuſcript already cited of Dr Thomas Smith, who relates, that, 'January 27, 1688-9, the 'Archbiſhop told him, the Biſhop of London [Dr 'Compton] ſhewed him the original Aſſociation-paper, 'which he would have had him to ſubſcribe. But he 'refuſed, aſking London, How he could do it? The 'Biſhop of London replied, among other things, that 'it was a juſt revenge.' Dr Smith proceeds thus: 'My Lord of York ſaid, that upon his waiting upon 'the King, after he came from Exeter, having kiſſed 'his Majeſty's hand, the King was pleaſed to take 'him into his cloſet, and then thanked him for coming 'up, ſaying, that he was an old cavalier, and further 'adding, that he would reward him: the Biſhop re'plied, that his duty was his reward. The King then 'told him, that he would make him Archbiſhop of 'York: upon which he fell upon his knees, deſiring 'his Majeſty not to do it. Sir, ſaid he, I can ſerve 'your Majeſty better in the Weſt, where I am known. 'The King bid him riſe, that it ſhould be ſo. Upon 'his coming into his dreſſing-room, the King ordered 'my Lord Preſton, then Preſident, to draw up a war'rant immediately for it.—That upon his doing ho'mage, the King ſaid, Remember, my Lord, what 'you have promiſed me: he anſwered, Ay, Sir, as 'long as I live. That upon the morning of the 'King's departure, the King was pleaſed to tell him, 'that he was chaſed away from his own houſe by the 'P. of O. and deſired him to pray for him. The 'Archbiſhop prayed God to bleſſe his Majeſty, ſaying, 'that he was an old man, and that if he ſaw his Ma'jeſty's face no more, he hoped they ſhould meet to'gether in Heaven. The Archbiſhop told me further, 'ſays Dr Smith, that he had heard that the P. of O. 'ſhould ſay of him, that he had left his flock, and 'committed the care of it to him, ſomebody replying '(but he could not learn the name of the perſon), that 'he had got an Archbiſhoprick by it. But, ſays the 'Archbiſhop to me, Doctor, I did my duty in coming 'away, without any deſign or expectation; beſides, 'if I had ſtaid at Exeter, I might have been ſuſpected 'to have been of the Spiritual Lords, whom the P. of 'O. mentions to have invited him into England.'

§ In his Lives of the Proteſtant Biſhops, P. ii. as alſo in Drake's Antiquities of York, and Willis's Cathedrals. And Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1174, & ſeqq.

[*K*] *Dr Grandorge.*] This gentleman was ſome time Fellow of Magdalen-college in Oxford, and chaplain to the Earl of Thanet, who preſented him to the rectory of Hothfield in Kent; when he reſigned the rectory of St Dionis, as not within ſtatutable diſtance, to Dr Smith, for Upton Grey, which being a donative, was not within the ſtatute. Dr Grandorge was, not improbably, of the family of Andrew Grandorge, of Caën in Normandy, the inventor of weaving figures in linnen cloth, called damaſk, in the XVIIth century (16). The doctor died January 19, 1729-30, and was buried in Magdalen-college-chapel, under a ſtone marked only with his name, and date of his death.

(16) Elog. Civium Cadomenſium.

* From Lady Hereford, mother to the preſent Ducheſs of Beaufort, by her ſecond huſband James Berkeley, of Stoke in Gloucesterſhire, Eſq; whoſe ſon, Norborne Berkeley, Eſq; is now member for the county.

‡ At Bath, whither he went for the recovery of his health; and he was buried in St James's church in that city.

application and influence, and his own generosity, in setting a good example, besides a handsome chased brass chandelier, pendant on iron-work, which he put up at his own expence (*k*). He likewise annually bought a great number of religious tracts, and distributed them among his parishioners, and he left there a handsome legacy to the poor. He was also a considerable benefactor to the parsonage and glebe houses [*L*]. After the accession of King George the First, he was again introduced to Court by the Earl of Grantham, Lord-Chamberlain to his late Majesty (*l*) King George the Second, then Prince of Wales, and was made chaplain to the Princess, by whom he was very graciously received; and he constantly attended in his turn of waiting, 'till her Royal Highness's accession to the Throne, when, notwithstanding the interest he had at that time, yet, as he never made any application for himself, and was too much inclined to the high-party, being called the Hanover Tory (though in reality no person more moderate than he in his political principles, nor better attached to the constitutional establishment), a stop was thereby put to his farther promotion from the Court, though he continued still her Majesty's chaplain, and was frequently invited to preach at the royal chapel of St James's. However, this disappointment was made up by his good friend Bishop Gibson, who, from the time of their being chums, or chamber-fellows, at Queen's-college, to his Lordship's death, ever retained a very great esteem and affection for him, and gave very early proofs of it; particularly in recommending him to Archbishop Tenison, to succeed himself as his Grace's chaplain; which, though prevented by a pre-engagement, yet this friend's kind intention was the same: and he was under very great obligations to him on many other accounts, and might have been under much greater, at the time when his Lordship was in high favour with the Ministry, could he have prevailed upon him to distinguish himself in his political principles, to which his Lordship took some pains to perswade him. But nevertheless, after the Bishop's advancemement to the see of Lincoln, he promoted the Doctor to the Prebend of Dunholm (*m*) in that church; and, upon his Lordship's translation to London, he gave the donative of Paddington in Middlesex to this friend, who appointed an afternoon lecture, at the request of the inhabitants, and procured two acts of Parliament, wherein he was at a considerable part of the expence, for twice enlarging the church-yard, which before was too small for the large number of burials there [*M*]. The same patron also promoted him, on the 8th of May, 1728, to the Prebend of St Mary Newington, in the cathedral church of St Paul's, on the demise of Dr Millington; which Prebend proved very advantageous to him ‖: notwithstanding, at the Bishop's request, he gave the rectory of Newington annexed to the prebend, to the present incumbent Dr Ralph Thoresby, son to the Antiquarian of that name (*n*). This request was very readily granted, Dr Smith not being desirous to hold a third benefice with cure of souls *. In the interim, as soon as the new church of St George's Hanover-square was finished, he was chosen lecturer, in March 1724-5, without any personal suit, being then confined by a fistula, occasioned, as was thought, by too intense an application to his studies. He had been some time, as is already observed, Lecturer of Trinity-chapel, now belonging to this parish, and in that station had gained a popularity without courting it. In reality, by his clear pathetic elocution, and graceful gesture, added to the matter and method of his performances in the pulpit, he might be justly reckoned one of the most eloquent and instructive preachers of his time, and even to the extremity of old age, that flowing stream of eloquence did not cease. The fistula having brought him into some danger of a consumption, he went to Bath, where he received great benefit; but his eyes remained in such a weak condition [*N*], that he was incapable for a time of much application to study. In 1731, he resigned his lectureship, and was succeeded in it by Dr Savage, then Rector of Clothal in Hertfordshire †. This resignation was the consequence of his promotion to the Provostship of his college in Oxford, to which he was elected on the twentieth of October, 1730, without his privity or knowledge, on the demise of Dr John Gibson, a near relation to the Bishop. As he had a particular affection for the college, he was much pleased with this

(*k*) Which, as the inscription on it shews, he gave in 1740.

(*l*) This noble Lord gave *very considerable* sums annually to the poor, and Dr Smith, whom he frequently consulted, received from him at different times some hundreds of pounds, to be distributed according to his own discretion.

(*m*) This Prebend being held on nine lives, was usually called the Kit-Kat Prebend. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 281.

(*n*) Communicated by the incumbent.

* He was already possessed of St Dionis and Paddington, and it was a rule with the Bishop not to allow any of his clergy to hold three such benefices.

† Dr Smith had before resigned the lecture of Trinity-chapel in Conduit-street to Mr Offory Medlicott, one of the King's chaplains, and now endeavoured to serve him in that of St George's. N. B. This Mr Medlicott, of Tyschurst in Sussex, who came from Ireland, married first the daughter of General Pepper, a native of St Clement's in the suburbs of Oxford, and had to his second wife Mrs Pakenham, mother to Thomas Pakenham, Esq; now Lord Longford of Ireland.

‖ He renewed four or five times the lease of an estate of 1000 *l.* per annum, held of him as Prebendary by Sir Thomas Abney and his heirs, and raised the fine considerably, upon comparing the Parliament survey with the improvements made since. And he refused renewing the last time, except on the usual terms, not withstanding his great age and infirmities, saying, that unless he renewed on such conditions as were not prejudicial to his successors, he would sooner lose the benefit of it to himself, which was the means of his bringing them some time after to a compliance.

[*L*] *He was a benefactor to the glebe houses.*] The leases of these expiring in his time, he proposed, upon the renewal, to give them to Queen's college; but this design coming to the knowledge of the Dean and Chapter, they refused to renew the leases to him, tho' that privilege had never been denied to his predecessors; resolving to make use of this opportunity, as he was now far advanced in years, of letting the houses go at a rack-rent, 'till his death at least, for the augmentation of the living to the benefit of his successors.

[*M*] *He procured two acts of Parliament for enlarging the church-yard.*] He built some houses here, particularly one for himself, to which he was obliged afterwards to retire with his family for his health. The parsonage house, by his predecessor's neglect, was lost for want of being at the expence to keep it up. It adjoined to the church-yard, and is now, since the rebuilding of it, converted into a farm-house.

[*N*] *His eyes were then in a weak condition.*] Upon that account, he was obliged to have his sermons transcribed, which, by frequent alterations, were much interlineated. This office was performed, partly by Mr Alan Fisher, a while domestic tutor to his son, and afterwards, by Dr Smith's nomination (17), master of St Bee's school in Cumberland; and partly by Mr Anthony Thompson, who was born at Shap in Westmoreland, and being sent to Queen's-college, was recommended by the doctor to the Earl of Waldegrave, to be tutor to his two sons, the present Earl and his brother, and who afterwards going chaplain to that noble Lord, on his embassy to France, was, on the sudden death of his Lordship, in April 1741, appointed to act as Minister for the English Court there; in which post he continued, 'till the breaking out of the last war with France, when returning home, he was, by the interest of the Duke of Newcastle, promoted to the rich Deanery of Raphoe in Ireland (18), where he died in November 1756; but his son and family are settled there.

(17) As Provost of Queen's, in whom it is vested. He also procured for him, of his good friend Bishop Tanner, the living of Brockdish in Norfolk.

(18) He had merited this favour from his Grace, having constantly remitted to Mr Pelham of Lewes, who was Secretary to the Embassy, the profits of this post, without giving him the trouble of a letter. Communicated by Mr Thompson himself at Paris.

[*O*] *The*

this election, eſpecially with the honourable manner of it, and he took great delight in ſatisfying all the demands of ſo important a poſt. How ſollicitous he was in keeping good order and diſcipline, with what gravity he preſided, with what lenity he admoniſhed, and with what juſtice and impartiality he behaved to all, ſhewing an example of piety and all ſocial virtues, is well remembered, and needs not be mentioned. He was not only an encourager of learning and all liberal ſciences, but the greateſt enemy to vice and all heretical doctrines. In this ſpirit, he drew up an excellent collection or ſeries of queſtions in Divinity, which he inſtituted for the uſe of the ſtudents of his college, and they were of infinite ſervice in grounding them early in their religious principles: ſo that the college now flouriſhed extremely, and many perſons of quality and fortune were educated under his mild and prudent government (o); and as he was always zealous in promoting it's welfare, it was the greateſt pleaſure to him to find his undertakings ſucceſsful, and in order thereto, he did, in 1731, draw up a ſtate of the college buildings, with an ichnography of the whole, and had cuts of the ſeveral parts of the ſaid buildings engraved in 4to. And when the Prince of Orange came to ſee the univerſity after his marriage, he preſented his Royal Highneſs with one of the books, as he had done before to the Queen (p). He was particularly obliged to his good friends, the Right Honourable Arthur Onſlow, Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, as well as to Colonel Selwin, Treaſurer to Queen Caroline, for their kind offices, at his requeſt, in procuring her Majeſty's benefaction of a thouſand pounds, which ſhe gave towards finiſhing the college edifice; and, as it greatly owed it's beauty and ornament to this royal munificence, Dr Smith had her Majeſty's ſtatue in marble placed over the gate-way, in an open temple, ſupported by eight duplicated columns, crowned with entablatures, upon which ſtand eight arches covered with a tholus; ſo that the whole together makes a noble appearance (q). After it was finiſhed, the Queen ſent for the Provoſt, and thanking him for the reſpect he had ſhewn to her, promiſed him another purſe of equal value with the former [O]; which would certainly have been fulfilled, had her Majeſty lived a month longer [P]. The Doctor

(o) Particularly the late Duke of Buckinghamſhire, who came thither on Dr Smith's account, who recommended Dr Browne, then Fellow of the college, to be tutor to his Grace.

(p) See Tickell's poem, publiſhed in 1733, on her Majeſty's rebuilding the front of Queen's-college, adjoining to the lodgings of Edward the Black Prince and Henry V. wherein he mentions both of them being educated there. And in the window of the college-hall next the gallery is the following inſcription: *In hoc Coll. Studuit Henric. v. ſub Patrono ſuo Henrico Beaufort Cancellario Acad. poſtea Epiſcopo Winton, & Cardinali.* Pointer, in his Antiquities of Oxford, mentions an inſcription to the ſame purport, which was in Henry the Vth's chamber in the college, with his picture in braſs.

(q) A model was firſt projected by Dr Lancaſter, but improved and executed according to the ſtyle of the Luxemburg palace at Paris, by N. Hawkſmoore, a diſciple of Sir Chriſtopher Wren; and the ſtatue was performed by Mr [now Sir Henry] Cheere, of Weſtminſter, Knt.

[O] *The Queen promiſed him another thouſand pounds.*] This appears by the college regiſter, and her Majeſty's benefaction is particularly taken notice of to her honour, by Dr Thomas Shaw, D.D. and F.R.S in the dedication of his travels to Barbary and the Levant, inſcribed to the King, with a view of the frontiſpiece of this building at the head, curiouſly engraved. As the book has been well received by the publick, and, indeed, contains many intereſting particulars relating to thoſe countries not before obſerved, we ſhall oblige our readers with a ſuccinct account of the worthy author, as follows: He was born about the year 1691 (19), at Kendal in Weſtmoreland, and having gone through the ſchool there, was removed to Queen's-college; and having taken his degrees in Arts at the regular times, he went into Holy Orders, and was appointed chaplain to the Engliſh factory at Algiers. During that interval, he ſpent ſome part of his time in travelling into ſeveral parts of Europe, Aſia, and Africa; and on his return home, he was choſen Fellow of his college, took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, was elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and publiſhed the abovementioned account of his travels at Oxford in 1738, in folio. He alſo beſtowed ſome pieces of antiquity in coins, &c. which he had collected in his travels, on that univerſity (20). In 1740, he was nominated by his college Principal of St Edmund-hall, to which he was a conſiderable benefactor in it's buildings, and was preſented at the ſame time to the vicarage of Bramley in Hants. He was alſo Regius-Profeſſor of Greek at Oxford 'till his death, which happened on the 18th of September, 1751, at Bramley, where he was buried, and a handſome monument, with an inſcription in Latin *, was ſoon after erected to his memory, by his widow, the relict of Edward Holden, Eſq; ſome time the Engliſh Conſul at Algiers. His monument aſſures us, with great truth, that he was a good natured man, and his book is an evidence of his learning both human and divine; a French tranſlation of which was printed in 1743, 4to. with ſeveral notes and emendations, communicated by our author to the editor, who dedicated it to the King of Pruſſia, and advertized it as a better edition than the original Engliſh (21), which was true enough at that time. But Dr Clayton, Biſhop of Clogher in Ireland, having attacked the travels, in his *Deſcription of the Eaſt*, &c. our author publiſhed *A Supplement to a book of Travels and Obſervations, &c. wherein ſome objections lately made againſt it are fully conſidered and anſwered, with ſeveral additional Remarks and Diſſertations.* Oxford, 1746, folio. In the preface to which he takes notice, that this ſupplement, beſides other occaſional diſſertations, contains a greater number of notes and emendations, than were inſerted in the French edition, whereby the original will now become more full and perfect than the tranſlation. Accordingly, after the Doctor's death came out a ſecond edition, with great improvements Lond. 1757, 4to. The contents of the ſupplement are interwoven in this edition, and the improvements were made and the edition prepared for the preſs, by the author himſelf; who expreſsly preſents the work with theſe additions, alterations, and improvements, to the reader, as an eſſay towards reſtoring the ancient geography, and placing in a proper light the natural and ſometimes civil hiſtory of theſe countries where he travelled. The doctor was ſucceeded at St Edmund hall, as alſo at Bramley, by Dr Fothergill, who was likewiſe ſome time Fellow, and an eminent tutor at Queen's college; where, on the death of Dr Joſeph Smith abovementioned, he was invited by ſome of the members of the college to ſtand for the Provoſtſhip againſt Dr Joſeph Browne, the preſent Provoſt, who carried the election by a majority of only one vote. Dr Fothergill died Octob. 12, 1760, of a dropſy (under which he had for ſome time laboured), two days after his return to Oxford from his native place at Ravinſtandale in Weſtmoreland, where he had been for the recovery of his health. He was buried in the chapel at St Edmunds-hall there, leaving the character of a perſon of great parts and underſtanding, and of a moſt faithful and exact memory: he was alſo eminent for his learning and for his performances in the pulpit, ſeveral of which are publiſhed (22). His natural diſpoſition was tender and humane, modeſt and humble; his heart was animated with a ſincere and truly Chriſtian piety, and the whole tenor of his words and actions ſuch as denoted his being always attentive to this awful truth, that he muſt one day be accountable to God for them.

[P] *Had her Majeſty lived a month longer.*] The following lines were intended by Dr Smith to be inſerted, in gratitude to her memory, among the Oxford verſes on her death †.

Above all empire, in her early youth,
True piety ſhe priz'd, and ſacred truth.
Oft have I ſeen her, with ſubmiſſive ear,
The oracles of God unfolded hear.
Oft have I ſeen her, with ſeraphic love,
Her prayers preferring to the throne above:
Where now the praiſes to the King of Kings,
Triumphant, with angelic notes, ſhe ſings.
Of Britiſh freedom ſhe approv'd the cauſe,
Nor wiſh'd for power to rule above the laws;

Science

(19) In his epitaph the words are, *obiit pene ſexagenarius xviii cal. Sept.* 1757.

(20) He had before preſented a curious collection of butterflies to the Muſæum.

* By Dr Joſeph Browne, Provoſt of Queen's college. A tranſcript of it is annexed to the laſt edition of Dr Shaw's Travels, in 1757, 4to.

(21) In the Bibliotheque Raiſonnée, and in the Leipſic Acts.

(22) Letſome's Preacher's Aſſiſtant.

† In the Oxford verſes on Queen Caroline's death, is a Latin poem on that occaſion, inſcribed to Dr Smith by Mr Hobſon, ſome time Fellow of Queen's college, and author of a poem intituled, Chriſtianity the Light of the Moral World, in 4to. 1745.

Doctor had the honour of being acquainted with the Lady Elizabeth Haſtings, who, out of reſpect to him and his recommendation, had ſettled ſome conſiderable exhibitions on St Edmund-hall, an appendant to Queen's-college; but, on his advancement to the Provoſtſhip, ſhe choſe on that account to remove them thither, when he drew up rules and orders, at her Ladyſhip's requeſt, for the regulation and good government of the ſaid exhibitioners [*Q*]. Laſtly, our Provoſt was more than ordinarily ſollicitous, to procure the payment of Sir Francis Bridgeman's large donation for exhibitions (*r*), which was at a ſtand for ſome years, and given up for loſt; but by his diligence and penetration, he did with great difficulty gain his point, though there were ſo many parties concerned to be brought to agreement, ſome of which he happened to be well acquainted with. Accordingly he obtained a decree in Chancery, to oblige Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Bart. [*R*] in whoſe hands it lay, to pay the money juſt before he abſconded, otherwiſe it would abſolutely have been loſt. Dr Smith was likewiſe inſtrumental in obtaining the donation of John Michel of Richmond in Surrey, Eſq; towards the buildings, and his founding eight additional Fellowſhips and four Scholarſhips there [*S*]. He did alſo, by his own perſonal intereſt and ſollicitation,

(*r*) Viz. Six or ſeven of 20 *l.* per ann. each, as the income of the eſtates to be purchaſed would admit. The ſum was about 4500 *l.* beſides 500 *l.* to the college buildings, and 250 *l.* for coſts of ſuit, and a licence of mortmain, which he obtained. Whence the college was alſo enabled to take and hold Mr Michel's donation. All which he completed May 25, 1734.

Science and letters were her favourite care,
And high attainments grac'd the royal fair;
She could each hour in doing good employ,
And caus'd the widow's heart to ſing with joy.
But theſe are themes my weak eſſays refuſe,
Fit for the labours of a nobler muſe:
Had Addiſon, reſerv'd by milder fate,
Surviv'd to ſee our heroine's courſe compleat;
Amidſt the foremoſt, in the rolls of fame,
Fix'd would have ſtood great CAROLINA's name.

[*Q*] *Rules for the conduct of the ſaid exhibitioners.*] For theſe uſes her Ladyſhip left her manor and eſtate of Whetdale in Yorkſhire, of about the value of 160 *l.* per annum; and the exhibitioners are to be elected by lot, from eight principal ſchools in that county, and from two in Weſtmoreland and two in Cumberland. This eminently pious and charitable lady was daughter to Theophilus, the ſeventh Earl of Huntingdon, by Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Sir John Lewis, of Ledſtone in Yorkſhire, Bart. from whom deſcended the ſeveral manors and eſtates ſhe was poſſeſſed of in that county (23). She was pleaſed often to conſult Dr Smith in many of her charitable donations, which were very large and extenſive. He had a frequent correſpondence with her on this and other ſubjects, particularly upon the abjuration oath, and his opinion of the Methodiſts. The doctor had alſo a correſpondence upon divine and moral ſubjects, with the celebrated Mrs Aſtell, and communicated ſome particulars concerning her to Mr Ballard, who wrote her life or memoirs (24).

(23) A farther account of her Ladyſhip and her benefactions may be ſeen in Barnard's Life of her in 12mo, and in Wilford's Memorials of eminent Perſons, and in Ballard's Lives of Illuſtrious Ladies.

(24) The ſubſtance of which is inſerted in Biſhop Smalridge's article.

[*R*] *Sir Orlando Bridgeman.*] This unfortunate gentleman was poſſeſſed of an eſtate of 4000 *l.* per annum, but that revenue not being ſufficient to anſwer all the demands of his expenſive way of life, he contracted very large debts, as well by mortgages as life annuities; 'till being reduced and diſtreſſed by his creditors, in order to defeat all their power, he had recourſe to the not uncommon method of abſconding from his family and friends, and not being heard of for ſome time, a rumour was ſpread, by ſome means or other, that he had come to an untimely end; which was further confirmed, by the finding of a drowned body, that from ſome particular marks, as of a bent finger, or the like, was believed and atteſted to be his, by perſons of credit who had perſonally known him*. The truth of this account was ſo firmly believed, that his lady with the children went into deep mourning, as for a dead huſband and parent (25), and his eldeſt ſon Francis aſſumed the Baronet's title. Thus every thing ſucceeded to his wiſh, 'till he happened to betake himſelf to an inn upon the great road to Bath, not far from Windſor; where ſitting, in company of the innkeeper, upon a bench before the door, he took notice of the noblemens and gentlemens coaches that paſſed by, reading the arms, and telling his companion the names and titles of the ſeveral owners. This unſeaſonable piece of vanity betrayed him. The innkeeper was preſently ſtruck with ſurprize, that a perſon of ſuch an ordinary appearance (for he was diſguized in a mean habit) ſhould be ſo knowing in families of rank and diſtinction; and, as the ſtory of his abſconding was no ſecret, the man began to ſuſpect the truth, and acquainting his wife with what had paſſed, ſhe came into the ſame opinion; ſo that it was reſolved to give information to ſome of their gueſt's annuitants, whom they knew. Theſe being particularly concerned in the diſcovery, immediately diſpatched a proper perſon to the inn, who eaſily diſcerning the Baronet under his diſguiſe, after ſome expoſtulations inſiſted on his ſubſcribing a paper, by way of certificate, that he was alive and in good health. This being all that was neceſſary for the concerns of the annuitants, he was left at liberty to behave as he pleaſed in regard to the report of his death, which ſtill paſſed current for ſome time. But being ſeen afterwards by ſeveral perſons who knew him, notwithſtanding his diſguiſe, the truth began to get ground, and at length prevailed ſo much, that one of his principal creditors, who had a large mortgage upon his eſtate *, making ſtrict ſearch after him, he was apprehended and ſecured in Glouceſter jail, where he continued in confinement † ſome years, 'till death, that general jail-deliverer, releaſed him from all the troubles of this world, in the year 1746 ‖. So notorious a part, acted in the laſt period of life, naturally raiſes a curioſity to know ſomething more concerning the actor. And we can aſſure the reader, that Sir Orlando was a deſcendant, by a ſecond venter, of Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, in the reign of King Charles the Second; that he was bred a courtier from his youth, being Groom of the Bedchamber to the late King George the Second, when Prince of Wales; after whoſe acceſſion to the throne, he was made a Commiſſioner of Trade and Plantations. He was alſo nominated Governor of Barbadoes, and received 1500 *l.* as equipage-money for that poſt, juſt before he abſconded. As to his perſon, he was of a fair complection, and low of ſtature, but ſtrong built and full bodied, fleſhy though not fat. Laſtly, that vanity was his predominant paſſion, which proved his ruin. He was a beau at the age of ſixty-five ‡.

* The body was found in the Thames a little below Limehouſe, where it was viewed, among others, by Sir Francis Daſhwood, who believed it to be that of Sir Orlando. Communicated by Mr Glanville, Member of Parliament for Hythe in Kent.

(25) Communicated by Dr Martyn of Chelſey, where his lady and daughter then reſided.

* Mr Glanville. The mortgage was for 10000 *l.*

† The confinement was made eaſy by an allowance from his creditors of 150*l.* per annum, and liberty to walk out any where in the town in the day time.

‖ London Mag. Vol. XV.

‡ Moſt of the particulars of this remark were communicated by Mr Wheeler, who is always ready to oblige his friends in ſuch matters of hiſtorical occurrencies, of which he may be juſtly called a living ſtore-houſe.

[*S*] *He was inſtrumental in procuring Mr Michel's donation.*] As this was a very extraordinary benefaction, we ſhall gratify our readers with the particular circumſtances and conditions of it, by laying before them an abſtract of the *Act* paſſed in 1751, *for the better effecting the purpoſes mentioned in the Will*; where it appears, that by his laſt Will, dated December 21, 1736, excluding all claimants of kindred, he bequeathed his manor and lands of Horton-Kirby, and all his manor lands and marſh lands in Plumſtead, and all his lands and marſh lands in Sandwich and Worde in the county of Kent, and his lands and tenements in Old Windſor in Berks, to Queen's-college in Oxford for ever, for eight Maſter-Fellows and four Bachelor-Scholars, at 50 *l.* a year for the firſt, and 30 *l.* a year for the laſt; after the payment of whom, a fund ſhould be reſerved to anſwer extraordinary occaſions, not exceeding 200 *l.* that the ſurpluſage ſhould be laid out in the purchaſe of advowſons and preſentations to livings, above the yearly value of 120 *l.* to be annexed for ever to the Fellowſhips of his donation. That the ſaid Maſters and Scholars ſhould be elected by the Provoſt and Fellows of Queen's-college, out of any other colleges or halls within the ſaid univerſity, and that ſuch only ſhould be capable of being elected, as ſhould within one year paſt have taken the degree of Maſter of Arts, or ſhould be within one year of taking the ſame; and that the ſame qualifications ſhould be obſerved

(f) He also procured, by his interest, several considerable private benefactions, of which 300*l.* was the gift of Thomas Lewis, of Soberton in Hants, Esq; whose daughter and heir was mother to Lord Plymouth. Some time a number of this college; and the Bishops, Lamplugh, Smith, Nicholson, Crew, Gibson, Tanner, Maddox, were all benefactors to the buildings.

solicitation, procure a charter of mortmain, in May 1732, to enable the college to take these several benefactions (s), not to mention what he gave himself by his will, which was very considerable (t). Such extraordinary services will always stand as so many memorials of his paternal affection to the college *, and of his generous principle in employing that interest for the society, which might have been of service to himself. He declined the office of Vice-chancellor, on account of the infirm state of his health, through a tenderness of constitution, which, as he advanced in years, occasioned frequent confinement; otherwise no person was better qualified to support the dignity of that post. However, as long as he was able, and the statutes of the college would admit, he discharged the duty of his parish at St Dionis; the cure of mens souls being the principal ingredient in his character. He used frequently to retire for his health, in the summer season, to his *villa* at Kidlington, where he purchased a manor and estate, now in the possession of his family, which though near Oxford, seemed formed for such a retirement as he grew latterly very fond of. It gave him a singular pleasure in the enjoyment of a few select friends, and those whom he liked; in whose company he would be very chearful and diverting, without scandal or reflecting

(t) Not less than 700*l.* as I am informed, besides what he gave to the college buildings in the Provostship of Dr Lancaster, &c.

* See the particulars in the dedication to Dr Smith of Mr Simpson's elegant edition of Epictetus, &c. 8vo.

served as to the Bachelor-Scholars, and that the Bachelors should undergo, as near as might be, the same examinations as are required upon elections at All-Souls college. And that after such first election, the Fellowships should be filled up by such Bachelor-Scholars, as had taken the degree of Master of Arts, or should be within one year thereof, and that other Scholars should be chosen in their places, &c. That both the Masters and Bachelors should be subject to the statutes and government of the college, as to all conformity, discipline, and obedience to superiors (taking Orders by the Masters, or the exercise of rendering by the Bachelors, only excepted). That there should be a building erected for the reception of the said Masters and Bachelors, consisting of two entire and regular stair-cases, uniform both within, and conformable to the new building without, to begin from the east corner of the college next to the high-street, and go on northwards towards the chapel; wherein should be eight chambers in the middle story for the Fellows, and four chambers for the Scholars in the upper or lower story, and the other story to be filled with such under-graduates of the college as they should think fit to place therein, to be their attendants. That their allocations in the chapel and hall should be appointed suitable to their rank and degree, and their commons allotted as near as might be, in the same proportion as their Fellows and Taberders. That the rents and profits of his estates, from the time of his death, should be received by the Bursar of the college. That the first receipts should be applied to erect the said buildings, and Robert Shippen, D. D. Principal of Brazen-nose-college, John Mather, D. D. President of Corpus-Christi-college, and John Coxed, B. C. L. Warden of New-college, together with Joseph Smith, D. D. Provost of Queen's-college, to be supervisors or directors of the said buildings; after the finishing of which the society to proceed to an election of Fellows and Scholars, as abovementioned. He also appointed Dr Shippen, Dr Mather, and Dr Coxed, Visitors of his small society, to determine finally all grievances and complaints; which Visitors are to meet annually upon St Bartholomew's-day, at the college, to audit the accounts of the Bursars, and to give directions to them for the application of the rents; and that upon the demise of one of the present Visitors, another should within one month be chosen by the senior of the two surviving, but to be a Doctor of Divinity or Doctor of Civil Law, and Head or Fellow of some other college or hall, resident in Oxford. That the clear yearly rents and profits of the said estates amounted to the sum of 500*l.* or thereabouts, upon an average. That the money received by the Bursars since the testator's death, amounted to the sum of 5241*l.* 11*s.* 0*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$, of which 1265*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* had been paid to Queen's college, to reimburse them for building the half stair-case next the street, and 3825*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* had been laid out in the purchase of 4116*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* three per cent. Bank annuities, in the name of the said college; and the remainder, being 524*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$, remained in the hands of the Bursars. Moreover, it is hereby enacted, that the sum of 2000*l.* shall be paid out of the rents and profits of the above bequeathed estates, to the society of Queen's-college, in satisfaction for the inheritance of the ground on which the aforementioned chambers stand, and for all claims of ground-rent, as also for all the immunities, privileges, and advantages, which the Fellows and Scholars of Mr Michel's foundation shall have and enjoy, in the use of the public library, chapel, hall, kitchen, buttery, and cellars of the said college, and by the use of the furniture and goods, in common use in the said college, and in the attendance and service of all the officers, lecturers, readers, moderators, and servants, and the use of the garden, quadrangles, courts, and other public places, in the said college, and all other common advantages and emoluments; the said Fellows and Scholars of Mr Michel's foundation respectively paying, in respect of any of the same, only such fees, and so much for decrements, as the Fellows and other members of like rank and degree of Queen's college, do or shall pay; as also, as in full compensation and satisfaction for repairing the buildings for the Fellows and Scholars of Mr Michel's foundation, and their attendants, which the said Provost and Scholars are for ever hereafter to support and maintain, both within and without, at their own proper costs and charges.

(†) The fellowships and scholarships were filled up Octob. 26, 1764, and on All Saint's day following the several fellows and scholars were admitted into Queen's college, and put in possession of the apartments in the new buildings erected for their reception, according to the will of Mr Michel their founder. St James's Chronicle for Octob. 27, 1764, and the Ledger for Monday, November 2.

Mr Michel also gave, in his life-time, a large picture of Queen Mary, to the college hall, and presented the college with his own pedigree, very curiously done, at the expence of 100*l.* and is rolled out. He gave them likewise a valuable collection of coins, and some books upon that subject, which are repositted in the library, as appears by the following inscription in Latin (†):

Eleganti huic & copioso universæ literaturæ repositorio (z) *non solum libros aliquot selectos de re nummaria, sed cimeliorum etiam archivis Seriem Unam æstimabilem Numismatum Romanorum, viz. Imperatorum capita, aliaque numero 175 ære majore incisa: Alteram vero argenteorum ejusdem fili circa 298. Industria collecta, impensis perquisita, & cura conservata*

Donat Dicatque

Johannes Michel, de Richmond in com. Surrey, Armiger. *Hujus collegii generoso commensalis, anno Domini* 1676—1680.

(26) He died Nov. 26, 1696.

(27) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. V. p. 342 to 347.

Cujus pater Johannes, patruusque Humfredus (uterque ejusdem ordinis) in sæculo rebellionis nunquam satis defendæ sedem quietam per 14 *annos hic invenerunt.*

(28) He had been a member in several parliaments for Sandwich in Kent.

Oxoniâ obsessâ Prior ad Carolum Regem ultro se contulit, & ab ipso, inter alia fiduciæ negotia, commissionem de armandis scholaribus ad aras & focos defendendos tuto reportavit anno 1644.

(29) See the inscription over the gateway.

Alter vero cælibem vitam agens, procul ambitu procul negotiis Deo & studiis solum vacavit. Hospitium decem senibus alendis Richmondiæ fundavit; nepotemque hunc unicum (a cunis orphanum) & vivens & moriens (26) *filii loco habuit.*

* See a description of it, in a poem intituled *Oxford*, by Mr Tickell, in 1707, with a dedication to Lord Lonsdale.

The alms-house here mentioned stands upon the declivity of the hill; it was built in 1695, and was endowed by the uncle with upwards of 100*l.* per annum, which afterwards was considerably increased by the nephew (27), who died September 5, 1739 (28), and was buried at Old Windsor with his ancestors, who had a large seat and estate there, whereof a considerable part descended to him (29).

† The Bishop married the widow of Sir Richard Fletcher of Hutton, great grandfather to the wife of Dr Joseph Smith.

(a) This library, which is of the Corinthian order *, was built by Dr. Halton, a great part at his own expence, besides his study of books. The Sum of 600*l.* was given also by his tutor, Dr Tho. Smith, some time a Fellow of the college, and then Bishop of Carlisle †, which bishoprick he obtained by the interest of Sir Joseph Williamson ‡, who was his pupil; and gave also to the library a curious and valuable collection of manuscripts, espe. cially in Heraldry, and Memoirs of his foreign Negotiations. To these Sir John Floyer, an eminent Physician at Litchfield in Staffordshire, added his library, containing many excellent books. The building was begun in 1693, on account of the legacy of Dr Tho. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, some time Provost of the college, who bequeathed the greatest part of his books and manuscripts to it, leaving the rest to the Bodleian library, of which he had been Keeper.

See a further account of this prelate in Willis's Cathedrals, under Carlisle.

‡ Whom Dr Halton attended as chaplain in his embassy with Sir Leoline Jenkins, to Cologne, in 1673.

reflecting on others. He was obliging, humble, and ſincere, ever friendly and generous in his temper, and more ready to ſerve others than himſelf; in which reſpect he had by his intereſt an opportunity of doing many kind and generous offices. He was a kind and loving huſband, a tender and indulgent father, and a good maſter, taking care of the ſpiritual, as well as temporal concerns of all that belonged to him. His liberality to the poor was extenſive, and diſtributed without oſtentation, and beſides the many public charities to which he was a conſtant ſubſcriber (*u*), he was a truſtee to others. About four years before his death he was greatly afflicted with the ſtrangury, which he bore with true Chriſtian fortitude and reſignation; but this obliging him to uſe frequent bleeding and evacuations, the decays of nature came thereby faſt upon him, till at laſt by a numbneſs of his limbs, and a total loſs almoſt of his ſight, he found death approaching, and took to his bed in the college on the Founder's day (*w*), Auguſt the fifteenth. He lived a dying life in this languiſhing condition for upwards of three months; during which interval he employed the time in divine contemplations, making frequent ejaculations and repetitions out of the Pſalms. On the day of his departure, being quite emaciated and worn out, he took a ſolemn leave of his family, and after recommending himſelf to the Almighty in fervent prayer, he cried out in the words of the burial ſervice, *O death, where is thy ſting!* &c. and expired. Thus died this venerable good man, on Tueſday, November 23, 1756, aged eighty-ſix years. His remains were depoſited on the 29th, according to his own appointment, in the vault under the altar of the new chapel at the college; all the members thereof, as well as ſome of the heads of other colleges, attending him to the grave. An elegant Latin ſpeech was ſpoken on the occaſion, by Mr Thomas Hodgſon, ſome time a Fellow of the college, and a handſome copy of verſes to his memory was afterwards inſerted in the London Magazine in 1757, by Mr John Hodgſon, of the ſame college, whoſe poetical genius has on ſeveral occaſions been diſplayed to his honour [*T*]. We have two ſermons publiſhed by our author (*x*). One on the death of Queen Anne, intituled, *The duty of the living to the memory of the dead.* The other preached before the ſons of the clergy, printed under the title of the faithful ſtewardſhip. He alſo publiſhed in 1754, 8vo. *A clear and comprehenſive View of the Being and Attributes of God, formed not only upon the Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures, but the ſolid Reaſonings and Teſtimonies of the beſt Authors, both Heathen and Chriſtian, which have writ upon that ſubject* [*U*]. The author's principal deſign of committing

(*u*) Viz. to the ſociety for the propagation of the Goſpel, that for promoting Chriſtian knowledge, St George's hoſpital, London, the Weſtminſter infirmary, the inoculating hoſpital, and likewiſe to the Proteſtant ſchools in Ireland, as well as to thoſe at Oxford and at Kidlington, where he not only ſubſcribed handſomely himſelf, but applied for an annual ſubſcription in the neighbourhood, for ſettling and endowing a ſchool, according to the propoſals he drew up for the purpoſe, tho' it did not ſucceed to his expectations.

(*w*) This was always a memorable day with him, and particularly in 1740; which being the 400th year from the founding of the college, a grand jubilee was kept (the ſame being obſerved there once in 100 years) when the celebrated Mr Powell ſung there a Te Deum, accompanied with the choir from Magdalen college.

(*x*) See Letſome's Preacher's Aſſiſtant, and Hiſtorical Regiſter, 8vo. Both the ſermons went thro' two editions, and ſeveral copies of the latter were ſent by Sir Geo. Wheeler to the Weſt Indies, and diſperſed there.

[*T*] *Mr Hodgſon's poetical genius has been diſplayed to his honour.*] They are wrote in a true poetical ſpirit, and therefore we ſhall oblige the reader with a tranſcript of them, as follows *:

I.

Not in oblivion's gloom expire,
The breaſts that glow with ſacred fire,
Ordain'd by heav'n their worth to ſave,
The hallow'd Muſe receives the hearſe,
And bids them live in endleſs verſe,
Triumphant o'er the withering grave.

II.

Thee, SMITH, ſhe mark'd, when, from its clay,
Emerg'd thy pure ethereal ray,
To mix with ſainted ſouls on high:
And, while Philippa's ſons the tear
Of gratitude pour'd o'er thy bier,
Entun'd thy heart-felt elegy.

III.

Ah me, ſhe cry'd! the good and wiſe,
In death's cold arms extended lies;
See virtue mourn the afflicting blow!
His was the courtly grace and eaſe,
That taught her harſher voice to pleaſe,
And ſooth'd the roughneſs of her brow.

IV.

Say ye, who all attention hung
O'er the ſweet accents of his tongue,
Whene'er he pour'd th' inſtructive lore,
How, taught in holy hope to riſe,
Ye burn'd impatient for the ſkies,
Allur'd by fading earth no more.

V.

Nor did perſuaſive ſpeech alone
Fix on his lips her ſacred throne;
More ſtrong his fair example taught.
The laws he preach'd his ſteps purſu'd;
While every eye with wonder view'd,
And emulative ardour caught.

VI.

Oft' has the drooping head of care,
Rais'd by his hand from fell deſpair,
View'd days of brighter tenor flow.
Oft' has his judgment's piercing rays
Unravell'd doubts perplexing maze,
And giv'n the heart new peace to know.

VII.

Smit with the charms of varied good,
Each virtuous breaſt his friendſhip woo'd.
Oh WILLIAMSON ‖! thy fav'rite boaſt;
Ev'n the fair pride of ſovereign power †,
Call'd him to ſhare the ſocial hour,
And pomp in grateful converſe loſt.

VIII.

But chief for long try'd wiſdom known,
Fair learning mark'd him for her own,
Exulting in his generous ſway:
Kind gentle warmth his influence ſhed,
Each ſcience rais'd its laurell'd head,
Each latent genius ſprung to day.

IX.

Now, whilſt he ſoars to purer light,
The Muſe, he nurs'd, purſues his flight,
Far as the confines of the ſkies:
There harps angelic take the ſtrain,
And hail him to th' ethereal plain,
Whilſt his hands reach th' immortal prize.

* See alſo Dr Smith's character in a book of poems, &c. publiſhed in 8vo. p. 250. by the ingenious Mr Thompſon aforementioned, ſon to the ſaid Mr Francis Thompſon, who publiſhed the State of the Caſe relating to the election of a Provoſt of Queen's college.

‖ Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

† Queen Caroline, to whom he was Chaplain.

[*U*] *A clear and comprehenſive View*, &c.] The greateſt part of the impreſſion being ſold off very ſoon, and the remainder ſent to the Britiſh plantations and factories abroad, he afterwards made conſiderable additions to it (for he ſtill preſerved the ſolidity and quickneſs of his judgment ſurprizingly) and publiſhed a ſecond edition with his name to it (30), and a dedication to the Prince of Wales, now King George the Third, and Prince Edward, now Duke of York. Our author was very aſſiduous to the laſt in employing his time

(30) The firſt edition came out anonymous.

ting this compendious ſummary of Chriſtian morality to the preſs (for which he was ſollicited by ſome of his friends) was to inſtil the fundamental principles of religion into the minds of our growing youth, and guard them as far as poſſible againſt the prevalent

time to ſome general good, and it is to be wiſhed that he had begun earlier in life, to give us other ſpecimens, as well as this, of his valuable compoſitions, of which he left a conſiderable number in manuſcript. However, we have ſome ground to hope that ſome of them will be publiſhed by his friends, though, as he had not ſuch a deſign, they muſt needs appear to a diſadvantage.

We muſt not conclude this memoir, without mentioning the application that was made to Dr Smith, after the death of Biſhop Beveridge in 1707, to look over his Lordſhip's manuſcripts, and chiefly thoſe on the XXXIX Articles, and his Private Thoughts on Religion, which he reviſed and publiſhed (31); but the laſt being very imperfect, he was obliged to make large additions, and he took a great deal of pains to finiſh it, according to the mind and ſentiments of the learned and pious author, of whom he gave an excellent character in the preface (32); and the work has gone through ſeveral editions.

(31) See Carter's Hiſtory of Cambridge, for Bp Beveridge, &c.

(32) It has been already cited more than once under that prelate's article, in this Work.

To this muſt alſo be added, that, in 1742, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart. gave the univerſity of Oxford the benefit of the impreſſion of his manuſcript of Shakeſpeare, *occaſioned by an inſtimation given him by Dr Smith, that ſuch a preſent would be acceptable to them*; and the affair was afterwards conducted by him and Dr Shippen, Principal of Brazen-noſe college, for they were both particularly conſulted in the publication of this beautiful edition of Shakeſpeare, as appears by the correſpondence Sir Thomas had with Dr Smith on that occaſion. The edition was printed at Oxford in 4to. 1744, on the fineſt royal paper, to which is prefixed a good cut to every play, done (by Gravelot) at the expence of Sir Thomas. This worthy gentleman, who died at his ſeat in Suffolk in May 1746 ‡, had been Knight of the Shire for that county, as alſo for Flintſhire, and ſometime Member for Thetford He was unanimouſly choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in the 12th of Queen Anne.

‡ His corpſe was conveyed to his ſeat at Hanmer, and interred in the chancel built by himſelf in that church, where there is a handſome monument of white marble with an inſcription erected to his memory. Gent. Mag. for Nov. 1762.

In a letter to Dr Smith, dated London, March 18, 1741-2, he writes as follows:

'Dear Sir,

I have received the favour of your letter, by which you deſire me to open a little the plan I would propoſe for a new impreſſion of Shakeſpeare, upon which ſubject, if I ſpeak unſkilfully and improperly, I may well be forgiven, it being ſo new to me.

My aim in general is to promote a correct and a beautiful edition of his dramatic works, more worthy of the author than any of thoſe which have hitherto been beſtowed upon him. It muſt be in ſix volumes in quarto, in as large a letter at leaſt as that publiſhed by Mr Pope, but upon much better paper, for it ought to be the fineſt royal, as good as the large paper of Dr Middleton's late Life of Cicero. I propoſe to have a good cut prefixed to every play, done by the very beſt deſigner and engraver; which copper-plates are now under hand, and in pretty great forwardneſs: and theſe I deſign ſhall be at my expence. I will give them freely to the public, that the book may be brought within the compaſs of a reaſonable price, which I would not have exceed four pounds at the moſt: if it can be afforded cheaper, I ſhall be glad (33), nor do I deſire more copies for myſelf than ten or twelve to give to my particular friends.

(33) The ſubſcription price was three guineas, but the book now ſells for eight or ten, being grown very ſcarce.

[The principal point of all is to employ ſome gentlemen of great care and exactneſs to be correctors of the preſs; for as it hath coſt the pains of many years to rectify the miſtakes of former impreſſions, it would be very unhappy to have the ſenſe perverted and obſcured by any new blunders to be committed in this.

You will wiſh perhaps that I ſhould ſay a word or two upon the time of proceeding in this affair. I find the artiſts I have to deal with in preparing the copper-plates the moſt dilatory men in the world, and I would fain have that trouble off my hands before I enter into any other part of it. Probably the finiſhing of theſe will take this whole ſummer; and it will be neceſſary for me alſo to take a journey into Wales §, ſo that the beginning of next winter will be as ſoon as the preſs can be ſet at work.] However, I ſhould be glad to be favoured with an anſwer, that I may know how it reliſhes, and whether any objections are made. I ſhould be glad to have it in my power to oblige the univerſity, to which I had the honour to belong, and for which I have always retained the greateſt reſpect. I am,

N. B. The parts included in hooks were omitted in the former printed copy.

§ The buſineſs of this journey was probably to treat for the timber on ſome part of his eſtate there, the reverſion of which eſtate was claimed by Mr Hervey. See Sir Thomas Hanmer's article, remark [B].

SIR,

Your moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

Tho. Hanmer.

[You may pleaſe at all times to direct to me at this place; for though I ſhould be any where elſe, my porter will ſafely ſend your letters to me.']

In another letter, dated Milden-hall, Suffolk, May 19, 1742, Sir Thomas expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms:

'Dear Sir,

I ought to acknowledge the favour of your letter, though, as it found me here under the affliction of my nephew's death, I have had no opportunity ſince of knowing from you or Dr Shippen, what further information or ſatisfaction is deſired from me. This in general may be depended on, that ſince the univerſity is pleaſed to accept ſo ſmall a preſent from me, they ſhall make what uſe of it they pleaſe; I will preſcribe in nothing to them. The edition muſt be in quarto, becauſe the plates are prepared for a volume of that ſize; but whether a ſmall number only ſhall be upon the beſt royal paper, and the reſt upon leſs, ſhall be left with them to determine. I wiſh only the purchaſe may not be too dear: nor would it be the intereſt of the univerſity to have it ſo, becauſe it would be an obſtruction to the ſale of the book. If you have any further commands for me upon this ſubject, or any other, pleaſe to direct to me at Hanmer, near Whitchurch in Shropſhire, for thither I am removing tomorrow. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

Tho. Hanmer.'

Dr Smith's anſwer to this, taking notice of the rumour about an edition intended by Mr (now Dr) Warburton (Biſhop of Glouceſter) produced the following:

Milden-hall near Newmarket, Suffolk,
October 28, 1742.

'Dear Sir,

I have much doubted with myſelf whether it were proper for me to return an anſwer to the favour of your letter, till after hearing again from you or Dr Shippen. There ſeem to ariſe ſome difficulties with reſpect to the deſign of printing a new edition of Shakeſpeare, and I beg it may be laid aſide, if you are not fully ſatisfied that ſome advantage may ariſe from it to the univerſity; for I have no end in view to myſelf to make me deſire it. I am ſatisfied there is no edition coming or likely to come from Warburton, but it is a report raiſed to ſerve ſome little purpoſe or other, of which I ſee there are many on foot. I have reaſon to know that gentleman is very angry with me, for a cauſe of which I think I have no reaſon to be aſhamed, or he to be proud. My acquaintance with him began upon an application from himſelf, and at his requeſt the preſent Bp of Saliſbury * introduced him to me (34) for this purpoſe only, as was then declared, that as he had many obſervations upon Shakeſpeare then lying by him, over and above thoſe printed in Theobald's book, he much deſired to communicate them to me, that I might judge whether any of them were worthy to be added to thoſe emendations, which he underſtood I had long been making upon that author. I received his offer with all the civility I could: upon which a long correſpondence began by letters, in which he explained his ſenſe upon many paſſages,

* Dr Sherlock.

(34) In the preface to Mr Warburton's edition of Shakeſpeare, he ſays, Sir Thomas was recommended [or introduced] to him. See Sir H. Spelman's article, at the end of remark [O], p. 3780.

prevalent attacks of infidelity and free-thinking. The ſubject itſelf is common by being ſo frequently treated on, but our author's method of handling it with regard to the arrangement of the ſeveral arguments and ſolutions, which are enlarged upon under each head, and his tender affectionate manner of applying them to excite a ſuitable practice, are in a great meaſure new, and different from any other treatiſes that have yet appeared of the like ſort. *Difficile eſt proprie communia dicere.* HOR.

Dr Smith was ſucceeded in the Provoſtſhip of Queen's college by Dr Joſeph Browne, Canon-reſidentiary of the church and Chancellor of the dioceſe of Hereford; and in his Prebend of Stoke-Newington, in the church of St Paul, London, by Dr Nicholls, Maſter of the Temple, and now alſo Rector of St James's, Weſtminſter.

paſſages, which ſometimes I thought juſt, but moſtly wild and out of the way. Afterwards he made a journey hither (35) on purpoſe to ſee *my* books; he ſtaid about a week with me, and had the inſpection of them: and all this while I had no ſuſpicion of any other deſign, in all the pains he took, but to perfect a correct text in Shakeſpeare, of which he ſeemed very fond. But not long after, the views of intereſt began to ſhew themſelves, ſeveral hints were dropt of the advantage he might receive from publiſhing the work thus corrected; but as I had no thoughts at all of making it public, ſo I was more averſe to yield to it in ſuch a manner as was likely to produce a paltry edition, by making it the means only of getting a greater ſum of money by it (36). Upon this he flew into a great rage, and there is an end of the ſtory; with which I have thought it beſt to make you acquainted, that as you mention the working of his friends, you may judge the better of what you ſee and hear from them, and may make what uſe you pleaſe of the truth of facts, which I have now laid before you.

As to my own particular, I have no aim to purſue in this affair: I propoſe neither honour, reward, or thanks, and ſhould be very well pleaſed to have the books continue upon their ſhelf, in my own private cloſet. If it is thought they may be of uſe or pleaſure to the public, I am willing to part with them out of my hands, and to add, for the honour of Shakeſpeare, ſome decorations and embelliſhments at my own expence. It will be an unexpected pleaſure to me, if they can be made in any degree profitable to the univerſity, to which I ſhall always retain a gratitude, a regard, and reverence; but that I may end as I began, I beg the favour of you, if upon more mature conſideration among yourſelves, you ſee reaſon to diſcourage you from proceeding in this affair, that you will give it over, and not look upon yourſelves to be the more obliged to proſecute it from any ſteps already taken with,

SIR,

Your moſt humble,

and obedient ſervant,

Tho. Hanmer.'

P

(35) Certainly by invitation, which is plainly implied, and was needleſs to be expreſly mentioned.

(36) This ſhews that he had no doubt of his right to publiſh a handſome edition of his copy ſo perfected, which right he afterwards expreſly aſſerted againſt Mr Warburton's pretences to the contrary, mentioned in his preface before cited.

SOMERS [JOHN Lord], an illuſtrious ſtateſman, of conſummate abilities and irreproachable integrity, was deſcended of reputable parents in the city of Worceſter [*A*], where he was born in the year 1652; and being put to the college ſchool there (*a*), was ſoon taken notice of for the quickneſs and ſolidity of his parts, and had the character of being the brighteſt boy in it; when he was removed to Oxford (*b*), and admitted a gentleman-commoner of Trinity college (*c*). In the univerſity, the ſame good ſenſe grew into a judicious and elegant taſte of claſſical learning, and he would certainly have become equally the delight and boaſt of that eminent ſeat of the Muſes, had he ſtaid longer in it (*d*); but he left it without taking any degree *. His father having always intended to breed him to his own profeſſion, the law, had entered him a clerk to Sir Francis Winnington [*B*] for ſome time; after the expiration of which he was removed to the Middle-Temple (*e*). Here two different talents were obſerved to concur in his genius, which are almoſt certain indications of the poſſeſſor's becoming a great man: to an exquiſite taſte of polite literature, was joined a turn to buſineſs in the practice of the law. This implied ſolidity of judgment, and prompted an induſtrious application; whilſt the other furniſhed delicacy of ſentiment, and an elegant diction. Accordingly we find an unwearied diligence following Mr Somers through all the ſtages of his life, which gave him ſuch a thorough inſight into the laws of the land, that he paſſed for one of the greateſt maſters of his profeſſion, at his firſt appearance in it [*C*]: at the ſame time he found leiſure to read and digeſt the fineſt authors both of the learned and modern languages, and was engaged with ſeveral of the politeſt writers of the age, in the Engliſh tranſlation of Plutarch's Lives in proſe, and Ovid's Epiſtles in verſe; in the firſt, he performed the *Life of Alcibiades*, and in the other *Dido's Epiſtle to Æneas*, and that of *Ariadne to Theſeus* (*f*). Neither in his profeſſion could ſuch accompliſhments be confined wholly to the lucrative part of it. On the contrary, he was not ſatisfied with occaſionally looking into the hiſtory and original of ſuch particular laws and cuſtoms as his practice led him to, he made the knowledge of the conſtitution in general a diſtinct branch of his ſtudies; ſo that he became

(*a*) Memoirs of the Life of John Ld Somers, &c. p. 10. edit. 1716. The writer of his Life, in the Gen. Dict. tells us, he was educated at a private ſchool in Staffordſhire, but gives no authority for it.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 10.

(*c*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 960.

(*d*) Life, as before.

(*e*) Life, p. 10.

* Ath. Oxon. as before. However, he gave 100l. towards building the new chapel at that college. Warton's Life of Dean Bathurſt, p. 82. edit. 1761. 8vo. He was likewiſe a patron of Mr George Vertue, the famous engraver and induſtrious antiquary. See Vertue's article, in the Appendix to this work.

(*f*) They were both printed by Mr Tonſon, who had the honour to be intimately acquainted with him while he was a young barriſter. Id. p. 11.

[*A*] *Deſcended of reputable parents*, &c.] His father, Mr John Somers, was an attorney at law, poſſeſſed of a good eſtate, which his Lordſhip inherited; and his mother, Mrs Catherine Ceaverne, was a gentlewoman of a good family in Shropſhire. His grandfather was alſo a citizen of Worceſter of good ſubſtance (1).

[*B*] *He was clerk to Sir Francis Winnington.*] This eminent lawyer, we are told, from being a ſervitor in Trinity college, had raiſed a great eſtate by the law, though his talent conſiſted rather in ſpeaking fluently than eloquently, knowing how to wrangle better than to argue (2). He was Solicitor-General to King Charles the Second, in which poſt he was ſucceeded by Heneage Finch, ſecond ſon to Chancellor Finch, and younger brother to Daniel Earl of Nottingham (3).

[*C*] *One of the greateſt maſters of his profeſſion at the time of his firſt appearance in it*] Mr Addiſon obſerves, that though he had made a regular progreſs through the ſeveral honours of the Long Robe, he was always looked upon as one who deſerved a ſuperior ſtation to that he was poſſeſſed of, till he arrived at the higheſt dignity to which theſe ſtudies could advance him (4).

(1) Life of Lord Somers, &c. p. 9, 10. edition 1716, 8vo.

(2) Id. p. 10.

(3) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 720 and 1055.

(4) Freeholder, N° 39.

a maſter

a master in it †: and, siding against the Court, he early published several pieces in the political way, which were universally esteemed [*D*]. As in pleading at the bar, his oratory was masculine and persuasive, free from every thing trivial and affected. So his style in writing was chaste and pure, but at the same time full of spirit and politeness, and fit to convey the most intricate business to the understanding of the reader with the utmost clearness and perspicuity ‖. One of the first of these tracts was, his History of the Succession of the Crown of England [*E*]: written in favour of the attempt to exclude

† Freeholder, as before.

‖ Freeholder.

[*D*] *He wrote several pieces in the political way*, &c.] Bishop Burnet mentioning the return of the bill against the Earl of Shaftesbury Ignoramus, by the Grand-Jury; and observing, that in defence of these ignoramus juries it was said, that by the express words of their oath, they were bound to make true presentments of what should appear true to them; and, therefore, if they did not believe the evidence, they could not find a bill though sworn to, proceeds thus: 'A 'book, says he, was written to support that, in which 'law and reason were brought to confirm it. It passed 'as writ by Lord Essex, but I understood afterwards 'it was writ by Somers, who was much esteemed and 'often visited by Lord Essex; and, who trusted him-'self to him, and wrote the best papers that came out 'at that time (5).' Mr Walpole tells us, that he had met with a small piece, said to be written by Lord Somers, which, perhaps, says he, was one of the tracts hinted at here. It is intituled, *The security of Englishmens lives: or, The trust, power, and duty of the Grand-Juries of England, explained according to the fundamentals of the English Government*, &c. I believe the reader will be before-hand with me, in concluding this to be the very book mentioned by Burnet. As this as well as the other pieces here intimated were published without his name, Mr Addison makes this remark upon it (7). 'It is to be lamented, 'says he, that this extraordinary person, out of his 'natural aversion to vain-glory, wrote several pieces 'as well as performed several actions, which he did 'not assume the honour of: though, at the same 'time, so many works of this nature have appeared, 'which every one has ascribed to him, that I believe 'no author of the greatest eminence would deny my 'Lord Somers to have been the best writer of the age 'in which he lived.' Thus this author, out of gratitude to his benefactor, who first brought him into the eye and notice of the world; and, therefore, such a stroke of panegyric is excusable, especially in a funeral oration, as that may well be called whence this passage is cited (8). But to speak impartially, may it not, without breach of candor, be said, that in Mr Somers's conduct, in forbearing to set his name to the political pieces he wrote in the reign of King Charles the Second, there was at least a mixture of self-security with that of self denial. A prudent regard to his own interest cannot fairly be denied to have it's weight in this restraint, from appearing publickly against the Government; which was the side he took in these tracts. At the same time, I agree with Mr Walpole, that 'such deathless monuments of his 'parts and virtue as Lord Somers erected during the 'course of his life, diminish the regret we should 'otherwise feel; that though his Lordship wrote 'several pieces, we are ignorant even of the titles 'of many of them (9);' and how little any fame of this kind was his object may be inferred from hence, that 'tis not known he ever, upon any occasion, laid his claim to them, even after the Revolution, which was a compleat spunge of the motive of self-preservation. However, he did not always keep the same absolute reserve with regard to his other pieces; at least, if any credit may be given to the writer of his life, who gives us the following, as he calls it, pleasant story, concerning a small piece of poetry which his Lordship writ, and which was owned with great impudence by a man now [in 1716] living. 'This person being introduced to my Lord when he was Chancellor; his Lordship took occasion to ask him, whether he writ such a paper of verses? *Yes, my Lord*, replied he, *'tis a trifle; I did it off hand.* Upon which, his Lordship laughing pretty heartily, the pretended Poet withdrew in the utmost confusion, curfing the gentleman who had contrived to bring him to my Lord, to shew an instance of uncommon effrontery (10)'

(5) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, Vol. II. p. 153. edit. 1753, 8vo.

(6) A Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, &c. Vol. II. under the article of Lord Somers.

(7) In the before cited Freeholder.

(8) His Lordship died on the 26th of April, 1716; and this panegyric was published in the Freeholder for May 14th following.

(9) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, as before.

(10) Life of Lord Somers, p. 214.

[*E*] *History of the succession of the Crown of England.*] The whole title runs thus: *A brief History of the succession of the Crown of England, collected out of records; written for the satisfaction of the Earl of H.* *. In this curious piece he endeavours to prove the Parliament's power to settle the descent of the Crown, by the constitution of our kingdom. To which purpose he produces all the remarkable instances from the earliest ages to the reign of King James the First, wherein the succession by proximity of blood was broken and over-ruled by the States by of the Realm (11). He proceeds to declare, that it was as easy to shew, that in all other kingdoms the next in blood hath been frequently excluded from the succession. As an illustrious instance, *instar omnium*, (the reasoning in it being such as in his sentiments extends to all), he recites the speech, which the Ambassadors sent from the States of France, made to Charles of Lorrain, when they had solemnly rejected him, and placed Hugh Capet upon the Throne: notwithstanding Charles was the son of Lovis the Fourth, d'Outremer; and after the death of his nephew, Lovis the Fifth, Le Faincant, without issue, was next in blood to the Crown (12). 'They told him, that every body knew the right of succession to the Crown of France belonged to him, and not to Hugh Capet; but yet, say they, the very same laws which give you the right of succession, do judge you also unworthy of the same; for that you have not hitherto endeavoured to frame your manners according to the prescript of the laws, nor according to the usages of your country, but have rather allied yourself with the German nation, our enemies; and have loved their vile and base manners. Wherefore, as you have forsaken the ancient virtue and sweetness of your country; we have also forsaken and abandoned you, and have chosen Hugh Capet for our King (13), and put you back; and this without any scruple of conscience at all, esteeming it better and more just to live under him, enjoying our ancient laws, customs, privileges, and liberties, than under you, the heir by blood, in oppression, strange customs, and cruelty. For as those who are to make a voyage at sea don't much consider whether the pilot be owner of the ship, but whether he be skilful and wary. So our care is to have a prince to govern us gently and happily; (which is the end for which princes were appointed) and for these ends we judge this man fitter to be our king. Our author then proceeds to answer the objections, which he reduces to four. In speaking to the third, which is of those who maintain, that as William the Conqueror subdued the kingdom, the descent being settled by him becomes unalterable; he observes, 'That granting for argument sake, the absolute 'conquest by King William, yet that prince did 'not institute a succession by proximity of blood; 'and 'tis plain he never designed the Crown should 'so descend, but gave it to his second son; and 'thereby gave an example of *excluding and preter-'mitting the unworthy*. To the fourth objection, 'that the fundamental laws of the land, against 'which no Act of Parliament can be of force, had 'so established the succession, that the course of it 'cannot be altered; having first observed, that this 'argument is answered by the foregoing history, 'he turns it against the objectors, in asking them, 'by what authority those laws were made? If by 'the king alone, then no doubt but he may change 'them too; if by the people, they run before they 'are aware, into the guilt of worshipping that idol, 'the multitude; and make a great step towards 'placing the government upon contract and consent. 'He then challenges them to shew this law; and 'when the maxim, that *the descent of the Crown 'purges all defects whatsoever*, is alledged to be 'a part of this law, he remarks, that the first 'mention of that maxim is in the Year-Book of 'Henry

* In the original copy there were several additions, in Lord Somers's hand writing, from whence the editor ascribes it to his Lordship. Vid. Somers's Tracts, 4th Collection, Vol. II. p. 167.

(11) It must be owned, that this task was become less difficult by the conference about the succession, wrote by Parsons the Jesuit.

(12) Lovis IV. stiled d'Outremer, left two son, Lotharius and this Charles. Lotharius, the eldest, succeeded Lovis IV. and then Lotharius's son, Lovis V. le Faineant. It is remarkable, that Charles did not share the kingdom with his brother Lotharius, as had been the custom in France. See the Hist. of that kingdom.

(13) This seems to favour Lord Rochester's argument, in the conference about the word *abdicated*, where his Lordship alledged, that the placing the Prince of Orange upon the Throne would make the monarchy elective. See his article.

clude the Duke of York: the great political ſubject from the year 1678, 'till the diſſolution of the Parliament in 1681; which year he had a conſiderable ſhare in another piece, intituled, *A juſt and modeſt Vindication of the Proceedings of the two laſt Parliaments*; in anſwer to King Charles the Second's Declaration to all his loving Subjects, touching the cauſes and reaſons that moved him to diſſolve the two laſt Parliaments [*F*]. And

'Henry the Seventh, where the Judges declare, 'that the king is a perſon able and diſcharged from 'any attainder, *eo facto*, that he took upon himſelf 'the government, and to be king. He remarks 'ſhrewdly, that Henry the Seventh was then king, '*de facto*, and in poſſeſſion of the Throne; and it 'was ſomewhat of the lateſt to conſider, whether 'he was qualified or not. Certainly, ſays he, it 'would have been ſtrange ſelf denial in the Judges, 'and a neglect of themſelves, which is not uſual 'with them, to have alledged an incurable diſability 'in the king, from whom they had their patents 'and authority. That not above three years before 'this opinion of the Judges, in the firſt of Richard 'the Third, the whole Parliament did not only give 'their opinion, but aſſured Richard, that all learned 'men of that time held clearly, that an attainder 'did hinder the deſcent of the Crown, and incapacitate the attainted perſon to take it; and in the 'following words of the Act of the ſeventh year of 'Edward the Fourth, George Duke of Clarence 'was attainted of treaſon; by reaſon whereof all the 'iſſue of the ſaid George, was, and is, diſabled, and 'barred of all right and claim, that in any caſe he 'or his iſſue might have or challenge by inheritance 'to the crown and dignity royal of theſe realms. 'After that, continue they, we conſider, that you '[Richard] be the undoubted heir, &c.; and ſo 'they proceed, in affirming, that all learned 'men in the laws do approve his title (14).' He concludes his anſwer with obſerving, 'that either 'the Judges intended no ſuch thing by their opinion, 'or elſe at leaſt, that extra-judicial opinions were 'then as apocryphal as they have been ſince.' This fling at the Judges will perhaps be better underſtood, when we conſider the complaiſance paid by the Bench to the Crown at this time, when the Commons voted an impeachment againſt three of them (15), for drawing the proclamation againſt petitioning for a Parliament. 'But when, continues 'our author, I reflect what ſort of men I am arguing 'with, and how willingly they uſed to ſubmit to 'authority, I think I ſhall convince them beſt by 'citing the opinions of two great men, the one a 'Cardinal, the other a Lord-Chancellor, both of 'them martyrs for the Papal Supremacy! I mean 'Fiſher and Sir Thomas More. 'Tis well known 'how reſolutely, even to death, they refuſed the 'Oath of Succeſſion, which the Parliament had 'framed, becauſe therein the King's Supremacy was 'avowed; and, therefore, they cannot be ſuſpected 'to diſſemble, when, at the very ſame time, they 'declared, that if that of Supremacy was left out, 'they would willingly ſwear an oath to maintain the 'ſucceſſion of the Crown to the iſſue of the King's 'preſent marriage, as it was then eſtabliſhed by 'Parliament, for which they gave this reaſon, that 'this was in the power of a Parliament to determine, 'but not who was ſupreme head of the Church. 'Sir Thomas went farther, and owned a very ſtrange 'opinion of their power in this point, but he ſays 'it expreſsly at the ſame time, that the Parliament 'had unqueſtionable authority, in ordering of the 'ſucceſſion; and that the people were bound to 'obey them therein.' In anſwer to the objection, that an Act of Parliament to diſinherit the next heir, is unjuſt and without a ſufficient ground. Mr Somers writes thus: 'I will not at preſent enter 'into a diſpute, how far the difference of religion, 'which will alſo neceſſarily draw on a change in 'the government, does juſtify men in ſeeking to 'preſerve the two deareſt things on earth in an 'orderly and lawful way. I will not, though 'I ſafely might, challenge thoſe men to tell me, 'whether ever any ſettled nation, which had laws 'of their own, and were not under the immediate 'force of a conqueror, did ever admit of a king 'of another religion than their own (16). I will 'not inſiſt on it, that the Crown is an inheritance, 'accompanying an office of truſt, and that if a man's 'defects render him incapable of the truſt, he has 'alſo forfeited the inheritance. I need not ſay 'how far a nation is to be excuſed for exerciſing 'juſtice ſummarily and without the tedious formality 'of law, when the neceſſity of things requires haſte, 'and the party flies from juſtice, and his confederates 'are numerous and daring, and the prince's life 'in danger. But this I will ſay, that if the Parliament has power in this thing, which I need not 'prove by ſhewing, that the ordinary courſe of law 'allows heirs to be diſinherited by fines and recoveries; and that the Parliament in all ages has 'frequently done it, by making the ſtrongeſt ſettlements, where equity has dictated it, though the 'heirs were never in any wiſe criminal. Theſe, 'according to Sir Thomas More's opinion, the people, 'are bound in conſcience to obey; and muſt not 'pretend to enquire whether they were made upon 'juſt grounds. For by the ſame reaſon, they may 'pretend that all other laws were made without juſt 'cauſe, and refuſe obedience to any of them; 'and ſurely thoſe that ſhould do ſo, would be an 'excellent loyal party. God defend the nation from 'ſuch loyalty as oppoſes itſelf to the king and the 'laws; and God defend the king from the pretended duty and ſubmiſſion of thoſe men, who, 'whilſt they talk of his power, ſo much renounce 'it openly, and oppoſe what would be the greateſt 'ſecurity of his perſon, and in effect ſet up his 'ſucceſſor above him, even in his life time.'

(14) Cotton's Records, fol. 709.

(15) Theſe were, Lord Chief-Juſtice North, Sir William Jones, a Puiſné Judge of the King's-Bench, and Sir Richard Weſton, a Puiſné Baron of the Exchequer. *Gen. Hiſt. of England.*

(16) Theſe words refer to a practice of Parliament, proteſted againſt in the King's declaration for diſſolving it. Vide the ſubſequent remarks.

This piece was reprinted in 1714 (17), under the title of *A brief Hiſtory of the ſucceſſion of the Crown of England; wherein facts collected from the beſt authorities are oppoſed, to the novel aſſertion of indefeaſible hereditary right.* To which is ſubjoined the following preface. 'The great noiſe that has 'been of late revived about hereditary right, which 'the next of blood in the royal family has to the 'Crown of Great-Britain, makes me believe, that 'the reprinting of the following hiſtory at this time 'may be of ſervice, eſpecially to ſuch as have not 'opportunity or leiſure to peruſe our hiſtory at large. 'It was collected and firſt publiſhed in King Charles 'the Second's time, when the endeavour was made 'to ſet aſide the Popiſh heir; and afterwards reprinted at the time of the Revolution; to ſhew in 'a ſhort compaſs, what notion our anceſtors, as well 'princes as people in all times, had of this matter; 'by which I think it does ſufficiently appear, that 'even our Princes themſelves have all of them 'eſteemed that the beſt title that came by acts of 'ſettlement. And thoſe who received the Crown, 'have ſeldom thought themſelves rightly fixed until 'they had obtained ſome act of recognition.'

(17) By way of anſwer, as it ſhould ſeem, to a piece intituled, The Old Engliſh Conſtitution, in relation to the hereditary ſucceſſion of the Crown, antecedent to the Revolution in 1688, printed the ſame year, 1714.

[*F*] *He had a ſhare in the juſt and modeſt Vindication*, &c.] This piece was firſt written by Algernoon Sydney, but new drawn by Somers, and corrected by Jones *. In it, among other things, it is ſuggeſted, that diſſolving the Parliament was an arbitrary act, wherein the king had exceeded the power of his prerogative in breach of the conſtitution, diverſe ſtatutes having provided both for the holding of annual Parliaments, and that they ſhould not be prorogued or diſſolved 'till all the petitions and bills before them were anſwered and redreſſed. 'That 'Parliaments ſhould thus meet and thus ſit, continues 'he, is ſecured to us by the ſame ſacred tie, by 'which the King, at his Coronation, does oblige 'himſelf to let his Judges ſit to diſtribute juſtice 'every term, and to preſerve inviolably all other 'rights and liberties of the ſubjects.' The author afterwards remarks, 'that though, to the diſhonour 'of our country, it does appear that ſome Engliſh-men were concerned in the unhappy advice of 'breaking the two laſt Parliaments, and ſetting out 'this preſent defence of it; yet the Galliciſms, 'which are found in the paper, ſhew the writer to 'have been of another nation, or at leaſt to have 'had his thoughts ſo much taken up for the intereſts 'of France, (whilſt he was labouring this way to 'heighten

* Attorney General to King Charles. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times. Vol. I. fol. edit.

And the ſame year he was the reputed author of another, written in defence of the Grand Jury, for not finding the bill of indictment for High-Treaſon againſt the Earl of Shafteſbury (*g*). In the ſame ſpirit he appeared Counſel for Pilkington and Shute, Sheriffs of London, Corniſh and Bethel, Aldermen, together with Ford, Lord Grey of Werk, Sir Thomas Player, Mr John Jekyl, father of Sir Joſeph Jekyl (*b*), and ſeveral others, who were tried on the 8th of May, 1683, for a riot in the city at the election of the Sheriffs the precedent year [*G*]. As he foreſaw a change in the government eſtabliſhed by Law would unavoidably follow a change in the religion of the governor (*i*), and upon that account had promoted every orderly and legal way of compaſſing the excluſion of the Duke of York; ſo he continued to oppoſe all the illegal and arbitrary proceedings of King James the Second: and being employed as Counſel in the tryal of the ſeven Biſhops in 1688, he argued with great firmneſs of ſpeech, and perſpicuity of reaſon, againſt the diſpenſing power uſurped by that unfortunate Prince [*H*]. With theſe principles, and ſuch abilities, it is no wonder that he was admitted into the moſt ſecret counſels of the Prince of Orange, and was one of thoſe who concerted the meaſures for bringing him over (*k*). After his arrival in England, he was choſen repreſentative for his native city of Worceſter, in the Convention which met upon the ſummons of that Prince, January 22, 1688-9 (*l*); and, in the conference between the two Houſes about the word *abdicated*, he was appointed one of the managers for the Houſe of Commons [*I*], whereby the Lords were induced

(*g*) It was publiſhed in 1681, 4to. Baldwin's Catalogue of Pamphlets, in the Reign of King Charles II. See Lord Shafteſbury's article, Vol. II. p. 1468.

(*b*) Who afterwards became his brother-in-law. They were intimately acquainted when young ſtudents in the Temple. Life, p. 10.

(*i*) See his Hiſtory of the Succeſſion of the Crown, &c. towards the end.

(*k*) Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's General Hiſtory of England, Vol. I.

(*l*) His Life, p. 17.

'heighten and perpetuate the differences between 'the King and his people) that he could not expreſs 'himſelf in any other idiom than theirs; he would 'not otherwiſe have introduced the King, ſaying, 'that *it was a matter extremely ſenſible to us*; a 'form of ſpeech peculiar to the French, and un-'known to any other nation. The reader, who 'underſtands that language, will obſerve ſo many 'more of this kind, as will give him juſt cauſe to 'doubt, whether the whole paper was not a tranſ-'lation, and whether the Engliſh one, or that 'which was publiſhed in French, was the original. 'Let us then no longer wonder, that the time of 'diſſolving our Parliaments is known at Paris ſooner 'that at London, ſince it is probable the reaſons 'now given for it were formed there too. The Peers 'at Oxford were ſo totally ignorant of the counſel, 'that they never once thought of a diſſolution, 'till 'they heard it pronounced; but the Ducheſs of 'Mazarine had better intelligence, and publiſhed the 'news at St James's many hours before it was done. 'This declaration was not communicated to the 'Privy-Council 'till Friday the eighth of April, 'when his Majeſty, according to his late method, 'did graciouſly declare to them his pleaſure to ſet 'it forth, without deſiring from them any advice 'in the matter. But Monſieur Barillon, the French 'Ambaſſador, did not only read it to a gentleman 'the fifth of April, but adviſed with him about it, 'and demanded his opinion of it, which his 'Excellency will the better remember, becauſe of 'the great liberty which the perſon took in ridiculing 'it to his face (18).'

(18) Ibid.

Some of the reaſons given for this diſſolution were their intire neglect of the public, and falling into factions; their iſſuing arbitrary orders for taking his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects into cuſtody for matters that had no relation to privilege of Parliament; their declaring many eminent perſons enemies to the King and kingdom without any order or proceſs of Law, any hearing of their defence, or any proof ſo much as offered; their reſolves againſt any perſons that lend his Majeſty money, or buy any tally of anticipation, thereby endeavouring to reduce him to a more helpleſs condition than the meaneſt of his ſubjects; their taking upon them to ſuſpend the laws and acts of Parliament, by voting againſt the proſecution of Diſſenters (19).

(19) This declaration was ordered to be read in all churches and chapels throughout the kingdom. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under this year.

[*G*] *He was Counſel for Pilkington*, &c.] The two Sheriffs had continued the poll for new Sheriffs after the Common-Hall was adjourned by the Lord-Mayor, for which they were committed to the Tower, June 26, 1682, but were admitted to bail on the 30th of that month. And being brought with the reſt to their trial abovementioned, they were all convicted and fined. Pilkington, 500 l.; Shute, 1000 marks; the Lord Grey, Bethel, and Corniſh, 1000 marks each, and the reſt in leſſer ſums (20). Their Counſel were Mr Holt, Mr Thompſon, Mr Williams, Sir Francis Winnington, Mr Wallop, Mr Freke, and Mr Somers (21).

(20) Gen. Hiſt. of England.

(21) Life of Lord Somers, p. 15.

[*H*] *He was Counſel for the Biſhops, and ſpoke admirably well againſt the diſpenſing power.*] Being the youngeſt Counſel employed on that ſide, his turn was to ſpeak laſt of all. But this, which is ordinarily a great diſadvantage (eſpecially where ſome of the moſt eminent Lawyers are retained, as in the preſent caſe) (22), our young Barriſter by the force of his excellent parts, converted it into an occaſion of diſplaying his ſuperior merit. Among other things, he produced the caſe of *Thomas and Sorrel* in the Exchequer-Chamber, upon the validity of the diſpenſation of the ſtatute of Edward the Sixth, touching ſelling of wine, arguing, 'that there it 'was the opinion of every one of the Judges, that 'there never could be an abrogation or a ſuſpenſion '(which is a temporary abrogation) of an Act of 'Parliament but by the Legiſlative power: That 'indeed it was diſputed, how far the King might 'diſpenſe with the penalties in ſuch a particular 'law, as to particular perſons; but it was agreed 'by all, that the King had no power to ſuſpend any 'law; of which there could be no diſpenſation, but 'by an Act of Parliament. That by the laws of 'all civilized nations, if the Prince does require 'ſomething to be done, which the perſon who is to 'do it takes to be unlawful, it is not only lawful 'but his duty, *reſcribere Principi*; which is all the 'Biſhops had done here, and that in the moſt humble 'manner. That the matter of fact, alledged in the 'Biſhops petition, had been proved perfectly true, 'by the journals of both Houſes; that there could 'be no deſign to diminiſh the prerogative by it, 'becauſe the King has no ſuch prerogative: that the 'petition could not be *ſeditious*, becauſe it was pre-'ſented to the King in private, and alone; nor *falſe*, 'becauſe the matter of it was true; nor *malicious*, for 'the occaſion was not ſought, the thing was preſſed 'upon them; nor in ſhort a *libel*, becauſe the intent 'was innocent, and they kept within the bounds ſet 'by Act of Parliament, that *gives the ſubject leave* 'to apply to the King when he is aggrieved.'

(22) The other Counſel were Sir Francis Pemberton, Sir Robert Sawyer, Heneage Finch, Eſq; Serjeant Levinz, &c. See the tryal, in the State Tryals.

The writer of his life obſerves (23), that what Mr Somers urged in this ſhort, but very juſt argument, made more than ordinary impreſſion on the jury, and was more taken notice of than the argument of the elder lawyers, who pleaded the Biſhop's cauſe before him. It has been often ſaid that this cauſe was the firſt event that produced him into the world (24). But the ſame writer aſſures us, not without great appearance of truth, that from the time of his being engaged for the Sheriffs Pilkington and Shute, &c. his practice increaſed daily: and continues he, 'tis ſaid, he got 700 l. per annum by it in King James the Second's reign.' If this was an extraordinary gain at that time, it muſt be allowed that the times are much altered ſince in favour of the lawyers. The ſame writer having obſerved afterwards, that Mr Somers inherited a good eſtate after the death of his father, declares, 'that he was looked upon as one of the moſt riſing Counſel in England, before he appeared at the trial of the Biſhops (25).'

(23) P.

(24) Swift's Hiſtory of the four laſt years of Queen Anne, p. 10. edit. 1758, 8vo.

(25) P. 15.

[*I*] *One of the managers for the Houſe of Commons*, &c.] The ſpeech he made on this occaſion is too well known,

induced to agree to make uſe of that term againſt their own amendment. In the beginning of May, 1685, he was made Sollicitor General (*m*) [*K*], and knighted. While he held this poſt, came on the tryals of the Lord Preſton, Mr Aſhton, and Mr Elliot, for high-treaſon; and in that of the Lord Preſton, the Sollicitor made a very diſtinguiſhed figure [*L*]. And when the legality of the act, in the Convention for recognizing their Majeſties, was called in queſtion by one of the Members of the Houſe of Commons, as not being ſummoned by writ, he ſpoke with remarkable ſpirit in defence of it [*M*]. On the ſecond of May, 1692, he was made Attorney General (*n*), and was advanced thence to the poſt of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, on the twenty-third of March enſuing *. He had now an opportunity of diſplaying all thoſe extraordinary improvements in learning and knowledge, which he was eminently poſſeſſed of, in the buſineſs of his profeſſion; yet the temper which he invariably preſerved upon all occaſions, whilſt he ſat on this Bench, rendered him more particularly conſpicuous. He was fair and gentle almoſt to a fault, conſidering the dignity of his poſt, and had all the patience and ſoftneſs, as well as the juſtice and equity, becoming a great magiſtrate. However, it was not the ability and unblemiſhed integrity of the Judge, that recommended him to that confidence, which King William expreſſed for him on all occaſions: it was the uncommon reach of his

(*m*) In the room of George Treby, made Attorney-General in the room of Pollexfen, advanced to be Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 960.

(*n*) Again in the room of Treby, who, upon the death of Pollexfen, ſucceeded him as Lord Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas. Ibid. col. 961.

* Salmon's Chron Hiſt. under that year.

known, and has been ſo often printed, that it would be abuſing the readers patience to inſert it here at length, notwithſtanding it is acknowledged to be one of thoſe deathleſs monuments of the important ſervices done by his Lordſhip to his country. It is ſufficient to give the purport of it as follows:

The Lords had changed the word *abdicated* for *deſerted* for theſe two reaſons, firſt, becauſe abdicated was a word not known to the Common Law, and ſecondly, becauſe the common acceptation of the word, amounts to a voluntary expreſs act of renunciation, which was not in this caſe, nor what would follow from the premiſes. To this firſt objection our manager replies, that their firſt reaſon had the ſame force againſt their own word deſerted, which had no determined ſenſe given to it in the Common Law. That they were both Latin words, and that the word *abdicate* doth naturally and properly ſignify, entirely to renounce, throw off, diſown, relinquiſh any thing or perſon, ſo as to have no further to do with it, and that, whether it be done by expreſs words or in writing, (which was the ſenſe put upon it by their Lordſhips, and is properly called reſignation or ceſſion) or by doing ſuch acts as are inconſiſtent with holding or retaining of the thing, which the Commons take to be the preſent caſe, and therefore made choice of the word, as that which did above all others moſt properly expreſs their meaning. This he proceeds to ſhew was the bare ſignification of the word from the authorities cited in the margin (26). He further obſerves, that Grotius ſeems to expound the word to mean, that he who hath abdicated any thing hath ſo far relinquiſhed it, that he hath no right of return to it, which is the ſenſe the Commons put upon it. On the other hand, the word deſerted in the common acceptance, both of Civil and Cannon Law, ſignifies only a bare withdrawing, a temporary quitting and neglect only, which leaveth the party at liberty of returning to it again (27), which as the Commons do not take to be the preſent caſe, ſo neither can they think that their Lordſhips do, becauſe it is expreſsly ſaid in one of their reaſons given in defence of the laſt amendment, that they had and were willing to ſecure the nation againſt the return of King James. He was anſwered among others by the Earl of Nottingham, who acknowledged that he had fully made out the ſignification of the word *abdicate* in the Civil Law; but inſiſting upon it that it was a word not known to the Common Law, our manager in his reply evaded that argument, by obſerving, that the ſame objection however did not lie againſt the word *vacant*, which had been applied in a parallel caſe, in 1 Henry IV. upon record the words which he produced.

(26) Grot. de Jure Belli & Pacis, L. ii. c 4. §. 29. Calvin's Lexicon. Jurid. Briſſonius de Verbor. Significatione. N. B. Sam. Johnſon cites a paſſage from Tully's third Philippic, where the word is uſed in the ſame ſenſe. Johnſon's Works, p. 274. edit. 1710, fol.

(27) For this he quotes Spigelius's Lexicon, and Barrolus, upon Law 8. tit. 58. cod. lib. xi. as alſo cod. lib. xii. and Calvin's Lexicon. verb. deſert fecundum Canones.

[*K*] *He was made Sollicitor-General.*] While he was in this poſt 'tis ſaid he had ſome thoughts of marrying, and made his addreſſes to a young lady, Mrs Anne Bawdon, daughter of Sir John Bawdon, an Alderman of London. That he went ſo far in it as to deliver in a rental of his eſtate towards making a ſettlement, and had ſeveral meetings with the young lady's friends to treat of it; but the treaty broke off on account of a difference about the marriage portion and ſettlement, to the great regret of the lady, when ſhe found him made Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal in two years time (28).

(28) Life, p. 25.

[*L*] *He made a diſtinguiſhed figure at Lord Preſton's tryal.*] The tryal was held January 17, before Lord Chief Juſtice Holt, at the Old-Bailey. All our Sollicitor's ſpeeches on this occaſion are well worth the peruſal of ſuch readers as have any curioſity of this kind (29). But as they are too long to be inſerted here, we ſhall only give the following ſpecimen from that ſpoken at the opening of the charge. In which having informed that jury, that the general deſign of the conſpiracy was to depoſe the King and Queen, which was to be effected by a French army and a French fleet, he proceeds in theſe terms. 'It will be eaſily granted, that nothing more dreadful can enter into the imagination of an Engliſhman, than the deſtruction of our fleet, and the conqueſt of the kingdom by the arms of France But yet it will be part of the evidence that we ſhall offer to you, that the priſoners and others of the conſpirators ſeem to be of another mind; for among the papers which were taken with the priſoners, you will ſee one which is ſtiled, *The reſult of a conference*, wherein they pretend to ſhew the poſſibility of reſtoring King James by the power of the French King, and yet to preſerve the Proteſtant religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom. They themſelves went no farther than to think it poſſible, and I believe it will be hard, to perſuade any other Engliſhman that it is poſſible; unleſs ſome one inſtance could be given that the French King ever employed his arms for ſetting up any body but himſelf, his own religion, and his own government. I never heard, that he did pretend to form any part of his glories upon the virtue of moderation or ſelf-denial: and there can hardly be imagined a greater inſtance of ſelf-denial, than for the French King, after he had deſtroyed the Dutch and Engliſh fleets, and ſubdued our forces at land, not to make uſe of his ſucceſs, ſo as to add theſe three kingdoms to his conqueſts, and poſſeſs himſelf of the uncontеſted dominion of the ſea for ever, but only to intitle him, at ſo great a hazard and expence, to become a mediator between King James and the people of England, and by his mediation to eſtabliſh the Proteſtant religion, and the liberties of the people. And yet as abſurd as this ſeems, you will find this to be the reſult of one of their conferences, &c.'

(29) The tryal is inſerted among the State Tryals, and the Sollicitor's ſpeeches, both at the entrance and the opening, are printed in the Memoirs of his Life, p. 26 to p. 38.

[*M*] *He ſpoke in defence of the legality of the Convention*] Biſhop Burnet, who furniſhes this particular, gives us the ſubſtance of his ſpeech, and tells us, he ſaid, if that was not a legal parliament, they who were then met, and had taken the oaths enacted by that parliament, were guilty of high treaſon; the laws repealed by it were ſtill in force; ſo they muſt preſently return to King James: all the money ſeized, collected, and paid, by virtue of that act of parliament, made every one that was concerned in it highly criminal. This, continues the Biſhop, he ſpoke with much zeal, and ſuch an aſcendant of authority, that none were prepared to anſwer it. So the bill paſſed without any more oppoſition. The Right Reverend hiſtorian concludes with a remark, that this was a great ſervice done in a very critical time, and contributed not a little to raiſe Somers's character (30).

(30) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. III. p. 57. edit. 1753, 8vo.

[*N*] *Several*

his capacity for all affairs of publick concern, that made that prince conſider him above all his miniſters (*o*); and ſeveral perſons of real worth felt the happy effects of the ſhare he had in the royal favour [*N*]. After the death of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, in 1694, Sir John Somers,

(o) Burnet, Vol. II. p. 108. fol. edit.

[*N*] *Several perſons felt the effect of this favour.*] When he did not think it proper to countenance ſome perſons, whoſe learning he admired, though he did not like their characters, he was very bountiful to them at the ſame time, that he gave them to underſtand, he could excuſe their viſits. For inſtance, he gave a certain perſon 100 l. and directed one, whom he entruſted with that commiſſion, to let him know, it was on condition he ſhould give no more attendance upon him: the perſon, though a Clergyman, having no good reputation for his morals. This particular comes from the writer of his Memoirs (31), who having obſerved that his Lordſhip did not confine his protection of men of letters to his countrymen only, but that foreigners alſo ſhared of his favour and bounty, and Mr Le Clerc in particular, goes on to Mr Bayle, as follows. 'About the time that Mr Bayle's *Hiſtorical* '*and Critical Dictionary* was much talked of as a work 'which was ready to be publiſhed, my Lord Somers 'had ſuch a character of it, that he was deſirous to 'do ſomething for the author. Accordingly he wrote 'to a friend in Holland, intimating, that if Mr Bayle 'accepted of his patronage for his dictionary, he had 'one hundred and fifty guineas at his ſervice. Mr 'Bayle, continues this writer, had been ſuſpected of 'caballing with perſons in the French Intereſt, and it 'was ſo far proved upon him, that King William or-'dered him to be removed from his Profeſſor's place 'by the magiſtracy of Rotterdam. This highly diſ-'guſted that gentleman, and on many occaſions he ex-'preſſed his reſentment againſt King William, but in 'none more than this. For when a friend of his com-'municated to him my Lord's generous diſpoſition 'towards him, and repreſented how much it would 'be for his honour and advantage, Mr Bayle anſwered, '*It was true; but he could not, bring himſelf to pay* '*that compliment to a Lord, who was Miniſter to a* '*Prince, of whom he had reaſon to complain. That* '*King William*, concludes this writer, *had reaſon to* '*complain of him, we may very well imagine, when* '*he was ſo well with the French Court, that Count* '*Guiſcard offered him* 1000 *crowns a year, and the* '*liberty of his religion, if he would return to France,* '*and be tutor to his ſons, the King having given him* '*permiſſion to do it* (32).' Mr Walpole calls this life of Lord Somers a poor performance (33), and the notorious weakneſs of this laſt remark is one egregious proof of the juſtice of his cenſure. However, the truth of that part of the paſſage here cited, which preceeds this remark, is countenanced by the hiſtory of Mr Bayle's life. In which we have a letter of that author to Mr Naudis, his couſin, upon the ſubject of his removal from his Profeſſorſhip, wherein he expreſſes his reſentment of it in theſe terms. 'You muſt know, 'ſays he, that the 30th of October laſt (34) I was de-'prived of my yearly penſion of 500 gilders, and of 'the leave I had of reading public and private lectures. 'This was done by the Council of this city, which is 'compoſed of twenty-four perſons, and is called in 'Dutch *Vroedſchap*. The Burgomaſters, who are 'four in number, choſen out of that council, notified 'this reſolution to me [on the ſecond of November] 'without acquainting me why they now deprived me 'of what they had granted me in 1681. I have been 'told that ſeveral members of the Council vigorouſly 'oppoſed this injuſtice, but the majority carried it. 'Let us diſtinguiſh the cauſe of this proceeding from 'the pretence of it. The pretence, with which they 'diſguiſe this conduct in private converſation, and 'which was even alledged by ſome the day in which 'this reſolution was taken, is, that the book which 'I publiſhed in 1682 concerning comets, contains 'dangerous propoſitions, and ſuch as a Chriſtian ma-'giſtrate ought not to ſuffer young perſons to be in-'fected with. The better to colour this pretence, the 'authors of this conſpiracy againſt me have obtained, 'by a long ſeries of intrigues, that ſome Dutch Mini-'ſters, obſtinate men, great enemies of foreigners, 'and of the new [i. e. Des Cartes] philoſophy, paſſio-'nate and ſeditious men, ſhould examine the book 'concerning comets, and report, that it contains 'a dangerous doctrine. All this has been done with 'great ſecrecy, without giving me the leaſt notice of 'it; without any regard to the declarations, which I 'have an hundred times made to the magiſtrates and 'miniſters, &c. either publicly or in converſation, 'that I was ready to ſhew, that my book concerning 'the comets, contained nothing, which was repugnant 'either to right reaſon, or the confeſſions of faith of the 'Proteſtant churches. An infinite number of honeſt 'men here are filled with indignation at ſuch a conduct, 'which is not practiſed even in the church of Rome. 'If an author be accuſed there of hereſy, he is heard in 'own defence, and permitted either to explain his 'words, or retract his errors. This, my dear couſin, 'ought to leſſen your ſorrow for continuing to live in 'France. You will be a much better Proteſtant, if 'you ſee our religion only where it is perſecuted: you 'would be ſcandalized, if you was to ſee it where it 'is eſtabliſhed by Law. But let us come to the real 'cauſe of my misfortune. You muſt know, that un-'der a republican government, every city and every 'town is uſually divided into two or more factions. 'In Holland there are every where two parties, the 'one weak and of little credit, but compoſed of men of 'merit; the other powerful, which proudly abuſes it's 'ſuperiority and power. When I came here, I had 'my patrons and benefactors among the weak party, 'which was not then ſo weak as it is now. I have 'always cultivated their friendſhip, and could never 'follow the maxims of the courtiers. I never endea-'voured to inſinuate myſelf into the favour of the 'other party, which is daily gaining the aſcendant. 'This I thought would be baſe and mercenary; ſo 'that when, above a year ago, ſeveral of our magi-'ſtrates were depoſed, and others of the reigning party 'choſen in their ſtead, the ballance could no longer 'be even; and the new comers have deprived me of 'my place, in order to ſhew what they could do 'againſt thoſe, who do not ſtoop before them, and 'dare to keep a correſpondence with their ancient 'friends; and as the pretence was my teaching the 'youth dangerous doctrines, they were obliged to 'forbid me to teach privately, as well as publickly. 'Thus the two ſprings of my maintenance are ſhut 'up. I never had one penny of my father's eſtate; 'I never was inclined to hoard up money; nay, 'I never was in a condition to do it. I depended 'upon my penſion, which I thought was to continue 'all my life-time, but I find now that there is nothing 'laſting in this world. You may eaſily gueſs that 'I have ſtrong reaſons to be uneaſy with regard to the 'time to come, being in a country where living is 'expenſive. But, thank God, I have not yet felt 'any uneaſineſs, and am perfectly reſigned to the will 'of heaven, &c.'

M. Des Maizeaux remarks upon this letter, 'that Mr Bayle was not well acquainted with the real cauſe of his misfortune. It was a ſecret which the magiſtrates did not think fit to let him know: but it was owing to the ſituation of public affairs at that time. The King of France deſiring to put an end to the war, of which he could hardly bear the expence any longer, employed Mr Amelot his Ambaſſador in Switzerland, to make propoſals to ſome perſons of credit in Holland. He promiſed to yield a ſtrong barrier to the Dutch to cover their country, to grant them a full liberty for their trade, and all other advantages they could deſire. Mr Halewin, a Burgomaſter of Dort, being charmed with thoſe promiſes, entered into a negotiation with Mr Amelot, without the knowledge of the States. King William, being informed of it, cauſed Mr Halewin to be arreſted, and being found guilty he was condemned to perpetual impriſonment, and all his eſtates forfeited. As ſoon as this gentleman was arreſted, Mr Jurieu (35) conceived great hopes, that the whole Geneva cabal would now have been diſcovered; and that Mr Minutoli, Goudet, Baſnage, de Bauval, and Bayle, would be accuſed by Mr Halewin: he boaſted already that he was the firſt who diſcovered the dangerous plot, which was carrying on in Switzerland. But all his hopes ſoon vaniſhed, and it appeared that none of theſe gentlemen were in the leaſt concerned either with Mr Halewin or Mr Amelot. Yet, though

(31) P. 116.

(32) P. 48.

(33) A Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, as before. Yet this honourable author has not ſcrupled to cite his authority for ſome facts, which has encouraged us to do the ſame, though not without uſing a diſcretion in the choice.

(34) This letter is dated December 28, 1693.

(35) Who was Bayle's mortal enemy.

Somers, who had held the ſtricteſt friendſhip with him for many years, made uſe of his intereſt to procure an additional annuity for his widow from the King (*p*); and a few years afterwards, he obtained a handſome allowance, to enable Mr Addiſon to compleat his education, by making the tour of Italy (*q*). From 1695, the firſt year after the death of Queen Mary, he was conſtituted one of the Lords-Juſtices of the kingdom, during his Majeſty's abſence abroad, every year as long as he held the Great Seal. This honour was, indeed, nothing more than an appendage to his place [*O*]. In the mean time, the title of it was raiſed into that of Lord High-Chancellor of England, on the 22d of April, 1697, when he was alſo called to the Peerage, by the title of Lord Somers, Baron of Eveſham in the county of Worceſter (*r*). For the ſupport of theſe honours and dignities, his eſtate not being ſufficient, his Majeſty made him a grant of the manors of Reygate and Howlegh in Surrey [*P*], and another grant of two thouſand one hundred pounds per annum, out of the fee-farm rents (*s*). He was now at the head of the Whigs, and it was reckoned, that the chief ſtrength of that party lay in his credit with the King [*Q*], and the

(*p*) Life of Tillotſon, by Birch, p. 346. edit. 1753, 8vo.

(*q*) See his article in this work, Vol. I. To which we ſhall add, that Lord Somers took him into his protection and favour, when he came firſt to town, and recommended him to Lord Halifax. Memoirs of Lord Somers, p. 110.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 41, and Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under that year.

(*s*) See his anſwer to the 8th article of his impeachment.

though Mr Bayle was innocent, he ſuffered by theſe ſecret negotiations; they were the true cauſe of his misfortune. The ſecret practices of France put King William in mind of the project of peace; about which Mr Jurieu had made ſo much noiſe; and as the peace of Nimeguen had been procured by ſuch pamphlets diſperſed at Amſterdam and other places, the king thought the ſame practices were now revived at Rotterdam. This great prince, who had not leiſure enough to examine that project, was alarmed by the notion of a peace negotiated in the manner juſt mentioned, and thought there really was, as Mr Jurieu pretended, a party endeavouring to procure it, of which Mr Bayle was at the head; whereupon he ordered the magiſtrates of Rotterdam to diſmiſs him from his profeſſorſhip and his penſion. The magiſtrates obeyed the command, but concealed the cauſe of his deprivation from Mr Bayle (36).' By the by it is obſervable, that this politic conduct of the magiſtrates proved a touch-ſtone of Mr Bayle's ſpirit and temper.

(36) Vie de M. Bayle, par M. Des Maizeaux, p. lxi, lxii. prefixed to the Paris edition of Bayle's Dictionary.

[*O*] *Was nothing more than an appendage of his place.*] The ſame may be ſaid of his being appointed one of the governors of the Charter-Houſe upon the firſt vacancy (37), and one of the truſtees or commiſſioners of Greenwich-Hoſpital (38). But the year proved unlucky to him in another reſpect. It was this year that the Earl of Bellamont informed him of the great ſpoil committed by ſome pirates in the Weſt-Indies, and repreſented the abſolute neceſſity of redreſſing them. The Lord-Keeper communicated it to the King, who commanded the Lords of the Admiralty, to examine the affair and provide a ſhip for that ſervice. But that board declaring, there was not one to be ſpared from the occaſions of the war; rather than ſuch a neceſſary ſervice ſhould be loſt, the Lord-Keeper conſented to be at part of the charge of fitting out a ſhip called the Adventure Gally, on purpoſe of which Captain Kidd was made commander, who turned pirate himſelf. This public-ſpirited act was afterwards made an article in his Lordſhip's impeachment by the Houſe of Commons (39).

(37) Life, p. 77, 78.

(38) Ibid. p. 41.

(39) 'Tis the 13th article of his impeachment.

[*P*] *He obtained a grant of the manors of Ryegate and Howlegh, &c.*] Theſe manors formerly belonged to the Lord Munſon, who forfeited them for his ſiding with Cromwell, and being concerned in the death of King Charles the Firſt. After the Reſtoration they were given to the Duke of York, and he having forfeited them by his *Abdication*, they merged in the Crown. The yearly value of both was not above 600*l. per annum*. The grant was made to Joſeph Jekyll, Eſq; in truſt for his Lordſhip, who by this means came to have great influence in the election of Members of Parliament for that borough; which before this was intirely under the direction of Sir John Parſons a [wealthy] Brewer in London. Thus the writer of his life (40), and ſo far may paſs without cenſure; but when he proceeds to tell us, that in carrying theſe elections his Lordſhip met with great oppoſition from the neighbouring gentry, inſomuch that ſeveral of his friends in London became freeholders in this manor, as Mr Congreve, Mr Tonſon, and others, to ſtrengthen that intereſt; it muſt occur to every reader, that this buſy management, which is related in the view of doing honour to his Lordſhip, is really one of thoſe few blemiſhes that appear in his character. But who can help ſmiling at this writer's weakneſs, when he finds him afterwards, by way of defence of his Lordſhip againſt that part of his impeachment by the Houſe of Commons, which relates to the grant of Ryegate, obſerving, 'that this 'manor was cried up to be of great value, whereas, 'indeed, it is not 500l. a year. What the party 'diſliked moſt in it, was the influence it gave the 'proprietor, in elections for Members of Parliament; 'in which, however, my Lord Somers did never 'carry above one Member, except in one election, 'when Mr Thurland and Mr Harvey (41) turned out 'Sir John Parſons and his ſon; but Thurland, for-'getting by whoſe favour he was choſen, fell in with 'the oppoſite party; and ever after that, my Lord 'Somers compounded the matter with Sir John 'Parſons, who was conſtantly choſen with a friend 'of his Lordſhip's. It is ſaid, continues he, that 'this agreement was made when Sir John Parſons 'gave his vote for Sir Thomas Abney to be Lord-'Mayor, in oppoſition to Sir Charles Duncombe, and 'that it was my Lord Somers, who engaged Sir John 'to vote for Sir Thomas, which vote carried the 'election.'

(40) Life, p. 42.

(41) Stephen Harvey, Eſq; whoſe tranſlations of the Paſſion of Bybis and a Satire of Juvenal, were inſerted in Tonſon's Collection of Poems.

[*Q*] *His credit with the King.*] We have a remarkable inſtance of this credit and confidence of the King related by Burnet, who, in his account of Charnock, one of the chief conſpirators in the Aſſaſſination-Plot, in 1695, tells us, 'that endeavours were uſed to perſuade him to confeſs all he knew, for he had been in all their plots from the beginning. His brother was employed to deal with him, and he ſeemed to be once in a ſuſpence; but the next time that his brother came to him, he told him, he could not ſave his own life without doing that which would take away the lives of ſo many; that he did not think his own life worth it. This ſhewed a greatneſs of mind, and had been very valuable, if it had been better directed. Thus, continues the Biſhop, this matter was underſtood at the time. But many years after this, the Lord Somers gave me a different account of it. Charnock, as he told me, ſent an offer to the King of a full diſcovery of all their conſultations and deſigns, and deſired no pardon, but that he might live in ſome eaſy priſon, and if he was found to prevaricate in any part of his diſcovery, he would look for the execution of the ſentence. But the King apprehended that ſo many perſons would be found concerned, and thereby be rendered deſperate, that he was afraid to have ſuch a ſcene opened, and would not accept of this offer' (42). We have another inſtance of his credit with the King, related by the ſame hiſtorian, as follows: 'His Lordſhip, [in 1695] propoſed that which would 'have put an effectual ſtop to clipping for the future. 'It was, that a proclamation ſhould be prepared with 'ſuch ſecrecy, as to be publiſhed over all England on 'the ſame day, ordering money to paſs only by weight, 'but, that at the ſame time, during three or four days 'after the proclamation, all perſons in every county, 'that had money ſhould bring it in to be told and 'weighed; and the difference was to be regiſtered, 'and the money, to be ſealed up to the end of the 'time given, and then to be reſtored to the owners; 'and aſſurance was to be given, that this deficiency 'in weight ſhould be laid before the Parliament, to 'be ſupplied another way, and to be allowed them in 'the following taxes. *But though the King liked this 'propoſition*; yet all the reſt of the Council were 'againſt it. They ſaid, this would ſtop the circula-'tion of money, and might occaſion tumults in the 'markets: that, thoſe whoſe money was thus to be 'weighed, would not believe the difference between 'the tale and the weight would be allowed them, 'and

(42) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. III. p. 235, 236, 8vo. edition.

the prudent methods he took to govern the party, and to moderate that heat and thoſe jealouſies, with which his Majeſty had been ſo long diſguſted in the firſt years of his reign (*t*). However, his conduct did not eſcape the cenſure of ſome of his own party, for being too compliant with his royal maſter's humour and notions, or at leaſt of being too ſoft or too feeble in repreſenting his errors to him (*u*). Upon the diſcovery of the Aſſaſſination plot in 1695, ſuch an alteration was made by him in the commiſſion of the Peace, as gave great diſguſt to many people [*R*]; and, not long after the concluſion of the treaty of Ryſwick, his influence in Parliament began viſibly to decline, his Majeſty being not only obliged by the new Parliament, which met in December 1698, to reduce his army to a very low ſtate both in England and Ireland, but alſo to ſend home his Dutch guards, notwithſtanding the great reluctance he expreſſed on that occaſion (*w*). The King, before his departure for Holland the preceding ſummer, communicated to the Lord Chancellor a propoſition made by Count Tallard, to prevent a war about the ſucceſſion of Spain, upon the death of the then feeble monarch of that kingdom; and the Chancellor received, in Auguſt following, a letter from his Majeſty, then in Holland, informing him, that freſh offers had been made to the ſame purpoſe, and requiring him privately to diſpatch full powers, under the Great Seal, with the names in blank, to empower his Majeſty to treat with the aforementioned Count. The order was punctually complied with, and the negotiations being immediately entered upon, a treaty was concluded. This was the firſt Partition treaty; and in the next ſeſſion of Parliament, which began November 16, 1699, great complaints were made in the Houſe of Commons againſt the Chancellor: and the Houſe having reſolved, on the ſixth of December, to puſh the reſumption of the grants of the Iriſh forfeited eſtates, by tacking it to the land-tax bill; an addreſs was concerted, April 10, 1700, praying, *that* John Lord Somers, Lord Chancellor of England, *ſhould be removed for ever from his Majeſty's preſence and council* (*x*), which was then paſſed in the negative (*y*). The Parliament being prorogued the next day, his Majeſty, on the 19th, retired to Hampton-Court, where, in a few days, ſending for the Lord Chancellor, he wiſhed him to ſurrender the Seals voluntarily; which being declined by his Lordſhip [*S*], the King ſent to demand them, and they were accordingly delivered up at the cloſe of that month. This ſtep was the occaſion of his Majeſty's loſing many of his friends, eſpecially of the Whig party; but though his removal diſpleaſed numbers, yet it ſeemed not to affect his Lordſhip, who retired with content and temper, and upon all occaſions in Parliament ſerved the King, as if he had not loſt his place (*z*). On the 14th of April, 1701, the Houſe of Commons having firſt, at his own requeſt, admitted him to ſpeak before them in his own defence, ſent up an impeachment of high crimes and miſdemeanors againſt him to the Lords; and, in conſequence

(*t*) Burnet, p. 218. fol. edit.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 242.

(*w*) One of theſe was his meſſage to the Commons, written with his own hand, in which he aſſured the Houſe, that he intended to ſend the Dutch guards away, unleſs, out of conſideration to him, the Houſe be diſpoſed to find a way for continuing them longer in his ſervice, which his Majeſty would take very kindly. London Gazette, for March 18, 1698.

(*x*) Several complaints being made againſt this motion in the debates, Sir Edward Seymour expreſſly declared, that the original miſchief proceeded from the Miniſters, and from the chief of them the Chancellor. Life, p. 170.

(*y*) Prior's Letter to the Earl of Mancheſter, dated December 7, 1699, O. S. in the Hiſtory of Mr Prior's Negotiations, p. 142. edit. 1740, 8vo.

(*z*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III.

'and ſo might grow mutinous. Therefore, they were 'for leaving this matter to the next Parliament. So 'this propoſition was laid aſide, which would have 'ſaved the nation above a million of money. For 'now, as all people believed, that the Parliament 'would receive the clipt money in it's tale, clipping 'went on, and became more viſibly ſcandalous than 'it ever had been (43).' We have given the King's approbation of this propoſal as an inſtance of Lord Somers's credit with his Majeſty, who otherwiſe could not, 'tis apprehended, have gone into a project that lay open to ſuch unanſwerable objections. In ſhort, what ſuperior abilities ſoever in other parts may be allowed to Lord Somers, 'tis certain, in this moſt arduous one, ariſing from the bad ſtate of the coin, he muſt yield the palm to Lord Halifax, who was the only perſon that appeared equal to the taſk (44).

(43) Ibid. p. 247. fol. edit.

(44) See his article.

[*R*] *He made an alteration in the commiſſion of the Peace, which gave great diſguſt to many people.*] The fact was thus: When the deſign of the Aſſaſſination and Invaſion Plots, in 1695, and the following year, were diſcovered, a voluntary aſſociation being entered into by both Houſes of Parliament, it was ſent round the nation. In ſuch a time of danger, it was thought, that thoſe who did not enter voluntarily into it were ſo ill affected, or at leaſt ſo little zealous for the public good, that it was not fit they ſhould continue Juſtices of the Peace. Whereupon, an order paſſed in Council, that all thoſe, who had ſo refuſed, ſhould be turned out of the commiſſion. Lord Somers had obeyed this order, according to the repreſentations made to him by the Lords Lieutenants and *Cuſtodes Rotulorum* of the ſeveral counties, who were not equally diſcreet. However, he laid thoſe repreſentations before the Council, and had a ſpecial order for every perſon that was ſo turned out. But it was now charged upon him, that he had adviſed and procured thoſe orders (45).

(45) Burnet.

[*S*] *He refuſed to deliver up the Seals voluntarily.*] The writer of his life tells us (46), that 'it was ſaid by 'ſome who where no ſtrangers to the Lord Somers, that 'his Lordſhip repreſented to his Majeſty at Hampton-Court, that though he was very willing to reſign 'the Seals and retire from buſineſs; yet, being con-'vinced that thoſe who had adviſed his Majeſty to 'take them from him, did it with a view rather to 'ſerve themſelves than the government; if his Majeſty 'would conſent, that he ſhould continue in his poſt, 'he doubted not to be able to vindicate himſelf 'againſt all the calumnies of his enemies, and *maintain 'himſelf in it with the reputation due to his zeal and 'integrity.*' The garb in which this ſtory is expoſed by our life-writer, is another glaring inſtance of his poor talent that way. The laſt expreſſion eſpecially is apparently irreconcilable to that modeſty which was a moſt diſtinguiſhing part of Lord Somers's character. Yet the ſimple fact itſelf may deſerve notice, and is confirmed by Mr Oldmixon (47), who told the ſame ſtory many years afterwards, with ſomewhat better judgment, as follows: 'The King, ſays he, ſome time before the prorogation, which was April 11, had given his Lordſhip a hint of the neceſſity he ſhould be under to part with him, in order to accommodate matters with thoſe in the oppoſition to the meaſures of the adminiſtration. His Lordſhip, upon this, told his Majeſty, that he knew very well what his enemies aimed at, by their abuſing and perſecuting him as they had of late done. That the Seal was his greateſt crime, and if he quitted it, he ſhould be forgiven; but knowing what ill uſe would be made of it, if it were put into their hands, he was reſolved, with his Majeſty's permiſſion, to keep it in defiance of their malice, and to ſtand all the trials they ſhould put upon him with the ſupport of his innocence, and the hopes of his being ſerviceable to his Majeſty. That he feared them not, but if he would be as firm to his friends as they would be to him, they ſhould be able to carry whatever points he had in view for the public welfare, in a new Parliament. The King ſhook his head, as a ſign of his diffidence, and only ſaid, it muſt be ſo. Mr Oldmixon tells us alſo, that the gentleman who was his informer had it from Lord Somers himſelf.'

(46) P. 54.

(47) Hiſtory of England, during the reigns of King William and Queen Mary, Queen Anne, and King George I. p. 208. edit. 1735, in fol.

[*T*] *He*

quence thereof, an addreſs was preſented on the 23d to his Majeſty, to the ſame purport with that which miſcarried in the preceding ſeſſion, and on the 19th of May, the articles of his impeachment were exhibited to the Lords; but, upon a quarrel between the two Houſes, he was acquitted by the Lords, on the 17th of June, without any further proſecution of the Commons [*T*]. King William dying not long after, his Lordſhip being in no favour at the new Court, withdrew to a private way of life, paſſing his time with univerſal eſteem in the moſt polite and uſeful ſtudies [*U*]. During this retirement, he was choſen Preſident of the Royal Society, of which he had been long a member (*a a*); yet he attended in the Houſe of Lords, and, perſevering in his principles, he oppoſed the bill to prevent Occaſional Conformity [*W*], and was one of the managers for the

(*a a*) He was alſo choſen Recorder of Glouceſter. Life, p. 110.

[*T*] *He was acquitted*, &c.] The whole account of this proſecution is ſo largely ſet forth in the general hiſtories of England, that to repeat them here would be deviating from the deſign of this work. Therefore, referring the reader to thoſe hiſtories, we ſhall only mention ſome particulars ſcarcely taken notice of in them. The firſt relates to Kidd's affair, and is, if true, an undeniable teſtimony of the innocence of Lord Somers, as well as of the other Lords and gentlemen concerned in it. 'When the Parliament, that debated this matter, was riſen, his Majeſty was pleaſed to honour a noble Lord with his company at dinner. While they were at table a diſcourſe aroſe concerning Kidd, and the trouble occaſioned by that buſineſs to the perſons concerned in the grant. Upon which his Majeſty ſaid, that *if by the law of England he could be witneſs, he could of his own knowledge juſtify the Lords concerned, in all they had done in that affair* (48). Another particular which more properly falls under the plan of this work, relates to Lord Haverſham's ſpeech, in the conference between the two Houſes, on the twenty-fourth of June, when his Lordſhip declared his opinion of the proſecution in the following terms: 'One thing there is, though I cannot ſpeak it, being bound by the orders of the Houſe. Yet I muſt give ſome anſwer, that is, as to the Lords voting in their own caſe. It requires an anſwer, though I cannot go into the debate of it. The Commons themſelves have made this precedent. For in theſe impeachments they have allowed men, guilty of the ſame crimes, to vote in their own Houſe; and, therefore, we have not made any diſtinction in our Houſe, that ſome ſhould vote and ſome not. The Lords have ſo high an opinion of the juſtice of the Houſe of Commons, that they hope juſtice will never be made uſe of as a maſk for any deſign: and, therefore, give me leave to ſay, though I am not to argue it, 'tis a plain demonſtration, that the Commons think theſe Lords innocent, and I think the propoſition is undeniable, for there are ſeveral Lords in the ſame crimes, in the ſame facts, there is no diſtinction; and the Commons leave ſome of theſe men at the head of affairs, near the King's perſon, to do any miſchief, if they were inclined to it, and impeach others; when they are both alike guilty, and concerned in the ſame fact. This is a thing I was in hopes I ſhould never have heard aſſerted, when the beginning of it was from the Houſe of Commons.' This was ſpoken with an eye to the Earl of Jerſey, who was Plenipotentiary with the Earl of Portland, and ſigned the Partition Treaty; he was then Lord Chamberlain, and though he was much more concerned in the affair of the treaty than Lord Somers, yet he was left near the King's perſon a Privy-Counſellor, and no vote to remove him. In return for that complacency his Lordſhip gave his vote againſt Lord Somers (49). Sir Joſeph Williamſon ſigned the Partition Treaty as a Plenipotentiary, was then a Privy-Counſellor, and unimpeached. Thirdly, the Lord Somers was accuſed for aſſerting the Iriſh grants. Sir Edward Seymour and Sir Stephen Fox did the ſame when they were Lords of the Treaſury; but not a word was ſaid of them. Fourthly, the Lord Somers was charged for being concerned in the ſetting out the Adventure Galley, which Kidd ran away with; the Duke of Shrewſbury and the Earl of Romney lay open to the ſame charge, yet no notice was taken of them. Theſe are glaring inſtances of the rage of that party which puſhed on this proſecution; and they are ſet up *here* as ſo many ſea-marks for the direction of others, to avoid ſhip-wrecking honour and conſcience againſt the ſame rocks. Such things indeed are generally laughed off as a game between the ins and outs, neceſſary to be played upon ſome occaſions, by every gentleman of fortune, who is actuated by a becoming ambition not to lead the life of a drone in contemptible obſcurity. But may it not be juſtly ſtiled the worſt ſort of gaming? 'Tis remarkable in the game, (if we muſt give it that name) now under conſideration, many of the gameſters lived to ſee and condemn their own folly in playing it: to which reflection the late Lord Bolingbroke in particular, one of the ableſt and moſt active of the party concerned, was brought by ſad experience (50).'

(48) Life of Lo d Somers, p. 90.

(49) See Mr Priors article on this particular, in remark [*L*] and [*M*].

(50) See his reflections on the uſe and abuſe of Hiſtory.

[*U*] *He paſſed his time in the moſt polite and uſeful ſtudies.*] No pains has been wanting to do juſtice to this part of his character. We are told by one writer, 'that his Lordſhip now gave himſelf up intirely to the ſtudies of Hiſtory, Antiquities, and other curious parts of learning. That he took a particular pleaſure in prints and medals, and was a maſterly judge of their genuineneſs and excellence. He alſo delighted himſelf in his retirement, at his ſeat near Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire, and the ſweets of ſolitude and the Muſes ſoon made more than amends for the loſs of the fatigues and honours of his office of Chancellor *. Again, all the leiſure his Lordſhip had, by being out of the miniſtry, he employed in entertaining himſelf with medals, prints, and books, of which he had a collection equally large and well choſen (51).' This is evidently nothing elſe but a copy (and a clumſy one it is) of Mr Addiſon's original, expreſſed in the following terms: 'This great man, ſays that excellent author, 'was not more conſpicuous as a Patriot and a Statesman, than as a perſon of univerſal knowledge and 'learning. As by dividing his time between the 'public ſcenes of buſineſs and the private retirements 'of life, he took care to keep up both the great and 'good man; ſo by the ſame means he accomplished 'himſelf not only in the knowledge of men and things, 'but in the ſkill of the moſt refined arts and ſciences. 'He enjoyed, in the higheſt perfection, two talents, 'which do not often meet in the ſame perſon, the 'greateſt ſtrength of good ſenſe and the moſt exquiſite 'taſte of politeneſs. Without the firſt, learning is but 'an incumbrance, and without the laſt is ungraceful. 'My Lord Somers was maſter of theſe qualifications 'in ſo eminent a degree, that all the parts of knowledge appeared in him with ſuch an additional 'ſtrength and beauty, as they want in the poſſeſſion 'of others. If he delivered his opinion of a piece 'of poetry, a ſtatue, or a picture, there was ſomething ſo juſt and delicate in his obſervations, as 'naturally produced pleaſure and aſſent in thoſe who 'heard him (52).'

* Life of Lord Somers, p. 52.

(51) Ibid. p. 116

(52) Freeholder, No. 39.

[*W*] *He voted againſt the Occaſional Conformity bill, in* 1703.] However, there is good reaſon to believe that he promoted the bill for ſettling the firſt-fruits and tenths, towards augmenting the poorer benefices of the Clergy. The writer of Biſhop Burnet's life, having mentioned that Prelate's deſigns in this particular, in the year 1696 and 1697, proceeds to inform us, that he had concerted his meaſures, in 1701, with Lord Godolphin and Lord Somers; and in confirmation of it, has inſerted a letter of this laſt, wrote in anſwer to one from the Biſhop, as follows:

'November 22, 1701.

'My Lord,

'I acknowledge the honour of your Lordſhip's 'letter of the 17th with great thankfulneſs. I wiſh 'it may lie in my power to contribute to the excellent 'deſign. I promiſe you no man ſhall enter into it 'more willingly, and ſhall labour in it more heartily. 'The point of the firſt-fruits and tenths is what I have 'propoſed ſeveral times with much earneſtneſs, but 'without ſucceſs. When I have the honour of ſeeing 'your Lordſhip, we ſhall, I hope, diſcourſe at large 'upon

the Lords, in the conference between the two Houſes upon it in 1702; and, when it was brought into the Houſe the next year, 1703, he gave his vote in the negative (*bb*). In 1706, though unpoſſeſſed of any publick employ, he projected a plan for uniting the two kingdoms, which was generally approved; and this being a point which Queen Anne had greatly at heart, her Majeſty took notice of his merit, and appointed him one of the managers of the Union [*X*]. The ſame year he propoſed a bill for preventing delays and expences in the proceedings at Law, as alſo ſome regulations with regard to paſſing private Acts of Parliament [*Y*]. Upon a change of the miniſterial meaſures in 1708, he was placed at the head of the miniſtry, in the poſt of Preſident of the Council [*Z*]; and he concurred in rejecting the propoſals for a general peace, offered by the French in 1709 at Gertruydenberg [*AA*], and in the reſolution for carrying on the war (*cc*). The ſame year

(*bb*) Ibid.

(*cc*) The ſame year he was appointed one of the truſtees for the poor Palatines. Life, p. 114. where it is alſo ſaid, that the Duke of Montague dying this year, Lord Somers was appointed a truſtee for his ſon, the laſt Duke, then a minor.

'upon the whole ſubject. In the mean time, allow 'me to aſſure you, that I am, with great and ſincere 'reſpect,

'My Lord,

'Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient

'Humble ſervant,

'Somers (53).'

(53) Life of Biſhop Burnet, prefixed to the Hiſtory of his own Time, p. lxvii. edit. 1753, 8vo.

[*X*] *He was one of the managers of the Union*] Mr Walpole declares it was projected by him. Biſhop Burnet ſays he was the chief manager of the treaty. Mr Addiſon goes further, and inſinuates a probability of his projecting not only that plan, but the bill of Regency. Theſe are his words: 'As he [Lord 'Somers] was admitted into the ſecret and moſt 'retired thoughts and counſels of his royal Maſter, 'King William; a great ſhare in the plan of the 'Proteſtant ſucceſſion is univerſally aſcribed to him: 'and if he did not intirely project the Union of the 'two kingdoms, and the bill of Regency, which ſeem 'to have been the only methods in human policy 'for ſecuring to us ſo ineſtimable a bleſſing, there is 'none who will deny him to have been the chief 'conductor in both theſe glorious works. For poſterity 'are obliged to allow him that praiſe after his death, 'which he induſtriouſly declined, while he was 'living (55).' And to the ſame purpoſe, Burnet obſerves, ſpeaking of Ferguſon's plot for a rebellion in Scotland, to be aſſiſted from France, that the Lords concluded the whole matter with voting, that the encouragment of this plot came from the not ſettling the ſucceſſion of the Crown of Scotland in the Houſe of Hanover. That they laid this vote before the Queen, and propoſed, that when this was done they would promote the Union of the two kingdoms upon juſt and reaſonable terms. This being ended, they made a long and vigorous addreſs, in anſwer to that which the Commons had made againſt them. This addreſs was penned with great care and much force. Both the addreſſes were drawn up by the Lord Somers (56).

(54) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, ubi ſupra.

* Hiſtory of his own Time, p. 213. 8vo. edit. Vol. IV.

(55) Freeholder, as before.

(56) Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. IV. p. 53, 54.

[*Y*] *A bill for the amendment of the proceeding at Law, and in paſſing private Acts of Parliament.*] Biſhop Burnet, who is again our informer, gives us the particular circumſtances of theſe two facts, as follows: 'His Lordſhip, ſays the Prelate, made a 'motion in the Houſe of Lords to correct ſome pro-'ceedings in the Common Law and in Chancery, 'that were both dilatory and chargeable. He began 'the motion with ſome inſtances that were more 'conſpicuous and groſs, and he managed the matter 'ſo, that both the Lord Keeper and the Judges 'concurred with him: though it paſſes generally for 'a maxim, that Judges ought rather to enlarge than 'contract their juriſdiction. A bill paſſed the Houſe, 'that begun a reformation of the proceedings at Law, 'which, as things now ſtand, are certainly amongſt 'the greateſt grievances of the nation. When this 'went through the Houſe of Commons, it was viſible 'that the intereſt of under-officers, clerks, and 'attornies, whoſe gains were to be leſſened by this 'bill, was more conſidered than the intereſt of the 'nation itſelf. Several clauſes, how beneficial ſoever 'to the ſubject, which touched on their profit, were 'left out by the Commons. But, what fault ſoever 'the Lords might have found with there alterations, 'yet, to avoid all diſputes with the Commons, the 'amendments were agreed to. There was another 'general complaint made of the private Acts of Parlia-'ment, that paſſed through both Houſes too eaſily, 'and in ſo great a number, that it took up a great 'part of the ſeſſion to examine them, even in that 'curſory way that was ſubject to many inconveniences. 'The fees that were paid for theſe to the ſpeakers 'and clerks of both Houſes inclined them to favour 'and promote them. So the Lord Somers propoſed 'ſuch a regulation in that matter as will probably have 'a good effect for the future (57).'

(57) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. IV. p. 140. 8vo. edition.

[*Z*] *He was made Preſident of the Council, and voted againſt accepting the terms of peace at Gertruydenberg*, &c.] It is not unentertaining to hear the ſame Hiſtorian deſcanting upon this promotion of Lord Somers. 'The great capacity and inflexible integrity of this 'Lord, ſays the Biſhop, would have made his pro-'motion to this poſt very acceptable to the Whigs at 'any juncture, but it was moſt particularly ſo at this 'time: for it was expected, that propoſitions for a 'general peace would be quickly made; and ſo they 'reckoned, that the management of that upon which 'not only the ſafety of the nation, but of all Europe 'depended, was in ſure hands, when he was ſet at the 'head of the councils, upon whom neither ill practices 'nor falſe colours were like to make any impreſſion. 'Thus the minds of all thoſe who were truly zealous 'for the preſent conſtitution were much quieted by 'this promotion, though their jealouſies had a deep 'root, and were not eaſily removed (58).' In the former remark, we are taught to aſcribe to Lord Somers the projection of thoſe plans which were neceſſary for the ſafety and welfare of the kingdom, and here we are directed to look upon him as the *Palladium*, the virtue of whoſe preſence was ſufficient to ſecure the poſſeſſion of thoſe bleſſings. The uſe of this will appear preſently.

(58) Id. p. 249, 250.

[*AA*] *He concurred in rejecting the French propoſals at Gertruydenberg.*] 'Tis well known what uſe the Tories made of the Miniſtry's rejecting theſe propoſals at Gertruydenberg, to effectuate a change of hands; and in the General Dictionary there are extracts from two letters (59) of his Lordſhip, written at the breaking up of the negociations, to the Earl of Wharton, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, which diſcover our Preſident's temper upon this occaſion. The firſt of theſe extracts is as follows: 'As for news, I never 'was ſo little able to anſwer your demands. It is 'avowed, that no reſolution is yet taken as to the 'continuing or determining the preſent Parliament. 'But the falling of ſtocks here, and the uneaſineſs 'occaſioned in Holland, while the uncertainty con-'tinues, ſeems to make it abſolutely neceſſary to have 'this matter remain no longer in ſuſpence. In the 'mean time, our late diſturbances, and the unſettled-'neſs of our affairs, give courage to our enemies; 'for the French Ambaſſadors at Gertruydenberg have 'ſent a very inſolent letter, or rather manifeſto, to the 'penſioner, in order to juſtify their breaking off the 'negociation. I hope ſo unneceſſary and ſo inſolent 'a provocation will give the Dutch courage enough 'to reſent it as they ought, but I have not the reſolu-'tion taken upon it. It breaks my heart to think 'what a noble game we are unneceſſarily throwing 'away.'

(59) Under his Lordſhip's article.

This letter was dated July 15, 1710, and the negociations were accordingly broke off on the 20th, after all the preliminaries for a treaty of peace were agreed on, only the Dutch inſiſted, that the French King ſhould take upon himſelf to compel his grandſon, Philip, to quit the throne of Spain, and not leave the allies ingaged in a war with Spain, when France ſhould be in peace. This the French King abſolutely refuſed to

year he alſo voted for the condemnation of Dr Sacheverell (*dd*), and the next year, 171· upon the new change of hands, he was diſmiſſed from the Preſident's poſt, and ſucceed by the Earl of Rocheſter, the Queen's uncle. After this removal, he made a diſt guiſhed figure in the debates of the Houſe of Lords for ſome time (*ee*); but it was long, before he grew very infirm in his health, which impaired his underſtanding ſo much, as rendered him incapable of executing any office under King George the Firſt (*ff*); after whoſe acceſſion, therefore, he had no other poſt than a ſeat at the Council-table, and he attended there upon ſome occaſions 'till the year 1716, when he was ſeized with an appoplectic fit, which carried him off the ſtage of this world, on the 26th of April that year (*gg*). His Lordſhip was never married, ſo that his eſtate fell to his two ſiſters, the youngeſt of whom was married, as beforementioned, to his friend Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Maſter of the Rolls; and the eldeſt, Mary, was wife to Charles Cocks, Eſq; of Worceſter, whoſe daughter by her is the Lady of the Earl of Hardwicke, Eſq; late Lord-Chancellor of England, who is her ſecond huſband (*hh*). His Lordſhip's character has been repreſe[illegible] by two very eminent pencils, but under very different principles, Dean Swift and Mr Addiſon; and as they bid faireſt for dividing the truth between them, we ſhall the Dean's draught intire before the reader [*BB*], to contraſt it with that of Mr Addiſon, a great

(*dd*) See the Doctor's tryal.

(*ee*) See thoſe Debates, and the writer of his Life.

(*ff*) Yet, upon the change of the Miniſtry, a few days before the Queen's death, his Lordſhip went to the Council. Life, p. 117.

(*gg*) Ibid. 118.

(*hh*) Collin's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 28. edit. 1756.

to engage for, and the French Miniſters returned to Paris the 25th inſtant.

On the twenty-eighth, his Lordſhip writes thus to the ſame friend:

'I am not able to ſend you any certainty as to the 'diſſolution. 'Tis a ſtrange uncertain ſtate we are in; 'and perhaps we may have this good effect of the 'preſent irreſolution, as not to be without hopes of a 'good Parliament, in caſe they will put us upon a 'new election, that is by your Lordſhip's help and 'not otherwiſe.

'Your Lordſhip has heard that Mr Creſſet was 'going for Hanover. After his diſpatches were 'finiſhed, and he had his laſt inſtructions from the 'Queen, he was taken ill on Tueſday, and died on 'Thurſday morning. His death has given much 'diſturbance to our great men, and has diſconcerted 'their affairs. I cannot find that all the endeavours 'poſſible have ſucceeded to ſhew a way to preſerve 'credit, or to furniſh the neceſſary ſums for the army, 'unleſs the preſent Parliament be continued. This 'article, and the French preſumptions in breaking 'off the conferences, are the grounds of our hope. 'And we are apt to add to theſe two, that there is 'no certainty what the complexion of the new Parlia- 'ment will be, nor what will be the turn they will 'take, ſince they are not Whiggs only, who will be 'affected by the diſſolution.' Whoever reads theſe extracts, together with Biſhop *Burnet*'s obſervation in the preceeding remark, will be apt to infer, that his Lordſhip, with his party, came to Court in 1708, in the ſame diſpoſitions as all parties have done, and as Lord Bolingbroke confeſſes, the Tories, who ſucceeded in 1710, actually did. That the principal ſpring of their actions was to have the government of the State in their hands, that their principal views were the conſervation of this power, great employments to themſelves, and great opportunities of rewarding thoſe who had helped to raiſe them, and of hurting thoſe who ſtood in oppoſition to them. Though it was true, at the ſame time, that with theſe conſiderations of private and party intereſt, there were others intermingled, which had for their object the public good of the nation, at leaſt, what they took to be ſuch (60). Thus that active and leading man in the Tory miniſtry frankly and ingenuouſly gives us, and ſo much is certain that in it we ſee, the true reaſon of Lord Somers's diſmiſſion from the Preſidency of the Council abovementioned.

(60) Bolingbroke's Letter to Sir W. Wind ham, p. 19. edit. 1753, 8vo.

[*BB*] *His character by Dean Swift.*] This occurs in the Dean's *Hiſtory of the four laſt years of Queen Anne*, a poſthumous piece; in the entrance upon which he prepares his readers for what follows, by giving the characters of thoſe in the oppoſition in 1710. Wherein he ſeems to have ſet Lord Clarendon's method for his pattern. 'It may not be improper, 'ſays he, to deſcribe thoſe qualities in each of them 'which few of their admirers will deny, and which 'appear chiefly to have influenced them in acting their 'ſeveral parts upon the public ſtage. For I don't 'intend to draw their characters entire, which would 'be tedious, and little to the purpoſe, but ſhall only 'ſingle out thoſe paſſions, acquirements, and habits, 'which the owners are moſt likely to transfer into 'their particular ſchemes, and which were moſt 'ſubſervient to the deſigns they ſeemed to have in 'view.' He then proceeds in theſe terms: 'The 'Lord Somers may very deſervedly be reputed the 'head and oracle of that party. He hath raiſed him- 'ſelf by the co-incidence of many circumſtances to 'the greateſt employments of the State, without the 'leaſt ſupport from birth or fortune: he hath con- 'ſtantly, and with great ſteadineſs, cultivated thoſe 'principles under which he grew. That accident, 'which firſt produced him into the world, of pleading 'before the Biſhops whom King James had ſent to the 'Tower, might have proved a piece of merit, as 'honourable as it was fortunate; but the old repub- 'lican ſpirit, which the Revolution had reſtored, 'began to teach other leſſons, that ſince we had 'accepted a new King from a Calviniſtical common- 'wealth, we muſt alſo admit new maxims in religion 'and government. But ſince the nobility and gentry 'would probably adhere to the eſtabliſhed Church, 'and to the rights of monarchy, as delivered down 'from their anceſtors, it was the practice of theſe 'politicians to introduce ſuch men as were perfectly 'indifferent to any or no religion, and who were 'not likely to inherit much loyalty from thoſe to 'whom they owed their birth. Of this number was 'the perſon I am now deſcribing. I have hardly 'known any man with talents more proper to acquire 'and preſerve the favour of the prince, never offending 'in words or geſture, which are in the laſt degree 'courteous and complimenting, where he ſet an ex- 'cellent example to others his colleagues, which they 'did not think fit to follow. But this extreme civility 'is univerſal and undiſtinguiſhed, and in private con- 'verſation, where he obſerveth it as inviolably as 'if he were in the greateſt aſſembly, it is ſometimes 'cenſured as formal. Two reaſons are aſſigned for 'this behaviour; firſt, from the conſciouſneſs of his 'humble original, he keepeth all familiarity at the 'utmoſt diſtance, which otherwiſe might be apt to 'intrude; the ſecond is, that being ſenſible how ſub- 'ject he is to violent paſſions, he avoideth all incite- 'ments to them, by teaching thoſe whom he converſeth 'with, from his own example, to keep a great way 'within the bounds of decency and reſpect: and it is 'indeed true, that no man is more apt to take fire 'upon the leaſt appearance of provocation, which 'temper he ſtrives to ſubdue with the utmoſt violence 'upon himſelf; ſo that his breaſt has been ſeen to 'heave, and his eyes ſparkle with rage, in thoſe very 'moments, when his words and the cadence of his 'voice were in the humbleſt and ſofteſt manner. 'Perhaps that force upon his nature may cauſe that 'inſatiable love of revenge, which his detractors lay 'to his charge; who, conſequently, reckon diſſembling 'among his chief perfections. Avarice he has none, 'and his ambition is gratified by being the uncontested 'head of his party. With an excellent underſtanding 'adorned by all the polite parts of learning, he hath 'very little taſte for converſation, to which he prefers 'the pleaſure of reading and thinking; and in the 'intervals of his time amuſeth himſelf with an illiterate 'chaplain, an humble companion, or a favourite 'ſervant. Theſe are ſome few diſtinguiſhing marks 'in the character of that perſon, who now preſideth 'over the diſcontented party; although he be not

'anſwerable

a great part of which he will find in the courſe of this memoir, and the reſt will be produced, in reciting the criticiſm paſſed upon both by Mr Walpole, who has daſhed out the chief features of his Lordſhip's character, in the following terms: 'Lord Somers, 'ſays that ſprightly and ſpirited writer, is one of thoſe divine men, who, like a chapel in 'a palace, remain unprofaned, while all the reſt is tyranny, corruption, and folly. All 'the traditional accounts of him, the hiſtorians of the laſt age, and it's beſt authors, 'repreſent him as the moſt uncorrupt Lawyer and the honeſteſt Stateſman, a maſter 'Orator, a Genius of the firſt taſte, and as a patriot of the nobleſt and moſt extenſive 'views; as a man who diſpenſed bleſſings by his life, and planned them for poſterity. 'He was at once the model of Addiſon and the touch-ſtone of Swift; the one from him 'and the other for him. The former, however, has drawn a laboured, but diffuſe and 'feeble, character of him, in the Freeholder for May 14, 1716, neither worthy of the 'author nor his ſubject. It is known that Lord Somers ſurvived the powers of his under-'ſtanding. Mr Addiſon ſays, his life, indeed, ſeems to be prolonged beyond it's natural 'term, under that indiſpoſition which hung upon the latter part of it, that he might 'have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the happy ſettlement take place, which he had propoſed 'to himſelf as the principal end of his publick labours.—A very wiſe way, indeed, of 'interpreting the delay of Providence! as if a man was preſerved by Heaven in a ſtate of 'dotage, 'till an event ſhould arrive which would make him happy, if he retained his 'ſenſes! Equally injudicious is another paſſage intended for encomium, where we are 'told, that he gained great eſteem with Queen Anne, who had conceived many unrea-'ſonable prejudices againſt him. Mr Addiſon might as well have ſaid, that the Queen 'had at firſt diſbelieved, and was afterwards converted to, Sir Iſaac Newton's ſyſtem of 'comets. Her Majeſty was full as good a judge of Aſtronomy as of Lord Somers's 'merit [*CC*]. In truth, Mr Addiſon was ſometimes as weak a writer, when he wrote 'ſeriouſly,

'anſwerable for all their miſtakes; and if his precepts 'had been more ſtrictly followed, perhaps their power 'would not have been ſo eaſily ſhaken. I have been 'aſſured, and heard him profeſs, that he was againſt 'engaging in that bloody proſecution of Dr Sacheve-'rell, as what he foreſaw was likely to end in their 'ruin, and he blamed the rough behaviour of ſome 'perſons to the Queen, as a great failure in prudence; 'and that, when it appeared, her Majeſty was firmly 'reſolved upon a treaty of peace, he adviſed his 'friends not to oppoſe it in it's progreſs, but find fault 'with it, after it was made; which would be a copy 'of the like uſage they themſelves had met with after 'the treaty of Ryſwic; and the ſafeſt as well as moſt 'probable way of diſgracing the promoters and 'adviſers. I have been the longer in repreſenting to 'the reader ſome idea of this extraordinary genius, 'becauſe whatever attempt hath hitherto been made, 'with any appearance of conduct or probability of 'ſucceſs, to reſtore the dominion of that party, was 'undeniably contrived by him. And I profeſs the 'ſame for the future, as long as his age and infirmities 'will leave him capable of buſineſs (61).'

(61) Swift's Hiſtory of the four laſt years of Queen Anne, p. 944. edit. 1758, 8vo.

Mr Walpole has made this attempt of Swift not leſs than that of Addiſon the ſubject of his ridicule. He obſerves, that it is a character of Lord Somers very different from what he had given in his *Catalogue*, &c.; and from the picture drawn of him in the dedication of *A Tale of a Tub*. Yet, continues he, diſtorted as the features are in this new hiſtory, it is a pleaſure to find *that* party malice attempting to diſcolour rather than to alter them. How lovely does a character burſt forth, when the greateſt objections to it are, that it was ſteady to it's principles, of univerſal civility, conſcious of an humble birth, of no avarice, of ſatisfied ambition, that the perſon ſo accuſed did violence to himſelf to govern his paſſions, and (one can ſcarce repeat ſeriouſly ſuch a charge) preferred reading and thinking to the pleaſures of converſation. How black a Stateſman not to be fickle! How poor a Philoſopher to maſter his paſſions, when he could not eradicate them! How bad a man to endeavour to improve his mind and underſtanding! Can one wonder that Bolingbroke and Pope always tried to prevent Swift from expoſing himſelf, by publiſhing this wretched ignorant libel (62); and could it avoid falling, as it has, into immediate contempt and oblivion. However, as the greateſt character cannot be clear of all alloy, Swift might have known that Lord Somers was not intirely juſtifiable in obtaining ſome grants of Crown lands, which though in no proportion to other grants in that reign, it would have become him to reſiſt, not to countenance by his example (63).'

(62) See Dean Swift's article. However, he yielded to their advice, ſo that the piece being poſthumous, muſt be read with that conſideration in the author's favour.

(63) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, ubi ſupra.

[*CC*] *The Queen was no capable judge of Lord Somers's merit*] I cannot help thinking this cenſure a little too ſevere. The criticiſed paſſage concludes a diſplay of his Lordſhip's perſonal qualities and accompliſhments, in diſtinction to his abilities, either as a Lawyer or a Stateſman. 'Let us take a view of the whole. 'His [Lordſhip's] life was in every part 'of it, ſays Mr Addiſon, ſet off with that graceful 'modeſty and reſerve, which made his virtues more 'beautiful the more they were caſt in ſuch agreeable 'ſhades. His religion was ſincere, not oſtentatious, 'and ſuch as inſpired him with an univerſal bene-'volence towards all his fellow-ſubjects, not with 'bitterneſs againſt any part of them. He ſhewed his 'firm adherence to it as modelled by our national 'conſtitution, and was conſtant to it's offices of devo-'tion both in public and in his family. He appeared 'a champion for it with great reputation in the cauſe 'of the ſeven Biſhops, at a time when the Church 'really was in danger. To which we may add, that 'he held a ſtrict friendſhip and correſpondence with 'the great Archbiſhop Tillotſon, being acted by the 'ſame ſpirit of candour and moderation, and moved 'rather with pity than indignation, towards the perſons 'of thoſe, who differed from him in the uneſſential 'parts of Chriſtianity. His great humanity appeared 'in the minuteſt circumſtances of his converſation. 'You found it in the benevolence of his aſpect, the 'complacency of his behaviour, and the tone of his 'voice. His great application to the ſeverer ſtudies 'of the Law had not infected his temper with any 'thing poſitive or litigious. He did not know what 'it was to wrangle on indifferent points, to triumph 'on the ſuperiority of his underſtanding, or to be 'ſupercilious on the ſide of truth. He joined the 'greateſt delicacy of good breeding to the greateſt 'ſtrength of reaſon. By approving the ſentiments of 'a perſon, with whom he converſed in ſuch particulars 'as were juſt, he won him over from thoſe points 'in which he was miſtaken; and had ſo agreeable 'a way of conveying knowledge, that whoever con-'ferred with him grew the wiſer, without perceiving 'that he had been inſtructed. We may probably 'aſcribe to this maſterly and engaging manner of 'converſation the great eſteem which he had gained 'with the late Queen, while ſhe purſued thoſe meaſures 'which had carried the Britiſh nation to the higheſt 'pitch of glory, notwithſtanding ſhe had entertained 'many unreaſonable prejudices againſt him, before 'ſhe was acquainted with his perſonal worth and 'behaviour.' Surely, the Queen may be allowed to be a better judge of this kind of merit than ſhe could be of Sir Iſaac Newton's ſyſtem of comets.

[*DD*] *Chancellor*

'ſeriouſly, as he was admirable in touching the delicacies of natural humour. He ſays 'that my Lord Somers was often compared with Sir Francis Bacon, and gives the prefe- 'rence to the former, becauſe he, all integrity, did not behave ſo meanly, when perſe- 'cuted by the Houſe of Commons, as the other under the confuſion of guilt. This 'argument is as poor as the panegyric. To argue from their behaviour, they ſhould 'have been in ſimilar circumſtances. If they are to be compared, the ſuperior penetra- 'tion of genius cannot be denied to Bacon; the virtue will all be Somers's. If he muſt 'be compared with another Chancellor, it muſt not be with Clarendon, who was more 'moroſe and ſevere, and had leſs capacity and a thouſand prejudices. The great Chan- 'cellor de l'Hoſpital ſeems to reſemble Somers moſt in the dignity of his ſoul and the 'elegance of his underſtanding [*D D*]. The momentous times in which he lived gave 'Lord Somers opportunities of diſplaying the extent of his capacity, and the patriotiſm 'of his heart, opportunities as little ſought for by the former, as they were honeſtly 'courted and purſued by the latter. The excellent ballance of our conſtitution never 'appeared in a clearer light, than with relation to this Lord, who, though impeached by 'a miſguided Houſe of Commons, with all the intemperate folly that at all times dis- 'graced the free States of Greece, yet had full liberty to vindicate his innocence and 'manifeſt his integrity; which could never have ſhone ſo bright, unleſs it had been juri- 'dically aſperſed. In our conſtitution, Ariſtides may be traduced, clamoured againſt, 'and, when matter is wanting, ſevere addreſſes may be made, propoſed, or voted, for 'removing him for ever from the ſervice of the Government*; but, happily, the factious 'and the envious have not a power to condemn by a *ſhell*, which many of them cannot 'ſign (*i i*). It was no inglorious part of this great Chancellor's life, that, when removed 'from the adminiſtration, his labours were ſtill dedicated to the ſervice of the govern- 'ment of his country. In this ſituation, above all the little prejudices of a profeſſion (for 'for he had no profeſſion but that of Solon and Lycurgus), he ſet himſelf to correct the 'grievances of the Law, and to amend the vocation he had adorned (*k k*). The union 'of the kingdoms too was projected by him; and it was not to his diſgrace, that the 'Princeſs, whoſe prejudices he had conquered, and whoſe eſteem he had gained, offered 'him up as one of the firſt ſacrifices on the altar of Utrecht. Such deathleſs monuments 'of his parts and virtue diminiſh the regret we ſhould otherwiſe feel, that though Lord 'Somers wrote ſeveral tracts, we are ignorant even of the titles of many of them. So 'little was fame his object!' He concludes with doing juſtice to Mr Addiſon, in obſerving, that this modeſty is particularly mentioned in the Freeholder he had quoted [*E E*]. Mr Walpole

* As happened in the caſe of Lord Somers. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 263.

(*i i*) Alluding to the oſtracism among the Greeks.

(*k k*) Ibid. p. 439.

[*D D*] *Chancellor de l' Hoſpital ſeems to reſemble Somers moſt.*] Every one will allow the happy choice of this compariſon, after reading the account which the French writers give of the Chancellor de l'Hoſpital; who, according to them, was one of the greateſt men in the ſixteenth century. He was born at Aigueperſe in Auvergne in 1505, and learned the languages, polite literature, and the Law, in the moſt celebrated univerſities of France and Italy. He had a ſolid judgment, great eloquence, together with an extraordinary delicacy of manners, and an inviolable integrity. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf eaſily among the firſt and moſt eminent perſons of his profeſſion; and paſſed, by the force of his merit, through all the honourable poſts of the Long Robe. He was made Counſellor to the Parliament of Paris in 1524; afterwards became Preſident of the Chamber of Accounts, Maſter of Requeſts, Counſellor to the Grand Council, Chancellor to the Princeſs Margaret, ſiſter to Henry the Second; and at laſt, Chancellor of France in 1560. There had not been of a long time a perſon in this poſt that was more worthy of it, nor more capable of diſplaying the evils which then threatened the kingdom. He aſſiſted at the aſſembly of Fontainbleau the ſame year, as alſo at that of Orleans in the beginning of the reign of Charles the Ninth; at thoſe of St Germain en Laye in 1561; at the conference held at Poiſſy the ſame year; at the aſſembly of Moulins in 1566; and had a ſhare in all the important affairs of State 'till 1568. He made the public good of the kingdom and the true intereſt of his maſter, the King, the rule of his actions. He prevented the inquiſition from being introduced into France, by conſenting to the edict of Romorantin, publiſhed in 1560, againſt the Proteſtants; and did all that lay in his power to prevent the civil wars of France. After the affair of Vaſſey, ſeeing both ſides prepare to take up arms, he oppoſed it with all his power; and when the Conſtable meant to check him, by telling him, that it was not the buſineſs of the gentlemen of the Long Robe to give their opinion upon points of war, he replied, though ſuch people are not ſkilled in the handling of arms, yet they may know when it is proper to make uſe of them. But his pacific views cauſed him to be excluded from the Council of War, and occaſioned his diſgrace. Queen Catharine of Medicis, who had contributed to raiſe him to the Seals, diſliked his conduct; and, by repreſenting it as the effect of diſloyalty, procured him to be diſmiſſed in 1568. After this he retired to Vignay, a manor-houſe, which he had in Beauce, where he paſſed the reſt of his life, he died March 13, 1573, aged ſixty eight years. It was obſerved, that in his countenance he reſembled Ariſtotle. There are ſome ſpeeches of his beſides a collection of Latin poems which were printed after his death, and are in good eſteem. In religious matters he was acted by the ſame ſpirit of moderation as Lord Somers, rather inclined to ſhew favour to, than to perſecute, the Huguenots, upon which account he underwent the ſame fate with Lord Somers, in that article; and in ſpight of the gravity of his aſpect (65), and the ſtrictneſs of his morals, he is charged with being neither Calviniſt nor Catholic, with having no religion of any kind, and being really an infidel; inſomuch that it was a common ſaying among the people, *Dieu nous garde de la meſſe du Chancelier*; God preſerve us from the Chancellor's maſs; and we have ſeen already that he was accuſed of diſloyalty as well as Lord Somers.

(64) Moreri & l'Advocat.

(65) The courtiers uſed to call it St Jerome's viſage. Moreri.

[*E E*] *This modeſty is particularly mentioned in the Freeholder.*] The words in that paper are as follow: 'It is to be lamented that this extraordinary perſon, 'out of his natural averſion to vain glory, wrote 'ſeveral pieces as well as performed ſeveral actions, 'which he did not aſſume the honour of; though, 'at the ſame time, ſo many works of this 'nature have appeared, which every one has 'aſcribed to him, that I believe no author of the 'greateſt eminence would deny my Lord Somers to 'have been the beſt writer of the age in which he 'lived.' This modeſty is extended to his actions alſo afterwards. Having mentioned his impeachment, his urgently preſſing the proſecution of it, and that he would not let the matter reſt 'till it was brought to an iſſue; Mr Addiſon proceeds thus: 'For the ſame virtue 'and greatneſs of mind, which gave him a diſregard 'of fame, made him impatient of an undeſerved 'reproach. There is no queſtion, continues he, but

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Beſides the pieces already mentioned in the courſe of this memoir, Mr Walpole mentions ſome others; as (1.) Dryden's *Satire to his Muſe* (*ll*). Which, however, he obſerves has been diſputed, and thinks that the groſs ribaldry of it cannot be believed to have flowed from ſo humane and poliſhed a nature as that of Lord Somers. 2. *The Argument of* Lord Keeper Somers, *on his giving Judgment in the Bankers caſe, delivered in the Exchequer-chamber, June* 23, 1696. (3.) He was ſuppoſed too, but on what foundation he does not know, to write the preface to Dr Tindal's *Rights of the Chriſtian Church* (*mm*). A few years ago came out a collection of ſcarce pieces, in four parts, each conſiſting of four volumes in 4to. from pamphlets chiefly collected by Lord Somers. But a much more valuable treaſure, his Lordſhip's collection of original papers and letters, was loſt by a fire in the chambers of the honourable Charles Yorke, Eſq; his Majeſty's Sollicitor-General, which happened in Lincoln's-Inn-ſquare, on Saturday morning, January 27, 1752.

(*ll*) It is printed in the Minor Poets, Vol. III.

(*mm*) Harlev's Catalogue, Vol. II. p. 378.

'this wonderful man will make one of the moſt 'diſtinguiſhed figures in the hiſtory of the preſent age, 'but we cannot expect that his merit will ſhine out 'in it's proper light, ſince he wrote many things 'which are not publiſhed in his name; was at the 'bottom of many excellent counſels, in which he did 'not appear; did offices of friendſhip to many perſons 'who knew not from whom they were derived; and 'performed great ſervices to his country, the glory of 'which was transferred to others; in ſhort, ſince 'he made it his endeavour rather to do worthy actions 'than to gain an illuſtrious character.' The conciſe Latin of which is his Lordſhip's motto, *Prodeſſe quam conſpici*, perfectly, elegant, and comprehenſive, truely characteriſtic of the noble turn and temper of his mind, both in the ſenſe and expreſſion; and the force of it is rather extenuated and enfeebled, as Mr Walpole juſtly obſerves, by dilating and running it into an infinite number of words, a great fault in the Freeholder. It were to be wiſhed that Mr Addiſon had exerted his poetical talents in an epigram on the ſubject; which, perhaps, is the beſt form for caſting a motto into a tranſlation. In that caſt I have met with the motto of Lord King, a ſucceſſor of Lord Somers in the Great Seal. The motto was, *Labor ipſe voluptas*, as aptly choſen for the perſon as that of Lord Somers; and is thus turned,

'Tis not the ſplendor of the place,
The gilded coach, the purſe, the mace;
Nor all the pompous train of ſtate,
With crowds, that at your levee wait,
That make you happy, make you great.
But whilſt mankind you ſtrive to bleſs,
With all the talents you poſſeſs.
Whilſt the chief joy you do receive,
Ariſes from the joy you give.
This takes the heart, and conquers ſpight,
And makes the heavy burden light.
For pleaſure rightly underſtood,
Is only labour to be good.

P

SOMNER [WILLIAM], a man of great knowledge in the Hiſtory and Antiquities of this country, and Author of the valuable Saxon Dictionary; of which Language he was one of the firſt revivers in this kingdom; was the ſon of Mr William Somner, Regiſtrary of the Court of Canterbury under Sir Nathanael Brent, Commiſſary: and deſcended from an honeſt and creditable family (*a*) [*A*]. He was born, the 30th day of March, 1606, within the pariſh of St Margaret's in Canterbury (*b*), and educated in the free-ſchool of that city; where, if one may judge from his ſubſequent works, he made conſiderable improvements [*B*]. Without proceeding further in his learning, or having the benefit of an univerſity-education, he was taken as Clerk to his father, in the Eccleſiaſtical courts of that dioceſe. And, in a proper time, preferred to a creditable office in thoſe courts by Archbiſhop Laud (*c*) [*C*]. 'His employment leading him in ſome manner, and his thoughts and affections having ever much inclined him, to the ſtudy and 'ſearch of Antiquities, he made them the amuſement of his leiſure hours. More particularly, as bound in duty and thankfulneſs [to uſe his own words (*d*)], he applied 'himſelf to the *Antiquities of Canterbury*, the place of his birth and abode [*D*].' But, at the

(*a*) The Life of Mr Somner by White Kennett; prefix'd to Mr Somner's Treatiſe of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent, printed Oxford, 1693, 8vo. p. 4.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 2.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 5, 6.

(*d*) Preface to his Antiquities of Canterbury.

[*A*] *Deſcended from an honeſt and creditable family.*] Mr Kennett in his Life of our Author (1), obſerves, That the 'name of Somner hath been eminent in 'other ages, and in other counties. *John Somenour* 'of Multon near Croyland was a commoner of ſome 'figure in the reign of King Henry V. (2). There 'was a publick Hall or Inn in Oxford, called from 'the firſt owner of it, *Hoſpitium Somneri*, or *Somenorſtyn* (3). And there is now, or lately was, a 'gentile branch of this ancient name in the county 'of Bucks.'

(1) P. 4.

(2) Hiſt. Croyland. Continuat. p. 502.

(3) Wood, Hiſt. & Ant. Univ. Oxon. L. ii. p. 158.

[*B*] *He made conſiderable improvements.*] Mr Kennett conjectures, that he here imbibed the inclinations to Antiquity from the freſh memory of the late maſter John Twine, L.L.B. who dying in 1581, had been very inquiſitive into former ages; had left a public monument of ſuch knowledge, in his book, *De rebus Albionicis*, &c; and had made particular Collections of the Antiquities of this City: whoſe fame in this part of learning might well incite an emulous youth, and raiſe that ſpirit, which carried him at laſt beyond this great example (4).

(4) Life, p. 5.

[*C*] *Preferred to a creditable office in thoſe Courts by Archbiſhop Laud.*] What office in particular it was, is not ſpecified; only, that in vertue of it, he was entruſted with the Records of that Metropolitical Church. Undoubtedly it was the place of Regiſter of the Archbiſhop's Court. He expreſſed his gratitude to the Archbiſhop, in the Dedication of his Antiquities of Canterbury to him; wherein he acknowledges his Grace's intereſt both in the *Author*, and in the *Work*. In the author, as ſubſiſting in his place and profeſſion, under God, chiefly by his Grace's Favour and Goodneſs. In the Work,——as it is a Diſcourſe of Antiquities; His Grace's tranſcendent and unpatterned care and coſt for the Collection whereof, of all ſorts, from all parts, crowned by his ſingular Piety and Nobleneſs in diſpoſing them to the good and ſervice of the publick; as they were thankfully acknowledged and worthily celebrated by all the Lovers of Antiquities; ſo did they give his Grace an eſpecial intereſt to the fruits of all their Labours who were that way inclined.

[*D*] *The Antiquities of Canterbury.*] This work Mr Somner finiſhed in the thirty-third year of his age (5); and it was publiſhed in 1640, 4to. under this title, 'The Antiquities of Canterbury; or, A Survey 'of that ancient Citie, with the Suburbs and Cathe-'dral; containing principally Matters of Antiquity 'in them all; Collected chiefly from old Manuſcripts, 'Leiger-books, and other like Records, for the moſt 'part never as yet printed: With an Appendix here 'annexed;

(5) Mr Battely's Preface to the ſecond edition, p. 2.

the same time, his constant delight was in the Classic Authors (e); as well as in old Manuscripts, Leiger-books, Rolls, and Records. His Learning in the most useful points, made him so quickly known to be a man of use and service to his country, that upon the great questions, in descents of families, tenure of estates, dedication of churches, right of tithes, and the like, he was consulted as an oracle (f). In the course of his studies, and his search after Antiquities; finding, at every step, how necessary was the knowledge of the Languages of the first Inhabitants of this country, the Britans and Saxons, he set himself in good earnest about learning of them. For the first, the British or Welch, there were rules of Grammar, Dictionaries, and other sufficient memoirs, beside the living dialect, to guide a man of industry and resolution. But the Saxon language was disus'd, and the monuments of it so few and so hidden, that it required infinite courage and patience, to attempt and prosecute the knowledge of it [E]. However, being sensible

(e) As is abundantly plain, from his frequent quotations from them in his writings.

(f) Life, p. 11.

'annexed; wherein (for better satisfaction to the 'Learned) the manuscripts and records of chiefest 'consequence are faithfully exhibited. All (for the 'honour of that ancient Metropolis and his good 'affection to Antiquities) fought out and published by 'the industry and good will of William Somner.'—— This accurate performance is the more laudable, because he could find no way but what he made. There had been indeed two discourses of the like kind, namely, *Tho. Spotte's History of Canterbury* (6); and *Collections of the Antiquities of Canterbury, by John Twine*; to which he refers in his *Comment. de Rebus Albionicis*, but both these were lost to the use of our Author (7), and we do not hear they are yet recovered. So that he had no one writer to transcribe or imitate, but all the labour and glory were his own. It was done in such a juncture as preserved the memorial of many Epitaphs, Inscriptions, and proper observations, which otherwise had been lost to all succeeding ages, during our unhappy civil wars. The greatest encomiums have been given to it, by Mr William Burton (8), Mr Philpot (9), Mr Fotherby (10), and especially by Dr Meric Casaubon (11), and Mr Kilburne (12): The former of whom styles it 'a pious 'and laborious work, and highly useful, not only to 'those who desir'd to know the state of that once 'flourishing city, but to all that were curious in the 'ancient English history;' and the latter says, that he 'only briefly touches upon the City of *Canterbury*, 'because Mr William *Somner* had so elaborately, 'judiciously, and fully wrote of the same, that there 'was left but little (if any thing observable) which 'he had not there set down.' A new Title-page to it was printed in 1662, but it was not a new edition. —— It was reprinted in 1703, fol. with very great Additions; particularly a Second Part, treating of the Cathedral Church, Archbishoprick, Priory of Christ-Church, and Collegiate Church, with a catalogue of the Deans and Canons, the Archdeaconry, Monastery of St Augustin, Parish churches, &c. by *Nicolas Battely*, Vicar of Beaksborn. Illustrated and adorned with several useful and fair Sculptures, particularly of the Monuments. But the fine Font, given by John Warner, Bishop of Rochester, is omitted in this edition.

(6) J. Bale Scriptorum Brytanniæ Catalog. p. 326. edit. 1559. W. Thorne copied it. Idem, p. 487.

(7) See his preface.

(8) Comm. on Antoninus's Itinerary, p. 175, 176.

(9) Villare Cantian. p. 93.

(10) Monast. Anglican. Tom. I. p. 18.

(11) De Ling. Saxon. p. 141.

(12) Survey of Kent, p. 300.

[E] *That it requir'd infinite courage and patience, to attempt and prosecute the knowledge of it.*] The learned Mr Kennett (13) hath made very curious observations upon that occasion, which we shall lay before the reader.——'When the *Saxons* had made 'the *Britans* strangers in their own land, then the 'language which the Conquerors brought with them, 'soon grew into contempt among themselves. Even 'so early as the year 652, "Many out of this island "were sent to the Monasteries of France for Education, "and to bring back the manners and language of "those parts (14)." In the reign of Edward the Confessor, "by the great resort of Normans to his "Court, the whole island began to lose their English "rites, and to imitate the manners of the Franks; "especially it was esteem'd a piece of breeding for "all the great men to speak the Gallic idiom, and to "despise the language and customs of their own "country (15)." 'This inglorious affectation is 'confess'd by an Historian who liv'd in that age. 'It lookt like an omen of being shortly to be conquer'd 'by that nation, of whose tongue and fashions they 'were so industriously fond. The event was so. 'Three and twenty years after came in the Norman 'Lords, who threatened an extirpation to that lan-'guage of which the Natives began to be asham'd. For 'these new Masters "hated the *English*, and so much "abhorred their Language, that the Laws of "land were managed in the French tongue; the "children were taught French in the Schools, and "not English; and even the English manner of "writing was left off, and the French manner came "to be used in books and all manner of writings (16)." 'The ignominious marks of a conquered people. 'The same Author from his own experience does 'again lament, that "the *Saxon Hand*, which had "been us'd in all writings, grew into disgrace, and "the French hand, became it was more legible and "more pleasing to the eyes, did every where ob-"tain (17); so as, in the very next reign, the *Saxon* "*Letters* were so obsolete and so unknown, that none "but few of the elder people were able to read them "(18)." Nay, in the year 1095, Wulstan, Bishop 'of Worcester was depos'd, when scarce any other 'thing was objected against him, but that "he was "an old English idiot, who did not understand the "French tongue (19)." 'It is true, the next successor 'Henry the First, gave a Charter to William Arch-'bishop of Canterbury, confirming to him the posses-'sions of his See, in the Saxon language and cha-'racters (20). This was but a single instance, and 'perhaps done to oblige his Queen of the Saxon line, 'and to ingratiate himself with the *English* Subjects, 'who might hope by this marriage they had a better 'title in him. And therefore it is a mistake in the 'learned *Mabillon* (21), and some other Authors, 'who assert, the Saxon way of writing was lost from 'the very time of the Norman Conquest. It was 'with the Saxon characters as with signs of the Cross 'in public deeds, which were for the most part 'chang'd into the *Norman* way of seals and subscrip-'tions, yet some Charters were with the old form of 'Crosses. The Saxon Dialect obtained no doubt in 'Country Vills, with some borrowed variation from 'the *French*, and some remains of it did intermix 'with the Court language. But the Barons and 'Knights, who were most of them *Norman*, were so 'afraid of their children's talking the old *English*, 'that in the reign of *Henry* the Second, "They sent "them over into *France* for education, to wear off "the barbarousness of the native tongue (22)." 'At 'the beginning of the reign of *Edward* the third, 'Robert Holcot, a Dominican, confesses, "there was "no institution of children in the old *English*, but "they first learn'd the French, and from the *French* "the Latin tongue, which he observes to have been "a practice introduc'd by *William* the Conqueror, "and to have ever since obtain'd (23)." 'Tho' 'from the first decline of the Barons, and advance 'of the Commons who were more of English blood, 'the Country language grew more into request; 'till 'at last the Commons in Parliament at Westminster 'the 36. of *Edw.* the third, shewed so much of 'the English spirit, as to represent to the King "the "great mischief which would happen to divers of the "Realm, if that the Laws were pleaded, shewed, "and judged in the *French* tongue, which is much "unknown in the said Realm, &c. Upon which it "was ordain'd and stablished, that all Plees, &c. "should be pleaded, shewed and defended, answered, "debated, and judged in the *English* tongue, &c. "(24)." 'Yet this law did by no means restore the 'Saxon, either in the Alphabet or in the prime 'Dialect: It only redeemed the kingdom from an old 'token of subjection, and did honour to the then 'compound language, much vitiated by imported 'words and phrases. And still there seem'd a dash

(13) Life, &c. p. 24—29.

(14) Monast. Anglic. Tom. I. p. 89.

(15) Ingulphi Histor. edit. Oxon. 1684. p. 62.

(16) Id. p. 85.

(17) Id. p. 98.

(18) Mat. Paris sub anno.

(19) H. Wharton Auctar. Hist. Dogm. p. 388.

(20) De Re Diplomat. p. 52.

(21) Gervas. Tilbur. de otiis Imper. MS. in Bibl. Bodl.

(22) Rob. Holcot, Lect. 2. super Sapient.

(23) Polton Stat. 36 Edw. III.

'of

ſenſible of what Sir Henry Spelman had found by his own experience, 'that the know-
'ledge of the Saxon language was ſo far neceſſary, as without it the Antiquities of Eng-
'land could not be diſcovered, or muſt be but imperfectly known (g);' he earneſtly ſet about it, through the advice and encouragement of his conſtant friend Dr Meric Caſaubon. When he began, he had a hard taſk; ſince he was in a manner to invent the language as well as to reſtore it. For upon his firſt eſſays that way, he had but two poor Manuſcripts, and one of them on ſo obſcure a ſubject, as might have exerciſed a critic, ſooner than inſtructed a novice. But, animated rather than diſcouraged by difficulties, he proſecuted the ſtudy of the Saxon tongue, with ſuch induſtrious perſeverance, and proportionable happy ſucceſs, that he ſurpaſſed not only thoſe that went before, but alſo moſt of thoſe that have come after him (b). Having thus made himſelf maſter of the Saxon tongue, his next work was, to write large and learned Notes and obſervations on the Laws of King Henry I. publiſhed by Sir Roger Twiſden in 1644, fol. with a very uſeful Gloſſary (i), in the room of the old one, which was faulty in many places (k). From the time of his engaging in the Antiquities of Canterbury, he laid the foundation of a larger deſign, namely, to collect materials for a juſt and perfect Hiſtory of the county of Kent (l). But, as he complains, 'being ſoon after overtaken by that impetuous 'ſtorm of civil war, he was neceſſitated to betake himſelf to other thoughts (m).' His Treatiſe of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent is ſuppoſed to have been part of that intended work [F]. At the ſame time, his Enquiries into the Cuſtoms and Tenures of his native County, produced his excellent Treatiſe of Gavelkind [G]. It was finiſhed about

(g) See our author's Epiſtle Dedicatory to his Saxon Dictionary.

(b) Life, p. 22—30.

(i) Caſaubon de Lingua Saxonica, p. 141.

(k) See our author's Gloſſary, at the end of Decem Scriptores.

(l) Life, p. 32, &c.

(m) Preface to his Treatiſe of Gavelkind.

'of the *Norman* ſpirit, which by the ſame law pro-
'vided "that all ſuch Pleas ſhould be entred and
"enroll'd in the Latin." 'If there were any con-
'veyance of the true *Saxon* tongue, it was in the
'Monaſteries; but in thoſe only which were founded
'before the *Norman* Conqueſt; for in ſuch, intereſt
'did oblige them to underſtand the language of their
'original Charters. It was for this reaſon, that in
'the Abbey of *Croyland*, "a Tutor was appointed
"to teach *Saxon* to ſome of the younger brethren,
"that in their old age they might be more fit to
"alledge the Records of their Monaſtery againſt their
"adverſaries (25)." 'And it was no doubt for the
'like reaſon, that in the Abby of Taviſtoke, which
'had a Saxon Founder about 691, "there were
"ſolemn Lectures in the Saxon tongue, even to the
"time of the ſuppreſſion of the Abbeys, that the
"knowledge of that language might not fail, as it has
"ſince well nigh done (26)."

(25) Ingulph, ut ſupra, p. 98.

(26) Camden Britann. in Devonſhire.

When Mr Somner began to learn Saxon, there were very few Saxon Books in print; except King Alfred's Tranſlation of the *New Teſtament*, publiſhed by John Foxe in 1571. and *W. Lambarde's Saxon Laws*; the firſt volume of Sir Henry *Spelman's Councils*, &c. But he Himſelf greatly facilitated the knowledge of it by his moſt valuable Saxon Dictionary, as it hath been ſince by the labours of *Abr. Wheloc, Will. Liſle, Dr Tho. Marſhall, Francis Junius*, Biſhop *Gibſon, Edward Thwaites, Tho. Rawlinſon*, Eſq; *Tho. Benſon*; eſpecially the learned *Dr Hickes*. And the beneficent Dr Richard Rawlinſon hath encouraged the ſtudy of it as much as poſſible, by founding a Lecture for the teaching of it at Oxford.

[F] *Treatiſe of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent.*] It remained in manuſcript 'till 1693, when it was publiſhed by James Brome, M. A. Rector of Cheriton, and Chaplain to the Cinque-Ports. Oxford 1693, 8vo. with notes by Mr Edmund Gibſon, afterwards the late learned Biſhop of London; and the Life of Mr Somner, prefix'd, by Mr White Kennett, afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough.

[G] *His excellent Treatiſe of Gavelkind.*] That it was finiſhed about the beginning of the year 1647, is manifeſt from this Teſtimonial, inſerted in the Appendix.

'I have perus'd this learned treatiſe of Gavel kind,
'and judge it very fit to be publiſhed.
'Apr. 7, 1647. *Ja. Armachanus.*'

But there were two reaſons, that hindered the publication then. Namely, the diſtreſs and perſecution of the writer, which might take from him the deſire and ability of printing. And, the ignorance and affectation of thoſe times, that hated all Antiquity eccleſiaſtical and civil; and doted on a new Goſpel, and new Laws: ſo that 'till the nation was diſpoſſeſt of this ſpirit, it was not fit to caſt the pearl before them. At laſt, upon the Nation's returning to their ſenſes at the Reſtoration in 1660, the book came out, with this title: 'A Treatiſe of Gavelkind, both 'Name and Thing; Shewing the true Etymology, 'and Derivation of the one; the Nature, Antiquity, 'and Original of the other: With ſundry emergent 'Obſervations, both pleaſant and profitable to be 'known of Kentiſh-men and others, eſpecially ſuch 'as are ſtudious either of the ancient Cuſtom, or the 'common Law of this Kingdom. By (a well-wiſher 'to both) William Somner.' Lond. 1660. 4to. The Treatiſe is divided into theſe five heads. 1. The true *Etymologie* and derivation of the name, where he refutes the fancy of Lambard, Coke, Camden, Verſtegan, Cowell, Spelman, Dodderidge, and many other Lawyers and Antiquaries, who would derive it from the Saxon ȝyfe-eal cyn *give to all kindred, or to all alike.* Whereas he proves the name is by no means borrowed from the partible nature of the land; but from ȝafol or ȝavel *a tribute or cuſtomary rent*, and ȝecynde *nature, ſort*, or *kind*; implying it to be land not held in fee, as *Knights ſervice*; but chargeable with ſuch rents as made it *Socage tenure*. 2. He enquires into the *nature* of Gavelkind *in point of partition*, and proves it was neither from the name, nor bare nature of the land; but partly from the nature of the land, and partly from a general cuſtom extended through the whole county in ſuch cenſual land. 3. He ſearches into the *Antiquity* of Gavelkind-cuſtom (in point eſpecially of partition) and why more general in Kent than elſewhere. 4. Whether Gavel kind be properly a tenure or cuſtom? where he treats with incomparable learning of all feudatory right, and all menial ſervice. 5. Whether before the ſtatute of Wills (32, and 34 Henry VIII.) Gavelkind-land in Kent were deviſable or not? which he reſolves in the negative, and anſwers all arguments of thoſe who held the contrary. At the end, is an Appendix of Charters, and other original Papers, referred to, in the Treatiſe.—"In this elaborate work, the learned Author is moſt happy in the Etymology and deſcription, not only of Gavelkind, but alſo of *Socage*, of the Normans *Fief de Haubert*, and *Fief de Roturier*; of the Saxons Boclanb and Folclanb; of the Feudiſts *Allodium* and *Feudum*, &c. wherein he is ſingular and diſſenting from all precedent writers, with ſuch a vein of modeſty, and ſuch a ſtrength of reaſon and authority, as has yet ſatisfied all readers, and ſilenc'd all Critics. He has farther explain'd all the different tenures *In capite*; *Knights-ſervice*; *Fee-farm*; *Frank-almoign*; *Divine ſervice*; *Eſcuage certain*; *Burgage*; *Villenage*, &c. with all lands denominated from their ſervice, as *Work land*; *Boc-land*; *Averland*; *Drof-land*; *Swilling-land*; *Mol-land*; *Berland*; *Ware land*; *Terra-Sufanna*; *For-land*; *Bordland*; *Scrudland*; *Over-land*; *Mondy-land*, &c. Wherein he ſupplies and corrects Littleton, and his oraculous Commentator, Sir Edward Coke: He fills up the defects of Spelman, and prevents the induſtry of future Gloſſographers. By this one performance he indeed ſhew'd himſelf an abſolute Civilian, and a complete common Lawyer (27)." Mr Battely ſays (28),

(27) Life, p. 43—50.

about the beginning of the year 1647; but the publication of it was retarded by the want of Peace in this country, 'Peace that mother of Arts,' as he calls it (n). At length, after it had lain by him above twelve years, he publiſhed it in 1660, upon the encouragement of ſome worthy and judicious friends (o). During our unhappy civil wars Mr Somner adhered inviolably to the Royal cauſe, with two of his brothers (p): and, after the King's murder, he bewailed his death in two Poems [H]. In the mean time, he employed himſelf in his beloved ſtudy of Antiquity, and compoſed, 'A diſcourſe of *Portus Iccius*, wherein the late conceits of Chifletius, in his Topographical diſcourſe, are examined and refuted: the judgment of Cluverius concerning the ſame Ports aſſerted and embraced, and the true ſite thereof more clearly demonſtrated [I].' His ſkill in the Saxon tongue, obliging him to enquire into moſt of the European languages ancient and modern; this made him run through the old Gallic, Iriſh, Scotch, and Daniſh dialects, eſpecially the Gothic, Sclavonian, and German. Of his perfection in the latter, he gave the world a public ſpecimen, in his curious Obſervations on ſome old German words, that had been collected by the learned Lipſius: which Obſervations were publiſhed by Dr Meric Caſaubon [K], at the end of his Commentary on the Hebrew and Saxon languages in 1650. His next opportunity of ſerving the world, was in drawing up the learned Gloſſary, printed at the end of the Ten Writers of the Engliſh Hiſtory [L], publiſhed by Sir Roger Twiſden in 1652. Mr Somner's reputation was now ſo well eſtabliſhed,

(n) Preface to the ſame Treatiſe.

(o) Ibid.

(p) John, who was afterwards Wood-reve to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and George, Major of the militia in Kent, ſlain at Wye in 1648. Life, p. 90.

(28) Preface to Antiq. of Canterbury.

(28), that 'this Treatiſe came abroad ſo compleat, 'as it did not afterwards admit of one correction (the 'Errata of the preſs being excepted) from his own 'pen, nor of any one Alteration or Addition, tho' 'he lived ſeveral years after he publiſhed it.' But, notwithſtanding this ſuppoſed correctneſs, in 1726, there came out a ſecond edition, *corrected from the many errors* of the former impreſſion; with Mr Somner's Life, written, newly reviſed, and much enlarged, by Wh. Keanett, Biſhop of Peterborough, 4to.

[H] *He bewailed his death in two Poems.*] The firſt is intituled, "The Inſecuritie of Princes conſi-"dered in an occaſional Meditation upon the Kings "late Sufferings and Death." Which begins thus:

"O how doth ſad experience verifie
'His perilous eſtate, that ſits on high!
'The lowly ſhrub ſtands ever firm and faſt,
'Whilſt lofty cedars ſhake with every blaſt.
'No ſtormy winds diſturb the humble vale,
'Whilſt the proud mountain feels the ſmalleſt gale.
'Safety but ſeldom at the Court reſides;
'It flies the Prince, and with the peaſant 'bides."

The other Poem hath prefixed to it the Pourtraiture of King Charles I. before his Εικων Βασιλικη, with this title, "The Frontiſpiece of the King's Book "opened; with a Poem annexed, The Inſecuritie "of Princes, &c." Both printed in 4to.

[I] *A diſcourſe of Portus Iccius*, &c.] This diſcourſe remained in manuſcript 'till 1694, when it was tranſlated into Latin by Mr Edmund Gibſon, afterwards the late excellent Biſhop of London; and printed at Oxford, with this title, 'Julii Cæſaris Portus Iccius 'illuſtratus: five 1. Gulielmi Somneri ad Chifletii 'Librum de Portu Iccio, reſponſio; nunc primum 'ex MS. edita. 2. Caroli Du Freſne Diſſertatio de 'Portu Iccio. Tractatum utrumque Latine vertit, & 'nova Diſſertatione auxit Edmundus Gibſon, Art. 'Bac. è Coll. Reg. Oxon. 1694. 8vo.' Mr Battely

(29) Preface, as above.

obſerves (29), that 'the Tranſlator has faithfully done 'his part, and has given much credit to the diſcourſe, 'by attiring it in the old Roman dreſs, a garb moſt 'ſuitable to a diſcourſe upon ſuch a ſubject.'

[K] *Obſervations upon ſome old German words*, &c.] Dr Caſaubon, whilſt he was employed in his Eſſay on the *Saxon* tongue, hapned upon an epiſtle of Juſtus Lipſius to Schottus, which contain'd a large catalogue of old German words, in uſe with that nation, about eight or nine hundred years before. The Doctor thought many of them had a great affinity to the Saxon; and therefore, being then at London, ſent down the Catalogue to Mr Somner at Canterbury, and deſir'd his opinion of them. Who within few days return'd his Animadverſions, nd ſhew'd the relation of the German with the Saxon tongue. But becauſe they were too long to be inſerted by Dr Caſaubon, in the body of his diſcourſe; he plac'd them as an Appendix under this title *Gulielmi Somneri Cantuarienſis ad verba vetera Germanica a V. Cl. Juſto Lipſio Epiſt. Cent.* III. *ad Belgas Epiſt.* XLIV. *collecta, Notæ* (30).

(30) Life, p. 57.

[L] *The Ten Writers of the Engliſh Hiſtory*] That valuable collection came out in 1652, fol. with this title, 'Hiſtoriæ *Anglicanæ Scriptores* X. Simeon 'Monachus Dunelmenſis. Johannes Prior Hagulſtal-'denſis. Richardus Prior Hagulſtaldenſis. Ailredus 'Abbas Rievallenſis. Radulphus de Diceto Londo-'nienſis. Johannes Brompton Jornallenſis. Gerva-'ſius Monachus Dorobernenſis. Thomas Stubbs 'Dominicanus. Guilielmus Thorn Cantuarienſis. 'Henricus Knighton Leiceſtrenſis. Ex vetuſtis Manu-'ſcriptis nunc primum in lucem editi.'

This great work may be ſaid to have been the joint undertaking of Sir Roger Twiſden, Archbiſhop Uſher, John Selden, Eſq; and the amanuenſis Mr Ralph Jennings. Theſe learned men being ſenſible, that the obſcure and obſolete words, which often occurred in thoſe monkiſh hiſtorians, wanted an explanation; and knowing none ſo well qualified for giving the juſt and true meaning of them as Mr Somner, they committed the buſineſs to him, which he diſcharged with great abilities and integrity. Sir Roger Twiſden takes from thence occaſion to give this good character of our author. "De *Gloſſario* verbum Sine quo hoc je-"junum & parum utile prorſus extitiſſet opus, illud a "*Guilielmo Somnero*, priſtinæ probitatis & candoris "viro, patriarumq; antiquitatum indagatore ſaga-"ciſſimo, & ad hoc linguæ Anglo-Saxonicæ peritiſſimo, "in tuam gratiam elaboratum intelligas." And, a little lower, he ſtyles him, a man "ſummæ modeſtiæ "& ingenuitatis, &c." i. e. 'of the greateſt modeſty 'and ingenuity; and of primitive candor and probity; 'a moſt induſtrious ſearcher into the antiquities of his 'country, and withal extremely well ſkill'd in the 'Saxon language.——This Gloſſary, being a key to 'recluſe and antiquated words, improv'd whatever 'of this nature had been done before: it amends and 'ſupplies the old *Gallic Gloſſary* of *Pintanus*; the '*Signification of words* by *Skenæus*; the *explanation* 'of *Terms* prefix'd by Mr *Lambard* to his Saxon Laws; 'the *Onomaſticon* of *Clement Reiner*, in his *Apoſtol. Bened. in Anglia*; the *Gloſſography* to the Works of '*Chaucer*; the Etymologicon of *Jo. Ger. Voſſius*; the '*Gloſſary* of Dr *Watts*, adjoin'd to his nobie edition 'of *Mat. Paris*; and above all the excellent Gloſſary 'of Sir *Henry Spelman*, then only publiſht to the 'letter N. Nor has Mr Somner, like the former 'Gloſſographers, confin'd himſelf to the antiquated 'names of things; but with happy learning has com-'mented on the name of this iſland, and ſeveral parts 'of it; to which he has affixt ſuch new and appoſite 'derivations, as delight and ſatisfie all judicious 'readers. It is indeed a work of that extent, as may 'ſerve for a *clavis* [key] to all other Hiſtorians, and 'to all Records (31).' But it might be greatly improved, from our Author's ſubſequent Collections which remain in the Archeves of Canterbury; from Fr. Junius's Etymologicon Anglicanum; and from Dr Wilkins's Gloſſary at the end of his edition of the Saxon Laws, &c.

(31) Life, p. 62.

[M] The

bliſhed, that no monuments of Antiquity could be further publiſhed without his advice and aſſiſtance. Therefore he helped Mr Dugdale and Mr Dodſworth in compiling the Monaſticon Anglicanum [*M*]. And, through the importunity of his friends, he undertook, about the ſame time, to collect a Saxon Dictionary. For his ſupport during that laborious work, Roger Spelman, Eſq; granted him the Salary, ſettled on the Saxon Lecture founded by his grandfather Sir Henry Spelman [*N*]. He uſed ſuch expedition, that the Dictionary was printed off, and publiſhed in 1659, fol. [*O*]. As he had been always a zealous Royaliſt, ſo, at the dawning of the Reſtoration, he joined thoſe Noblemen, and Gentlemen of the county of Kent (*q*), who were promoting a Declaration, and getting hands to a Petition, for a full and free Parliament; for which he was impriſoned in the caſtle of Deal, or Dover; but releaſed upon the King's coming (*r*). By way of reward for his ſervices and ſufferings, he was promoted, in 1660, to the Maſterſhip of St John's Hoſpital in the ſuburbs of Canterbury; of which he recovered ſome part of the Endowment: and alſo appointed Auditor of Chriſt-Church, in the ſame city, by the Dean and Chapter, to whom he was a father and friend, more than an honorary ſervant (*s*). He continued happy in the friendſhip and acquaintance of the greateſt men that were his contemporaries [*P*], 'till the time of his death; which happened March 30, 1669. He was buried April the 2d, in the church of St Margaret's in Canterbury, where many of his anceſtors lay (*t*). In the beginning of his laſt illneſs, he took an opportunity to tell his

(*q*) Namely, Sir William Man, Sir John Boys, Mr Ingeham, Mr John Boys, Mr Lovelace, and Mr *Maſters*, &c. Mercurius Polit. No. 606. p. 1072.

(*r*) Life, p. 91. Publick Intelligence, No. 609.

(*s*) Life, p. 99.

(*t*) Life, p. 102.

[*M*] *The Monaſticon Anglicanum*] Of this work, the firſt volume was publiſh'd in 1655, fol. And the parts furniſhed by Mr Somner, were the Charters of *Chriſt Church* and St *Auguſtin*'s in Canterbury, the ichnography of the Cathedral, the draught of the Monaſtery, and other ſculptures; with the original Charter of the Abbey of *Feverſham*, then in his poſſeſſion. He likewiſe gave information of ſeveral particulars relating to the city and county. And tranſlated all the Saxon originals, and the Engliſh tranſcripts from the Itinerary of *Leland*, and other records, into plain and proper Latin; as Sir John Marſham acquaints the reader in the *Propylæum*.—— In the library of the Cathedral church of Canterbury, there is a copy of this firſt volume; wherein is inſerted after the *Propylæum* a printed leaf, containing ſix copies of verſes made by Kentiſh-men, in commendation of Mr Dodſworth, Mr Dugdale, and Mr *Somner*, who are there ſaid to be the joint collectors of that glorious work (32).

(32) Life, p. 67—69.

[*N*] *Roger Spelman, Eſq; granted him the Salary, ſettled on the Saxon Lecture*, &c.] Mr Kennett gives us the following account, of the occaſion of founding that Lecture. "The great Sir *Henry Spelman*, while he was at Cambridge with Mr Jeremy Stephens, to ſearch the Libraries there, and collect materials for his deſigned Volumes of *Britiſh Councils*, finding many *Saxon* Manuſcripts, and very few that underſtood them; reſolved to found a Lecture in that language, in order to reſtore and improve the ſtudy of it. This generous act was ſoon done by him, and he firſt conferr'd that office on Mr *Abraham Wheelock*, of King's college Cambridge, that had aſſiſted him in ſome tranſcripts of that tongue; and, for endowment, ſettled on him and his ſucceſſors a ſufficient yearly ſtipend, with preſentation to the Vicarage of Middleton, nigh Linn Regis in Norfolk (33). By the death of Mr Wheelock in 1657, the diſpoſal of that Lecture fell to Roger Spelman, Eſq; ſon of Sir John, ſon of the Founder, who deſign'd to beſtow it on Mr Samuel Foſter, a learned and worthy Divine. But Archbiſhop Uſher, a friend to Antiquities and Mr Somner, recommended him to the patron, 'that he would confer 'on him the pecuniary ſtipend, to enable him to 'compile a *Saxon Dictionary*, which would more 'improve that tongue than bare Academic Lectures '(34)."

(33) Wheelock, Præfat. ad Bedam, a ſe editum.

(34) Somneri Epiſt. Dedic. ad Saxonic. Diction.

Upon this occaſion, Mr Kennett makes the following proper Reflections. "And herein that Prelate was like himſelf, judicious. For the endowment of public Lectures has often met with this ill ſucceſs; to make the Readers neglect, and the Hearers deſpiſe them. Whereas if the ſame rewards were given, on condition of printing thoſe Lectures, or publiſhing ſome other remains of that Art or Science: mens induſtry would be greater, and the republic of letters much better ſerv'd. This ſeem'd the intention of the wiſe and pious founder Sir Henry Spelman, in eſtabliſhing this lecture: The words of his foundation being, 'to promote the Saxon tongue, either by 'reading it publicly, or by the edition of Saxon 'Manuſcripts, and other books (35).' Which laſt

(35) Wheelock Præfat. ut ſupra.

deſign Mr Wheelock had moſt anſwered, by publiſhing the Eccleſiaſtical *Hiſtory of Bede*, with the *Saxon Paraphraſe* of King Alfred. The *Saxon Chronology* with his own Latin verſion, and Mr *Lambard*'s *Saxon Laws*, with ſome Additions. Cambr. 1644, fol.

This reaſon of the thing, and the will of his grandfather, inclin'd Mr Spelman to comply with the advice of Archbiſhop Uſher, and to preſent Mr Somner to the annual ſalary of that Lecture. Which this man of tenderneſs and modeſty would not accept, without the free conſent of Mr Foſter, before nominated to the place: who preferr'd the public before his own intereſt, and Mr Somner before himſelf. Therefore content with the eccleſiaſtical benefice, he left the annual portion of money to Mr Somner, who receiving this reward, would not omit the duty for it (36)."

(36) Life, p. 72—74.

[*O*] *The Dictionary was printed off, and publiſhed in* 1659] Mr Battely juſtly ſtyles it, 'the true and 'laſting Monument of his praiſe: a work of incredible 'Labour to himſelf, and of ſingular Benefit to the 'world (37).' The previous aſſiſtances of the like kind, which came into the hands of Mr Somner; were, 1. Archbiſhop *Ælfric*'s Gloſſary, tranſcrib'd by Fr Junius, from a very ancient copy in the library of Sir Peter Paul Rubens of Bruſſels. 2. Two ancient Saxon Gloſſaries in the *Cotton* Library, the one a thin folio, the other a more thick octavo. 3. *Laurence Nowell*'s Saxon Vocabulary, procur'd and lent by Mr Selden. 4 *John Joſceline*'s collections, tranſcrib'd and communicated by Sir Symonds Dewes, Bart.—— From theſe, and all other Saxon books then extant, Mr Somner made immenſe Collections, in two large Volumes folio, for the compiling of his Dictionary. When it was finiſh'd, he ſent it to Oxford, where it was printed; and came out in April 1659, with an elegant inſcription to all Students in the Saxon tongue; a grateful Dedication to his patron Roger Spelman, Eſq; and a proper Preface. The Author and his work recommended by verſes, both Engliſh and Latin: With an Appendix of the Grammar and Gloſſary of *Ælfric*. And at the end of all, is a Catalogue of thoſe worthy perſons who contributed to the great charge of the Impreſſion: for it was printed by ſubſcription. ——Mr Somner made afterwards ſeveral additions and corrections to it, from notes and obſervations ſent him by Mr *George Davenport* a great proficient in that language. And Fr. *Junius* left a copy with his own curious collections and illuſtrations (38).——In 1701, Mr Tho. Benſon of Queen's college, Oxon. publiſh'd, Vocabularium Anglo-Saxonicum, Lexico Gul. Somneri magna parte auctius. Large 8vo. But if every Saxon word had begun a new line, the work would have been more diſtinct and uſefull.

(37) Preface.

(38) Life, p. 75—86.

[*P*] *He continued happy in the friendſhip and acquaintance of the greateſt men.*] Particularly, of Archbiſhop Laud, Archbiſhop Uſher, Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart. Sir Roger Twiſden, Bart, Sir William Dugdale, Mr Roger Dodſworth, Sir Simonds Dewes, Bart Mr William Burton, Sir John Marſham, Sir Edward Byſſhe, Clarenceux, Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; Dr Thomas Fuller, Dr William Watts, Mr George Davenport, and eſpecially Dr Meric Caſaubon, &c. (39).

(39) Life, &c. p. 105—115.

his wife, that he had never been let blood, nor taken any phyſic; which was a juſt argument, not only of his happy conſtitution, but of his exact temperance and ſobriety. He was twice married. His firſt wife was Mrs Elizabeth Thurgar, of a good family in Cambridgeſhire, who lived with him about thirty years: and by her he had three daughters, and one ſon, which all dyed young. His ſecond wife was Barbara, daughter of Mr John Dawſon, a great Royaliſt in Kent, by whom he had, one daughter that dyed unmarried; William educated at Merton-college, and Vicar of Liminge in Kent; John, a Surgeon; and another ſon. He left but a ſmall competence, which if not frugally managed, could never have anſwered the ſupport of his widow, and the education of his children. However, by his laſt Will he gave ſeveral Legacies to the poor. His many well choſen Books, and curious Manuſcripts, were purchaſed by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, and depoſited in the publick Library of that church (*u*) [2]. Mr Somner's whole life was, like his writings, void of prejudice and paſſion. He was courteous, without deſign: wiſe, without a trick: and faithful, without a reward. Humble, and compaſſionate: moderate, and equal: never fretted by his afflictions: nor elated by the favours of heaven, and good men (*w*). His profeſſion was, that 'he loved truth (*x*) 'of all ſcience) for itſelf; and was all together unbiaſt with any by-reſpects, whether 'of 'vain-glory, ſingularity, or the like: making it his conſtant endeavour, that Truth alone 'might triumph over falſhood, Antiquity over Novelty (*x*).

(*u*) Life, p. 101, 103.

(*w*) Life, p. 98.

(*x*) Pref. to his Treatiſe of Gavelkind.

[2] *His curious Manuſcripts were purchaſed by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.*] They were, I. 'Obſervations upon the Commiſſary of Canter-'bury's Patent. This Diſcourſe, it is ſuppoſed, was the firſt-fruits of his labours, the beginnings of his ſtudy of Antiquity. It was compoſed in the time of Archbiſhop Abbot, a little after the death of King James the Firſt, upon the patent of Commiſſariſhip granted to Sir Nathanael Brent. Great part of it was inſerted by the Author into his Antiquities of Canterbury, and the reſt is not fitted for public uſe (40). II. 'Collections out of ancient MSS. and Records, 'relating to the City and Church of Canterbury, and 'to other Towns and Churches in Kent' Many of them are publiſhed in W. Thorn's Chronicle. III. 'Large Extracts out of the Chronicle of William Thorn, 'with other extracts out of the Obituary of Chriſt-Church 'Canterbury; and out of the Regiſters of the Churches 'of Canterbury and Rocheſter, with Collections out of the Saxon Annals.' The greateſt part of theſe Extracts have ſince been publiſhed in the Firſt Part of *Anglia Sacra* (41). IV. 'His Antiquities of 'Canterbury interleaved.' With ſome Corrections and Alterations. V. 'Chartham News; or, A brief 'Relation of ſome ſtrange Bones there, lately digged 'up, in ſome Grounds of Mr John Somner's of Can-'terbury.' Printed at the end of the firſt Part of his Antiquities of Canterbury, 2d edition. It was firſt publiſhed by his brother in 1669. V. 'Some Emen-'dations upon his Treatiſe of Gavelkind.' VI. 'Hiſtory of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent.' Publiſhed in 1693-4. VII. 'A Diſcourſe of *Portus 'Iccius*;' tranſlated into Latin by Mr Gibſon, and publiſh'd in 1694, as is above related. VIII. '*Littus Saxonicum per Britanniam.* IX. *Scholia & Animadverſiones in Leges Henrici primi, Regis Angliæ, ſubnectitur Gloſſarium rerum & verborum difficilium in dictis Legibus.* Dedicated to Sir Robert Twiſden. X. 'Marginal notes upon Mr Selden's *Spicilegium ad 'Eadmerum*; eſpecially an Emendation of Selden's 'tranſlation of the Laws of William the Conqueror, 'publiſh'd by him, p. 173, &c. XI. Some marginal 'Notes upon the *Grand Couſtumier* of Normandy.' XII *Adverſaria in Spelmanni Gloſſarium; in Watſii Gloſſarium Matthæo Paris additum; in tractatum Ger. Voſſii de vitio Sermonis.* In one volume. XIII. 'A 'large Collection, in order to the compiling his Saxon 'Dictionary, in two volumes. XIV. 'A tranſcript 'of a large Saxon theological Treatiſe.' XV. 'Col-'lections out of Tranſcripts of ſeveral ancient Saxon 'MSS. in two volumes.' XVI. 'His emendations 'upon Sir Henry Spelman's two Volumes of the 'Councils (42); where he has collated the text with 'the MSS. and amended the Tranſlation with the 'Saxon originals; having gone through the whole 'work.' Theſe emendations were made uſe of by Dr Wilkins, in his ſubſequent edition of the Councils. XVII. 'His larges Notes upon Spelman's Gloſſary. XVIII. Some marginal Emendations on Ch. Spelman's 'Saxon Pſalter. XIX. Marginal Emendations on 'J. Foxe's Saxon Goſpels. XX. Marginal Emenda-'tions on Liſle's Saxon monument. XXI. Large 'marginal Notes upon Meric Caſaubon's book, *De 'quatuor Linguis.* XXII. Large Marginal Notes upon 'Verſtegan. XXIII. Marginal Notes upon *Bracton 'de Legibus Angliæ.* XXIV. Marginal Notes upon 'Horne's Mirrour of Juſtice. XXV. Marginal Notes 'upon the old Collection of Engliſh and Latin Statutes, 'printed in 1556. XXVI. Marginal Notes upon 'Mr Silas Taylor's Hiſtory of Gavelkind, correcting 'his miſtakes. XXVII. Some Collections towards his 'intended Hiſtory of Kent. XXVIII. *Lamberti Leges 'Saxonicæ.*' Where he has amended the tranſlation. XXIX. 'Another copy of Αρχαιονομια, full of 'Emendations and Annotations throughout.' XXX. *Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ, a V. C. Guil. Lambardo* olim editæ, ex integro Latinè datæ. He juſtly thought the former tranſlation too elaborate, affected, and paraphraſtical; which made him undertake this new one, and do it in a more plain, and, as near as could be, in a literal manner: Adding ſome Laws that were omitted in Mr Lambarde's collection. He alſo tranſlated theſe Laws into Engliſh (43).

(40) N. Battely's Preface.

(41) Ibid.

(42) He aſſiſted in the publication of the 2d volume. Life, p. 88, 89.

(43) Life, p. 51, 52.

C

SOUTH [Dr ROBERT], a learned and witty Divine, was of a genteel extraction, being deſcended from the Souths of Kelſtone and Kielby in Lincolnſhire (*a*); but his father, Mr William South, ſettling in London, became an eminent merchant there, and marrying a gentlewoman of the name of Berry, deſcended from the Berryes in Kent [*A*], had this ſon, born at his houſe in Hackney, in the year 1633. He early diſcovered an extraordinary genius for letters, and having gone through the firſt rudiments of Grammar with uncommon ſucceſs, was ſent to Weſtminſter-ſchool, where he was entered King's ſcholar in 1647. And he made himſelf remarkable the following year, by reading the Latin prayers in the ſchool, on the day of King Charles the Firſt's martyrdom, and praying

(*a*) Sir Francis South was at the head of the family. Memoirs of the Life of R. b. South, &c. p. 4. edit. 1717, 8vo.

[*A*] *Deſcended from the Berryes in Kent.*] This family is celebrated for the production of many eminent men, among whom was Sir John Berry, Admiral in King Charles the Second's reign, who commanded the Glouceſter man of war, wherein King James the Second, then Duke of York, very narrowly eſcaped a ſhipwreck (1). Our author had a picture of this gentleman, which by his laſt will he bequeaths to Dame Phœbe Hardreſs, of Kent, together with thoſe of her grandfather and grandmother at large, as likewiſe a gold ring with her grandfather's arms, neatly engraven upon it. 'Things, he obſerves, very proper (if as 'friendly accepted as they are offered) to remember 'her worthy family and relations by (2).'

(1) Gen. Hiſt. of England.

(2) The ſecond codicil of his Will, dated June 2, 1714, annexed to Memoirs of his Life, &c.

[*B*] *Verſes*

praying for his Majeſty by name (*b*). After the famous Dr Buſby had cultivated and improved ſo promiſing a genius with particular induſtry and encouragement for four years, he was choſen a ſtudent to Chriſt-Church-college in Oxford in 1651 (*c*); where having the advantage of a handſome allowance from his mother (*d*), and the countenance of his relation, Dr John South, of New-college, Regius-Profeſſor of the Greek tongue (*e*): he obtained thoſe acquiſitions in literature, that made him the admiration and eſteem of the whole univerſity, and drew upon him the eyes of the beſt maſters of humanity, and other ſtudies, by the quick progreſs he made through them. He took his firſt degree in Arts, February 24, 1654-5 (*f*), having wrote an elegant copy of Latin verſes, congratulating Cromwell, then Protector, upon the peace concluded that year with the Dutch [*B*]. In 1655, he wrote his famous Latin poem, intituled, *Muſica Incantans: ſive Poema exprimens muſicæ vires, juvenem in inſaniam abigentis, & muſici inde periculum* *. He commenced Maſter of Arts on the 12th of June, 1657, after performing all the preparatory exerciſes for it with the higheſt applauſe [*C*], and ſuch a peculiar turn of wit and humour, as juſtly entituled him to repreſent the *Terræ Filius*, in which character he ſpoke the uſual ſpeech at the celebration of the Act the ſame year (*g*). In 1658, he entered into Holy Orders, being ordained by one of the deprived Biſhops, according to the rights and ceremonies of the Church of England (*h*). He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the pulpit as much as he had done in the roſtrum, and the following year he was pitched upon to preach the aſſize ſermon before the Judges, in which he expreſſed ſuch a warm zeal againſt the Independents, as highly pleaſed the Preſbyterians; and Dr Edward Reynolds, who had been ſome years before Dean of Chriſt-Church, happening to be one of his auditors, did, in going

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1042. The famous John Locke was choſen at the ſame time.

(*d*) 30 *l.* a year.

(*e*) He was alſo Præcentor of the church of Saliſbury, and Vicar of Writtle in Eſſex. Ibid. p. 5.

(*f*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 105.

* It was then highly applauded for the beauty of the language and the quickneſs of it's turns, and was printed, at Dr Fell's requeſt, in 1657; but our author, to his dying day, regretted the publication of it, as a juvenile and trifling performance, Ibid. p. 19. Mr Wood mentions an edition in 1655. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1045.

(*g*) It is printed in his Opera Poſthuma, &c. p. 21, & ſeqq.

(*h*) Mr Wood thinks he preached ſome time without Orders.

[*B*] *Verſes upon the peace with the Dutch in* 1654.] Theſe ſtand at the head of his *Opera Poſthuma Latina*, &c. printed in 1717, 8vo. which contain ſeveral other Latin compoſitions of his in verſe, beſides one in proſe, all written while he was an under graduate. Beſides theſe, we have an account of another compoſition in the Athen. Oxon. where Mr Wood, whoſe temper and talents were naturally at variance with thoſe of Mr South, having told us, that 'he obtained under Dr Buſby a conſiderable ſtock of grammar and philological learning, but more of impudence and faucineſs, proceeds in the ſame ſtrain, from the ſcandalous Chronicle, to retail the following ſtory: That before or about the time that our *Wit* took the degree of Batchelor of Arts, he was appointed to do ſome exerciſe in the public hall of his college, which was to ſpeak a ſpeech upon ſome great and ſignal occaſion; and that, when he had prepared it, and made it proportionable to the tranſcendency of his parts and abilities, he gave out to ſeveral of his acquaintance, that he intended ſeverely to laſh the ſectaries of his Houſe, and of the Univerſity. This being known abroad, there flocked into the hall, on the appointed day, a great concourſe of the younger ſtudents, who were the greateſt *wits*, but eſteemed by the ſectaries *to be of the moſt profligate principles, both in that Houſe and other Houſes in the univerſity.* Theſe laſt are the words of the Chronicle; after which the Antiquary goes on thus: In the reſolution to ſatisfy all their expectations, our author, South, came forth, and addreſſed himſelf with a ſufficient meaſure of confidence (whereof there was no want in him) to ſpeak to this ingenious auditory; and, indeed, the whole ſcope of his oration was (if you will believe a rank Fanatic) (3), *little other than a moſt blaſphemous invective againſt godlineſs, and the moſt ſerious and conſcientious profeſſors of it.* But before he had proceeded far in it, my author (ſays Wood) tells me, that *the hand of the Lord was ſtretched out againſt him, and he was ſuddenly ſurprized with ſuch a qualm as did diſturb him afterwards at Whitehall*, as I ſhall tell you anon. Whereupon, being conſtrained abruptly to break off, it was ſo great a diſcomfort to him, that he was ſcarce able to bear it, becauſe, firſt, that he eſteemed himſelf a perſon of great fame in the univerſity; and, ſecondly, that it would be a great diſparagement to him among the *wits* of his acquaintance. However, this influence it had upon him, as it was obſerved by ſome perſons then living in the univerſity, that *from that time he lay under ſome convictions of the evil of abuſing thoſe good parts which God had given him, in defaming thoſe perſons and things which the Lord doth teſtify his greateſt approbation of* (4); and ſo from henceforward he ſeemed to be much more ſerious than before, and by degrees inſinuated himſelf into the good opinion of the then preſent Dean of his Houſe, Dr Owen, as alſo with thoſe of the Preſbyterian and Independent party thereof (5).' Thus far the Oxford Antiquary, who we ſee has taken care to draw up the ſtory in ſuch a manner as to leave a door open to eſcape from the ſhame of any charge that might be brought of his vouching for the truth of it. And the concluſion, that he was a favourite of the Dean, Dr Owen, needs no other voucher for it's credibility than the merit of thoſe ingenious exerciſes and other performances, eſpecially the compliment in the verſes to the Protector, wrote by our ſtudent as already mentioned. This Dean, however blame-worthy in other reſpects, being a remarkable great encourager of this kind of true merit, of which he was himſelf not only a good judge but an excellent performer.

(3) The author of *Mirabilis annus ſecundus*: or, the ſecond part of the ſecond year's Prodigies, numb. 24. p. 34. edit. 1662, 4to.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1042.

[*C*] *He took his degree of Maſter of Arts after having performed the exerciſes with great applauſe.*] Notwithſtanding what we have ſeen aſſerted by Mr. Wood in the preceding remark of our ſtudent's being in favour with Dr Owen, when he took his firſt degree, and is maintained by the writer of his life (6), that this ſecond degree was not obtained without ſome oppoſition from the Dean, who having found that he frequented the meeting of thoſe Royaliſts, among whom were Dr. John Fell, where Divine Service was performed, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, expoſtulated with him very ſeverely, and even threatened to expel him, if he continued in that practiſe; telling him that *he could do no leſs in gratitude to his Highneſs the Protector, and his other great friends, who had thought him worthy of the dignities, he then ſtood poſſeſſed of.* To which ſays this writer, Mr South made this grave, but very ſmart reply. *Gratitude among friends, is like credit among tradeſmen, it keeps buſineſs up, and maintains the correſpondence. And we pay not ſo much out of a principle, that we ought to diſcharge our debts, as to ſecure ourſelves a place to be truſted another time.* And in anſwer to the Dean's making uſe of the names of the Protector, &c. he ſaid, Commonwealths put a value upon MEN as well as MONEY, and we are forced to take them both, not by WEIGHT, but according as they are pleaſed to STAMP them, and at the current rate of the coin; by which he exaſperated the Doctor two different ways, and made him his enemy ever after. This ſtory, it muſt be owned, ſmells as ſtrong of partiality as that of the Fanatic does of prejudice, and is greatly diſcredited by the conſequence which is annexed to it, that our ſtudent having proved an over-match for the Dean, in obtaining his degree of Maſter of Arts, made uſe of the power thereby conferred upon him, to oppoſe the Dean afterwards, when he ſtood candidate to ſerve in Parliament for the Univerſity (7). Whereas it has been already obſerved (8), he was choſen their Repreſentative in 1654. What Mr Wood relates, has a better air of probability; that after the Protector's death, our ſtudent ſided with the Preſbyterians, ſo far as to condemn, and in a manner, to defy the Dean, who thereupon told him, *he was one that ſat in the ſeat of the ſcornful* (9).

(6) P. 7, 8.

(7) Ibid. p. 8.

(8) In Dr Owen's article.

(9) Athen Oxon. ubi ſupra.

[*D*] *Dr*

(i) It is intitled, 'The Scribe inſtructed,' from Matth. xiii. 52, and is one of the beſt of his ſermons.

going out of the church, ſalute the preacher, very kindly embraced him, and promiſed to do all that lay in his power for him [D]. But upon the dawn of his Majeſty's reſtoration, in the latter end of the year, he preached with no leſs warmth againſt the hypocriſy of the Preſbyterians; and, on the tenth of Auguſt, 1660, he was choſen publick Orator of the univerſity [E], after he had preached a moſt excellent ſermon (i), on the 29th of July preceding,

(D) *Dr Reynolds promiſed to do all that lay in his power for him.*] The text of this Sermon was, *Whoſoever ſhall deny me before men, him will I alſo deny before my Father which is in Heaven*; Matt. ch. x. v. 33. 'It was called by him *Intereſt depoſed, and Truth reſtored*,' and had this remarkable paragraph in it concerning the Teachers of thoſe days: 'Where 'ſuch men talk of ſelf-denial and humility, I cannot 'but think of *Seneca*, who praiſed poverty, and that 'very ſafely in the midſt of his riches and ſplendid 'gardens, and even exhorted the world to throw away 'their gold, perhaps (as one well conjectures) that he 'might gather it: ſo theſe men deſire men to be humble, that they may domineer without oppoſition. 'But it is an eaſy matter to commend patience, when 'there is no danger of any trials, to extol humility in 'the midſt of honours, to begin a faſt after dinner (10).' In the ſame ſpirit he proceeds thus: 'Let Chriſt and 'Truth ſay what they will, if intereſt will have it, 'gain muſt be Godlineſs. If Enthuſiam is in requeſt, 'learning muſt be inconſiſtent with grace. If pay 'grows ſhort, the Univerſity-maintenance will be too 'great.' And, in the cloſe of the ſame Sermon, having applied himſelf to the Judges with proper exhortations that beſpoke his intrepidity of ſoul, he addreſſed himſelf to the audience in theſe words. 'If 'ever it was ſeaſonable to preach courage in the deſpiſed abuſed cauſe of Chriſt, it is now; when his 'truths are reformed into nothing, when the hands 'and hearts of *his* faithful Miniſters are weakened and 'even broke, and his worſhip extirpated into a mockery, that his honour may be advanced; well to 'eſtabliſh our hearts in duty, let us propoſe to ourſelves before hand the worſt that can happen. 'Should God in his Judgment ſuffer England to be 'transformed into *Munſter*; ſhould the Faithful be 'every where maſſacred; ſhould the places of learning be demoliſhed, and our colleges reduced not 'only to (as one (11) in his zeal would have it) *three*, 'but to *none*: yet aſſuredly, Hell is worſe than all 'this, and is the portion of ſuch as deny Chriſt. 'Therefore let our diſcouragements be what they 'will, loſs of places, loſs of eſtates, loſs of life and 'relations; yet ſtill this ſentence ſtands ratified in the 'decrees of Heaven.' *Curſed be the man that for any of theſe denies the truth, and deſerts his Lord.* The compliment paid to the preacher by Dr Reynolds, will not be ſurprizing, after reading the following account of him by the Oxford Antiquary, who tells us, that he was the ſon of Auſtin Reynolds, one of the Cuſtomers of Southampton, where he was born in Nov. 1599, and being bred at the free-ſchool there, became Poſt-maſter of Merton college in 1615, as alſo Probationer-Fellow in 1620, in which place (which he got by his ſkill in the Greek tongue,) as alſo throughout his Bachelorſhip, he ſhewed himſelf a good diſputant and orator. After he had taken the degree of Maſter of Arts, he went into Orders, and became a noted Preacher, and was made Preacher at Lincoln's-Inn, and Rector of Braynton in Northamptonſhire. After the Rebellion broke out in 1642, he ſided with the Preſbyterian party, and in 1643, was one of the Aſſembly of Divines, a Covenanter, a frequent Preacher in London, and ſometimes before the long Parliament, by whom he was appointed, in 1646, one of the ſix Miniſters to go to Oxford, and preach the ſcholars into obedience to them. After which he was one of their Viſitors in the Univerſity, was made Dean of Chriſt-Church, in the room of Dr Samuel Fell, ejected, and Vice-Chancellor in 1648, when he was created Doctor of Divinity; he was alſo Vice-Chancellor in 1649. But being ejected from his Deanery in 1650, for refuſing to take the Independent *Engagement* (12), he retired to his former cure for a time. He lived afterwards moſtly in London, preached there, and flattered Oliver, &c. after whoſe death he did the like to Richard, and being then Vicar of St Laurence-Jewry, he was the Orator of the London Miniſters, to welcome that muſhroom Prince to the Throne, October 11, 1658. After this he ſtruck in with General Monk, to bring in the King, uſing his intereſt thereto in London, where he was the pride and glory of the Preſbyterian party (13). When the ſecluded Members were reſtored to Parliament, they reſtored him to his Deanery of Chriſt-Church on the 11th of May 1659. And on the 26th of May following, 1660, he, together with Mr Edmund Calamy, was made Chaplain to his Majeſty, then at Canterbury, in order to his Reſtoration. After which he preached ſeveral times before the King and both Houſes of Parliament; and in the latter end of June, being deſired to quit his Deanery (14), he was the next month elected, by virtue of the King's letter, Warden of Merton-College, and was conſecrated Biſhop of Norwich on the 6th of Jan. the ſame year (15). He was, concludes our Antiquary, a perſon of excellent parts and endowments, of a very good wit, fancy, and judgment, a great Divine, and much eſteemed by all parties, for his preaching and fluid ſtile (16): and Sir Thomas Browne, who knew him well, gives him the character of a perſon of ſingular affability, meekneſs, and humility, of great learning, a frequent preacher, and conſtant reſident (17). He wrote ſeveral things, which, after their appearance ſeparately in 4to. were printed together, and publiſhed with the title of his works, London, 1658, fol. and again, with the addition of thirty Sermons, in 1679, fol. after his death, which happened July 28, 1676. He was buried at the upper end of the chapel which he built in 1662, joining to the Biſhop's Palace in Norwich. Over his grave was ſoon after fixed to the wall, a marble table with his Epitaph engraven on it (18).

[E] *He was made Orator to the Univerſity.*] Mr Wood, who omits no opportunity of exerciſing his defamatory talents againſt our author, tells us, 'that he 'tugged hard, (ſo he expreſſes it) ſuch was the high 'conceit of his worth, to be Canon of Chriſt-Church, 'as belonging to the Orator's office, but was kept 'back by the endeavours of the Dean *. That this 'was a great diſcontent to him, and being not able 'to conceal it, he clamoured at it, and ſhewing much 'paſſion in his Sermons, 'till he could get preferment, 'they were therefore frequented by the generality, 'though ſhunned by ſome. This perſon, continues 'the Antiquary, though he was a junior maſter, and 'had never ſuffered for the royal cauſe, yet ſo great 'was his conceit, or ſo blinded he was with ambition, that he thought he ſhould never be enough 'loaded with preferment; whilſt others that had ſuffered much, and had been reduced to a bit of bread 'for his Majeſty's cauſe, could get nothing (19)', *Hinc ſc. illæ lackrymæ*. This was the great offence and grief, Mr South's promotion and favour with the Chancellor, drew upon both the unforgiving anger and reſentment of the hiſtorian, and againſt both did he not ſpare to ſhoot ſome of his ſharpeſt bluntly-pointed arrows, even noiſy and ſcolding words. As that 'in the latter end of the year 1659, when it 'was viſible that Monarchy would return upon the ſucceſs of Monk, he was ſomething at a ſtand, yet ſtill 'was accounted a member of the *Fanatic Ordinary*; 'but when his Majeſty's Reſtoration could not be 'withſtood, then did he from the Pulpit exerciſe his 'gifts againſt the Preſbyterians, as a little before he 'had done againſt the Independents, telling his auditory 'of their wry faces, ill looks, puling tones, &c. All 'which was to obtain the applauſe, (and it's conſequences) of the prelatical and loyal party; but as it 'fell out, he miſſed his ends, for by *his* too much 'concernment and eagerneſs to trample upon them, 'the graver ſort of the ſaid party, would put their 'hats before their eyes, or turn aſide, as being much 'aſhamed at what the young man did utter. Not 'content with this, proceeds our retailer of ſcandal, 'he informed the leading men of the royaliſts (who 'were ſoon after reſtored to their places in the Univerſity) of the behaviour and manners of thoſe that 'had been the prime men in the interval, and of 'ſuch

(10) This is levelled at Unton Croke, a Colonel of a regiment of Horſe then at Oxford, who, with his party of Independents, kept a faſt after dinner at his houſe in Grandpoole in the ſouth ſuburb of the city. Ath. Oxon. col. 1033.

(11) Pointed at the ſame Colonel, who was the cauſe of Penruddock's death, and ſome time after High-Sheriff of Oxfordſhire. Dr South's Life, &c. p. 12. note †.

(12) A piece intituled, 'The humble Propoſals of ſundry learned pious Divines within this kingdom, concerning the Engagement intended to be impoſed on them for their ſubſcriptions. London, 1650,' one ſheet in 4to. publiſhed in December 1649, is aſcribed to him by Mr Wood.

(13) Dr Pierce, in the introduction to his 'Divine Purity defended,' ſays he was a [illegible] as well as time [illegible] niſts.

[illegible] Geo. Mayer. Sc. Lit. art.

(14) By virtue of which he became an Abbot (a ſtrange preferment, methinks, ſays Wood, for a Preſbyterian, I mean Abbot of St Benet in the Holme, which he kept, with great regret to his quondam brethren, whom he then left to ſhift for themſelves, to his dying day.

(15) Mr Wood alſo ſays, it was thought by his contemporaries, that he would never have been given to change, had it not been to pleaſe a covetous and politic conſort, who was Mary, the daughter of Dr John Harding, ſome time Preſident of Magdalen college, Oxford.

(16) Repertorium of the Cathedral of Norwich, in MS.

(17) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 568, 569, 570. where the epitaph may be ſeen.

* Whether this ſhaft is aimed more againſt the Dean or our Orator, is not eaſy to determine, ſince we find our Antiquary obſerving, that Dr Strode being choſen Orator in 1629, was inſtalled Canon of Chriſt-Church in 1638, before which time King Charles I. had ſettled a Canonry of the ſaid church upon him that ſhould be elected publick Orator; but that pious act hath been ſince annulled by pretended authority, and now ſuch a thing ſeems totally to be forgotten among us. Ibid. col. 74.

(18) Ibid. col. 1143.

preceding, before the King's Commiſſioners, who were appointed to rectify all the abuſes that had been committed in the univerſity during the Uſurpation. In the execution of the orator's office, he received, with an elegant Latin ſpeech, the Earl of Clarendon, on his firſt entrance into the univerſity, on the ſeventh of September 1661, after his Lordſhip had been choſen their Chancellor; and in another, introduced him to his inveſtiture into that dignity in the Convocation-Houſe, on the 9th of that month (*l*). Whereupon, the Chancellor took him into his protection, and made him his Domeſtic Chaplain [*F*]. Thus he was put into the road to Church preferments, and was inſtalled Prebendary of Weſtminſter, March 30, 1663 (*n*); and purſuant to his patron, the Chancellor's letter, was created Doctor of Divinity on the firſt of October following, though not without a conſiderable oppoſition, as being then a Maſter of Arts of ſix years ſtanding only [*G*]. The Chancellor alſo gave him afterwards the fine-cure of Llanchiadar in Mochnant, in North-Wales (*o*). After the Earls baniſhment, in 1667, the Doctor was appointed Chaplain to James Duke of York (*p*); and on the twenty-firſt of December 1670, he was collated by King Charles to a Canonry of Chriſt-church, in the room of Dr Richard Gardiner [*H*] deceaſed, into which he was inſtalled on the twenty-ninth of

(*l*) Both theſe ſpeeches are printed *inter opera ſua poſthuma*, p. 68, & ſeqq. and are followed by another, ſpoken on the 7th of November following, on the reception of Lawrence Hyde, Heneage Finch, J. Berkenhead, and Ægio Strangewayes, ſent to thank the Univerſity, in the name of the Parliament, for their loyalty [illegible] the royal cauſe during the Rebellion.

(*m*) His Life, p. 16.

(*n*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1045.

(*o*) Ibid. and his laſt Will, in rem. [*S*].

(*p*) Wood, as before.

'ſuch that had kept and occupied the places of thoſe 'Royaliſts, and left nothing undone to ingratiate him-'ſelf with them.'

[*F*] *The Chancellor made him his Chaplain.*] Here his old friend has another fling at him; the Chancellor, ſays he, being much delighted with a ſermon that his Chaplain had preached before him, made way for him to preach the ſame ſermon again before his Majeſty: and having paſſed the ſcrutiny of ſo wiſe and learned a man, and ſo great and famous a Counſellor, every one's expectation was heightned, and happy was he or ſhe, amongſt the greateſt wits in the town, that could accommodate their humour in getting convenient room in the chapel at Whitehall, to hang upon the lips of this, ſo great an oracle. The day appointed being come, which was the 13th of April 1662, for the acting of this ſcene over again, our author aſcends the pulpit, and the eyes of all were immediately faſtned upon him. After he had performed his obeyſance to his Majeſty, he named his text, which was, Eccl. vii. 10. *Say not thou what is the cauſe that the former days were better then theſe? For thou doſt not enquire wiſely concerning this.* Then after a witty preamble, he proceeded to the diviſion of the words; and having performed that with great dexterity, he lays by the text for the preſent; and, according to the ancient and laudable manner, addreſſed himſelf to the *Bid-Prayer*; which being ended, he reſumed his text, and attempted to handle the ſeveral parts of it. The prohibition in the text, he laboured to enforce by an induction of many particulars. The firſt was that the Pagan times were not better than theſe, then, the Popiſh times were not, &c. But the laſt inſiſted on was the times of the great Rebellion, and whilſt he was endeavouring to evince that which indeed was the main thing that he intended to handle, it pleaſed God, as the Fanatic obſerved *, that he was ſuddenly taken with a qualm, drops of ſweat ſtanding on his face as big as peaſe, and immediately he loſt the uſe of his ſpeech, only he uttered ſome few words to this effect, Oh Lord! we are all in thy hands, be merciful unto us; and then came down. The expectations of all being thus ſadly diſappointed, they were contented with the divertiſement of an anthem, and ſo the ſolemnity of the ſervice for that day ended. In the mean time great care was taken of Mr South, and by the uſe of cordials, and other means proper for him in that condition, he quickly recovered his ſpirits, and was every way as well again as before. To all which, (continues our tale bearer) the Fanatic adds thus †. 'And we ſhould be glad to hear he 'were more ſenſible of the hand of God upon him 'at that time, wherein it is to be feared, he ſought 'his own honour more than Chriſt's, and therefore 'met with this rebuke from the Lord, which indeed, 'we ſhould hope in charity, had ſome great influence 'upon him: for the next Lord's day after, he ap-'peared again before the ſame ſplendid auditory, and, 'as we are informed, he did beforehand free his ſer-'mon from many of thoſe luxuriances, which before 'it was attended with, brings it forth in a leſs whoriſh 'attire than he had cloathed it with the day before; 'and ſo, according to our beſt information, he went 'on and finiſhed his diſcourſe, without the leaſt di-'ſturbance or interruption, &c. (20)'

* In Eb. in tit. Mirabilis annus ſecundus, p. 33.

† Ibid. p. 34.

(20) Ath. Oxon. col. 1044.

[*G*] *He was oppoſed in his degree of Doctor of Divinity.*] The oppoſition is taken notice of by the writer of his life (21), but without any ſuch rhetorical ſtrains as it is adorned with by Mr Wood, as follows: On the firſt day of October 1663, there was a Convocation of the univerſity celebrated, and therein were the letters of his patron, Edward Earl of Clarendon, Chancellor of the ſaid univerſity, read in behalf of his Chaplain Mr South, to be created Doctor of Divinity; which being done, the Bachelors of Divinity and Maſters of Arts were ſo amazed at ſuch a matter, as firſt, that the ſaid perſon ſhould venture upon ſuch a degree, being but ſix years ſtanding in that of Maſter; ſecondly, that he ſhould be ſo impudent to overtop a hundred of his ſeniors at leaſt; and thirdly, that he had not at all ſuffered for his *Majeſty*'s cauſe, but rather, that he had preached againſt it, when he cloſed with the Independents, they all ſtiffly denied the paſſing of thoſe letters, and were ſo reſolute againſt their taking effect, that the Houſe being in a tumult thereupon, the Doctors of Divinity, who were greatly conſenting to the creation (for they were not to be overtopped) did ariſe from their ſeats, and went down and mixed themſelves among the Maſters, to perſuade them to yield their conſents; but all being done in vain, they went to ſcrutiny. Which being done, the ſenior Proctor, according to his uſual perfidy, (which he frequently uſed in his office, for he was born and bred a Preſbyterian) did pronounce him the ſaid Mr South *virtute juramenti ſui*, paſſed by the major part of the Houſe. Whereupon, by the double preſentation of Dr John Wallis, he was firſt admitted Bachelor then Doctor of Divinity (22).

(21) P. 16,

(22) Ibid. col. 1045.

[*H*] *Richard Gardiner.*] This gentleman, who was born in Hereford, and bred at the ſchool there, became ſtudent of Chriſt-church about 1607, took the degrees in Arts, entered into Holy Orders, and became a quaint preacher and orator. At length, King James the Firſt being much pleaſed with a ſpeech that he had ſpoken before him in the Scotch tone, when he was Deputy Orator, gave him the reverſion of the next Canon of Chriſt-church; into which, upon the death of Dr Thomas Thornton, he was inſtalled in 1629 (23); and, taking his degrees in Divinity the following year, he was made one of the Chaplains in Ordinary to King Charles the Firſt. In 1648, he was thruſt out of his Canonry by the Parliamentary viſitors, and lived obſcurely in Oxford twelve years, 'till the return of King Charles the Second, who reſtored him to what he had loſt. And whatſoever he got from that time to the day of his death, he beſtowed on charitable uſes, his kindred, and the college which gave him breeding. He publiſhed ſeveral ſermons (24), which are mentioned by Mr Wood; as alſo a piece intituled *Specimen Oratorium*, printed at London in 1653, in two ſheets 8vo. containing, 1. *A Letter from the Univerſity to King James the Firſt, to thank him for his Works preſented to the public Library.* 2. *Oration in the Convocation when his Majeſty's Works were received.* 3. *Funeral Oration on Dr Budden*, 1620. 4. *Oration on preſenting the Dean of Chicheſter to be Prolocutor to the Lower-Houſe of Convocation*, November 11, 1640. 5. *Gratulation for the King's ſafe return from the battle of Edge hill*, October 29, 1642. This little book wrs printed again in 1657, and in 1662, in ſmall 8vo. with the additions of

(23) The ſame year that Dr Strode was choſen publick Orator.

(24) Particularly a volume containing ſixteen, preached in Oxford and at Court, printed at London in 1659, 8vo. Ath. Oxon. col. 480.

of the ſame month. In 1676, he attended Laurence Hyde, Eſq; younger ſon of the Earl of Clarendon, in the quality of Chaplain, on his embaſſage to Poland. The Doctor very gladly accepted this offer, which gave him an opportunity of gratifying his naturally curious and inquiſitive temper. In order to complete which, he ſtaid behind the Ambaſſador at his own requeſt (q); and what improvements he made thereby may be beſt ſeen in the account of that country, which he ſent in a letter from Dantzic, December 16, 1677, to Dr Edward Pococke [I], then Regius Profeſſor of Hebrew, and one of the Canons of Chriſt-church, with whom he held a moſt intimate friendſhip. Soon after the Doctor's return home, he was preſented by the Dean and Chapter of Weſtminſter, upon the death of Dr Edward Hinton, in 1678, to the rectory of Iſlip in Oxfordſhire, a living of conſiderable revenues, out of which he allowed a hundred pounds *per annum* to the Reverend Mr Penny, a ſtudent of Chriſt-church, his Curate; and expended the reſt in educating and apprenticing the poorer children of the pariſh (r). Moreover, after he had been two years incumbent, in 1680, he cauſed the chancel of the church, that had been ſuffered to run to ruin by his predeceſſor, to be rebuilt at his own expence [K]; and finding

(q) So he ſays in his account of Poland, p. 27. printed in the Memoirs of his Life.

(r) Ibid. p. 106.

of, 1. Art. Bac. ex Æd. Ch. Oxon. Progymnaſmata. 2. *Epiſtolæ nonnullæ è cumulo excerptæ nomine ſubdecani inſcriptæ.* 3. *Orationes & Epiſtolæ*, &c. The whole was printed again at Oxon. 1668, 1675, &c. He died, and was buried in one of the iſles joining to the choir of Chriſt-church cathedral, on the north ſide, after his death, which happened December 20, 1670, aged 79, as appears from his epitaph, which was written by Dr South, at the requeſt of his executors, in theſe terms:

H. S. I.
Venerabilis Vir,
Ricardus Gardiner, S. T. P.
Eccleſiæ hujus primus alumnus.
Dein Canonicus.
Quo in munere
Cum diu ſe magna cum laude exercuit,
Majore eodem ceſſit:
Fanaticorum furoribus fortunis omnibus exutus,
Ut fidem, quam Deo & Principi obligaverat,
Illibatam retineret.
Poſtliminio haud tandem reſtitutus
Eadem conſtantia qua ereptas ſpreverat opes,
Contemnebat affluentes,
Munificentia ſiquidem perenni,
Et aquæductus quem hic loci ſtruxerat æmula,
Eccleſiam hanc,
Patriam ſuam Herefordiam,
Cognatos,
Amicos,
Pauperes,
Cumulatiſſime perfudit.
Demum
Meritis juxta & annis plenus,
Viridi ſenecta, ſenſibus integris,
Piam animam Deo reddidit.
Decemb. 20.
Anno ſalutis 1670.
Ætatis ſuæ 79.

[I] *In a letter to Dr Pococke.*] He had promiſed to ſend this account to the Doctor when they parted at Cornbury, the Earl of Carendon's ſeat in Oxfordſhire. He begins with an account that the Embaſſador ſet ſail from Portſmouth on board the Tyger man of war, with the Swallow in company, and ſome merchant-ſhips under convoy, on the eleventh of June preceding, and after ſtaying ſome days in the Sound to diſpatch meſſages with compliments to the Courts of Sweden and Denmark, caſt anchor before Dantzic on the eleventh of Auguſt, where being received under the diſcharge of the artillery on the ramparts, he was the next day conducted to an audience of the Queen of Poland, (who made a journey thither while the King, her huſband, was in the field) wherein he paid her Majeſty the uſual devoirs in the name of his royal maſter, and preſented the young Princeſs, her daughter, with a very rich jewel, and a croſs of diamonds of great value. He afterwards, with a very magnificent retinue, ſet forward from Poland, and was received by the King, in his camp, near Leopol in Ruſſia, with demonſtrations of reſpect and kindneſs ſuitable to his character and perſon, where his Majeſty did him the honour of ſending ſome of his chief officers to ſhew him the army and their way of encamping. The peace being happily concluded to the advantage of Poland, between his Majeſty and the Turks and Tartans, whereof his Excellency Mr Hyde had no ſmall ſhare in the management; the King returned in November to Zolkiew, his own patrimony, which is a town in Ruſſia, adorned and defended by a caſtle, and intermixed with ſeveral delightful gardens, with a fair church in the middle of it, built with various kinds of marble, and where the Embaſſador, waiting upon him, had his public audience in the moſt ſolemn manner. He was firſt carried in the King's coach, attended by ſix of his own, twenty-four pages and footmen in rich liveries, and ſixty odd coaches of the chief nobility. When arrived at the Court, he was received by the Chief Marſhal (who is in the nature of a Lord Chamberlain) at the ſtairs-foot of the palace, and conducted to his Majeſty, who received him ſtanding under a canopy. When his Excellency delivered his maſter's compliments in a Latin ſpeech *, in which he gave aſſurances of his maſter's inviolable attachment to that Prince's intereſts, congratulated him upon the laſt treaty of peace, brought to a happy concluſion with the Infidels, and made overtures to enter into ſuch alliances with the Crown and Republic of Poland as ſhould be judged moſt conducive to the honour and ſafety of both nations. To this his Poliſh Majeſty gave a very agreeable and ſatisfactory anſwer in the ſame language, which he had readily *ad unguem* (25); and cauſed the Embaſſador afterwards to ſit down at the ſame table with him, where he was attended by the chief officers of State ſtanding, it being a cuſtom in Poland to admit none to that honour but the Princes of the Blood. Our author then deſcribes the perſon, dreſs, and accompliſhments both of the King and Queen. After which he proceeds with a deſcription of ſuch towns and principal cities as his curioſity led him to viſit; theſe are, Cracow, Vilne (26), Poſen, Gueſna, Lowitz, Warſaw, Thorn, Marienburgh, and Dantzic; which done, he concludes with an account of the religion, cuſtoms, and manners of the Poles; but this laſt part he acknowledges is taken moſtly from Mr Hauteville. He cloſes the whole with a compliment to Dr Pococke, whom he now again calls, as he had done at the head of his letter, *his beſt friend and moſt honoured inſtructor*, wiſhing to return to Chriſt-church, in the view of being reſtored to the happineſs of this friend's converſation, than which nothing could be more improving or deſired by him (27). Thus, confirming what we have already obſerved (28) from Mr Locke, upon Dr Pococke's moſt improving converſation.

* The ſpeech was written in Engliſh by Mr Hyde, and turned into elegant Latin by Dr South. Life, p. 23.

(25) He obſerves, that, to ſpeak good Latin, is their chief ſtudy in the univerſity, which came into vogue from an interview that King Caſimir II. had with the King of Sweden, when the latter, with all his Court, ſpoke the language fluently, which King Caſimir, not his attendants, not being able to do, he was ſo much aſhamed, that he gave great encouragement to that ſtudy. Life, p. 34.

(26) Theſe are their two univerſities, and may be called ſiſters, he ſays, from their affinity in ignorance. Ibid. p. 33.

(27) Life of Dr South, p. 21 to 106. inclusive.

(28) Under his article.

[K] *To be rebuilt at his own expence.*] This appears from the following inſcription over the entrance into the chancel:

Robertus South, S. T. P.
In Eccleſiam hanc Parochialem
Inductus anno 1678,
Propriis ſumptibus hanc
Cancellariam a fundamentis
Inſtauravit, extruxitque, anno Domini 1680.

[L] It

finding the manſion-houſe belonging to the Rector much too mean for the largeneſs of the ſtipend, he cauſed the ſhattered remains to be totally pulled down, and an edifice erected in a more convenient part of the town, having purchaſed the ſcite, with a handſome garden, as a perpetual manſion for himſelf and ſucceſſors; ſo that, it might then, and may ſtill, vie with moſt parſonage-houſes in England [*L*]. In 1681, the Doctor, who was then one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in Ordinary, being in waiting, preached before the King upon theſe words, *The Lot is caſt into the Lap, but the diſpoſing of it is of the Lord.* Wherein, having ſpoken of the various changes and diſpenſations of Providence, and the unaccountable accidents and particulars of life, he introduced three examples of unexpected advancements in the following manner: 'Who, ſays he, that had looked 'upon *Agathocles* firſt handling the clay, and making pots under his father, and afterwards turning robber, could have thought that from ſuch a condition, he ſhould come 'to be King of Sicily? Who that had ſeen *Maſinello*, a poor fiſherman, with his red 'cap and his angle, would have reckoned it poſſible to ſee ſuch a pitiful thing, within 'a week after, ſhining in his cloth of gold, and with a word or a nod abſolutely commanding the whole city of Naples.——And who, that beheld ſuch a bankupt beggarly 'fellow as *Cromwell* firſt entring the Parliament-Houſe with a thread-bare torn cloak, 'and greaſy hat, perhaps neither of them paid for, could have ſuſpected, that in the 'ſpace of ſo few years he ſhould, by the murder of one King and the baniſhment of another, aſcend the throne? At which the King fell into a violent fit of laughter, and 'turning to Lord Rocheſter ſaid, *Ods, fiſh, Lory, your Chaplain muſt be a Biſhop, therefore 'put me in mind of him at the next vacancy (s).*' During the remainder of King Charles the Second's reign, the Doctor continued a ſtrenuous aſſertor of the prerogative againſt all attempts that were made towards it's diminution; and, by the intereſt of his patron, who on his return from his embaſſy, was raiſed to the peerage (*t*), in conjunction with his own merits, had ſeveral offers of advancement into the Hierarchy, but he modeſtly declined theſe, as having wherewithal to ſupport himſelf according to the dignities he ſtood poſſeſſed of in the Church, and the diſtribution of charities he had already ſettled and intended to lay ſchemes for; in order to which, he made ſome purchaſes about this time of houſes upon Ludgate-hill and Token-houſe-yard. On the acceſſion of King James the Second to the Throne, his patron's brother, the Earl of Clarendon, going Lord-Lieutenant to Ireland, made him an offer of an Archbiſhopric of that kingdom, but he continued fixed in his reſolves of living privately (*u*), which theſe two noble Peers were forced to do ſoon after, by their diſmiſſion from Court [*M*]. After the quelling of

(s) Ibid. p. 108.

(t) See his article.

(u) Ibid. p. 109, 110.

[*L*] *It may vie with moſt parſonage houſes in England*] Dr White Kennet, afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough, in his Parochial Antiquities gives a view of it, in a plate inſcribed to Dr South, whoſe coat of arms is engraved over it, in theſe terms: *Viro reverendo* Roberto South, S. T. P. *Rectori eccleſiæ de Iſlip, tabulam hanc, quæ amplum & elegantem, Rectoriæ Manſum, ſuis impenſis conſtructum repræſentat*, D. D. White Kennet. *Nos admiremur, imitentur poſteri.* The writer of his life (29) ſuggeſts, that the Rector was the more readily induced to this act of generoſity by the honour done to the village in the birth of King Edward the Confeſſor, which is declared by that King, in his charter or grant of the village and other lands thereto adjacent to St Peter's church in Weſtminſter.

(29) P. 107.

[*M*] *The two Peers were diſmiſſed from Court.*] We have already related the occaſion of this diſmiſſion in the courſe of this work (30), where we have alſo given an account of the Earl of Rocheſter's diſpute introductory to it, in defence of his religion, from Biſhop Burnet, as the beſt authority that occurred at that time. But as that Prelate makes no mention of Dr South, and beſides, is not ſo full as the writer of Dr South's Memoirs, whoſe account is likewiſe different in ſome particulars from that of his Lordſhip, we ſhall lay it before the reader as follows: That unhappy Prince [King James] being fully bent upon a general toleration of all Chriſtian diſſenters from the Church eſtabliſhed, and puſhed forward, upon extremities, to obtain liberty for the exerciſe of the Romiſh religion, by taking off the Teſt and Penal laws, took upon him to cloſet the chief men about him, and either to bring them over to his will by perſuaſion or threats. Among others, the Earl of Rocheſter, who was his Majeſty's brother-in-law, and therefore very dear to him, was examined concerning his opinion and ſentiments, relating to the King's will and pleaſure, to which his Majeſty was fully bent to have obedience paid by all about him, on pain of removal. Hereupon, the good Earl, after having, like a faithful Counſellor, pointed out the fatal conſequences of his Majeſty's impolitic reſolves, and begged him to deſiſt from an enterprize that would be found impracticable; very ſubmiſſively and prudently made anſwer, that he had been bred up in the principles of a religion that taught him that obedience to his Prince which he had never failed in, and that his duty to God, who was the King of Kings, obliged him to continue in the practice of them. However, if his Majeſty ſhould be ſo pleaſed (ſo certain was he of the truth of the doctrines he had received from the primitive Church) he was willing to abide by the reſult of a diſpute between two Church of England Divines and two of the Church of Rome, being not fearful of venturing to ſay, that to which ſide ſoever the victory ſhould incline, his Lordſhip would from that time abide by that which conquered. Hereunto the King very readily agreed, and immediately nominated the Fathers Giffard and Tilden for his two champions, and appointed *the rule of Faith* to be the ſubject matter of the controverſy. The perſons at firſt propoſed by the Earl were, Dr Jane and Dr South, but the latter was ſo unacceptable to his Majeſty, by the bitter invectives he was ſaid to make uſe of in the pulpit againſt the Papiſts and Preſbyterians, who then joined in their endeavours for liberty of conſcience, that he told his Lordſhip he could not agree to the choice of Dr South, who inſtead of arguments would bring railing accuſations, and had not temper of mind enough to go through a diſpute that required the greateſt attention and calmneſs. Hereupon the Earl choſe Dr Patrick, then Dean of Peterborough, and Miniſter of St Paul's Covent-garden, a very able Divine, in his room, but he would needs have the aſſiſtance of Dr South in a conſultation held the night before the conference was to commence, wherein were ſuch irrefragable arguments drawn up by him on the ſubject they were to diſcourſe, as totally obtained a conqueſt over their two opponents, and made the King diſmiſs his two pretended advocates with this rebuke, *that he could ſay more in behalf of his religion than they could; and that he never heard a good cauſe managed ſo ill, nor a bad one ſo well.* So that, concludes this writer, if Dr South could not be ſaid to be in the battle, he was a very great inſtrument of obtaining the victory; and Dr Jane has often owned (though a moſt excellent caſuiſt himſelf) that the auxiliary arguments contributed by Dr South did more

(30) In the articles of the two Earls of Clarendon and Rocheſter, father and ſon, rem. [*HH*] in the firſt, and [*G*] in the latter.

of Monmouth's rebellion, toward the ſuppreſſion of which, the Doctor openly profeſſed, that if there ſhould be occaſion he would change his black gown for a buff coat, the reſidue of King James's reign being taken up in acts of bigotry and violence gives us no particulars further of our Divine, than that he ſpent the greateſt part of his time at Iſlip and Oxford, going ſometimes to his paternal eſtate at Caverſham in Oxfordſhire, near Reading, where he was buſied in preparing for the preſs moſt of thoſe extraordinary ſermons which have ſince ſeen the light, and exerciſed himſelf in devotions to deprecate the judgments that ſeemed to hang over the national Church. But as he had imbibed the moſt generally received opinion of Paſſive Obedience, ſo he made that principle the rule of his conduct; and when the invitation to the Prince of Orange to come over and reſcue our laws and liberties, ſigned by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and other Biſhops, was offered to him, he refuſed it, ſaying, 'his religion had taught him to bear all things, 'and howſoever it ſhould pleaſe God that he ſhould ſuffer, he would, by the divine 'aſſiſtance, continue to abide by his allegiance, and uſe no other weapons but his prayers 'and tears for the recovery of his ſovereign from the wicked and unadviſed counſels 'wherewith he was entangled (*w*).' In the ſame principle, after the arrival of the Prince of Orange, the Doctor refuſed to ſubſcribe the Aſſociation paper, ſigned by the Vice-Chancellor and ſeveral Heads of Colleges in Oxford, to ſtand by that Prince [*N*]. However, after the Revolution was brought about, the Doctor complied with the neceſſity of the times, and took the oaths to the new government (*x*). Yet, when offers were made him by ſome great men at the helm, who had then the benefit of the royal ear, to procure him one of the ſees vacated by the Nonjuring Biſhops in 1692, he excuſed himſelf on this account: 'That notwithſtanding he, for his part, ſaw nothing that was 'contrary to the laws of God, and the common practice of all nations, to ſubmit to 'Princes in poſſeſſion of the Throne, yet others might have their reaſons for a contrary 'opinion; and he bleſſed God, that he was neither ſo ambitious nor in want of pre-'ferment, as for the ſake of it, to build his riſe upon the ruins of any one Father of the 'Church, who for piety, good morals, and ſtrictneſs of life, which every one of the 'deprived Biſhops were famed for, might be ſaid not to have left their equal (*y*) [*O*].' The ſame turn of mind diſpoſed the Doctor to diſlike the Act of Toleration, nor did he well reliſh ſome proceedings at Court, whereby he ſuſpected (how juſtly it is not our buſineſs here to determine) ſome perſons to be countenanced and in great power, who were enemies to the Church eſtabliſhed. He laid hold of all occaſions to decry their meaſures and baffle their deſigns. And as he had vigorouſly exerted himſelf with the Commiſſioners appointed by the King in 1689, for an union with diſſenting Proteſtants, in behalf of the Church Liturgy and forms of prayer, and entreated them by no means to part with any of it's ceremonies that might have endangered the loſs of the whole: ſo he ſcarce ever preached, but he ſet before his auditors the miſchiefs that would ariſe by admitting ſuch vipers, as he called them, into the revenues of the Church, that would eat their way through their adopted, not natural, mother's bowels. In 1693, our learned Divine took up his pen in defence of the Orthodox doctrine, upon that prime article of the Chriſtian Faith, the Trinity, againſt the miſrepreſentations of it, by Dr William Sherlock

(*w*) P. 114.

(*x*) Biſhop Burnet ſays, he took the oaths with the reſerve of an equivocal ſenſe, which he put upon them. Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. III. p. 495. 8vo. edition. The Right Reverend Hiſtorian has not thought proper to tell us where this equivocation lay, ſo that all that can be fairly inferred from his cenſure is, that our author did not take the oaths upon the ſame principles with his Lordſhip, that is, upon King William's right of conqueſt.

(*y*) Life, p. 115.

more towards flinging their antagoniſts on their backs than either his or his collegues (31).

(31) Ibid. p. 110, 111, 112.

[*N*] *He refuſed to ſubſcribe the Aſſociation, &c.*] This has been already obſerved from the MS. of Dr Smith (32), from whom we have likewiſe the following particular concerning our author's antagoniſt, Dr William Sherlock's conduct at the ſame time. The London clergy, by concert with the Biſhop of London, deſired him, in their name, to thank the Prince of Orange for the hazard he had run in this expedition, and for his care in protecting our religion; but withal to deſire him to have a tender regard for the King. But the Biſhop not delivering this in ſuch terms as they expected, they took great offence at it. Dr Sherlock, *ſaying that he and the reſt of them would ever maintain the loyal principles of the Church of England, and that if the Biſhop of London forſook that, they would forſake him.* Thus we ſee theſe two divines, however furiouſly they buffeted one another afterwards, upon the important religious point of the Trinity, were about this time under the influence of the ſame principles of State, and theſe principles were found, at laſt, to be made of the like bending metal in both, upon the intereſting point of the Revolution; very contrary to thoſe of the aforementioned Dr Thomas Smith, who we have ſeen was ſtiffly reſolved to follow King James's fortunes into France, had not the Lord Preſton told him he might do his Majeſty more ſervice here (33). Whereupon he tells us, that he ſet himſelf to conſider upon what methods he ſhould enter, to do that little ſervice he was able: And the convention being opened, he went every day to Weſtminſter, to perſuade ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen, with whom he had the honour to be acquainted, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to hinder the curſed (as he calls it) abdication, which was then viſibly deſigned and addreſſed to them, in order to the inviting of the King back to England, from whence he had been driven away. 'For my active behaviour, continues he, 'herein, and my loyal zeal on many rencounters in 'the Court of Requeſts, I was taken notice of, and 'threatned to be complained of and puniſhed. Be-'ſides the warm conteſts I had with ſeveral Biſhops, 'and others of the Clergy, who, partly through mi-'ſtaken principles, partly through fear of loſing their 'preferments in the Church, were now giving up 'themſelves into the hands of the Prince of Orange, 'in order (as ſome of them idly and fooliſhly talked) 'to the better ſecuring the Church of England from 'Popery, and maintaining the Proteſtant intereſt in 'Holland, and the other countries beyond ſea.'

(32) In p. 3731.

(33) P. 3732.

[*O*] *The deprived Biſhops had not their equals.*] In the ſame ſpirit, Dr. Beveridge, as is well known, refuſed the Biſhoprick of Bath and Wells, while Dr Ken was living; and we are told that Dr Sharp, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, declined to accept of any of theſe biſhopricks, out of a particular friendſhip and eſteem for the perſons deprived (34). This brings to mind the characters given of them by the author of the hiſtory of Faction. Theſe, ſays that author, ſpeaking of the deprived Biſhops, were the meek, pious, and learned Dr Sancroft, Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury; the ſeraphic Dr Kenn, Biſhop of Bath and Wells; the evangelical Dr Turner, Biſhop of Ely; the vigilant Dr Lake, Biſhop of Chicheſter; the reſolute and undaunted Dr White, Biſhop of Peterborough; the unchangeable Dr Lloyd, Biſhop of Norwich; and the irreproachable Dr Frampton, Biſhop of Glouceſter.

(34) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 253. edit. 1753.

[*P*] *With*

Sherlock. The controverſy ſpread itſelf far and wide, and being carried on by both parties with too much heat and acrimony [P], was at length determined, by the royal authority, entirely to the ſatisfaction of Dr South, who finding his conduct in it unreaſonably impeached afterwards by Dr Stillingfleet, took an occaſion in publiſhing the third volume of his ſermons in 1698, to lance ſome fleches of his wit againſt that learned Prelate [Q]. Much about this time the Doctor's unwearied application to his ſtudies brought

[P] *With too much heat and acrimony.*] 'Tis worth while to hear Biſhop Burnet upon this occaſion. 'Dr 'S—— (ſays his lordſhip) a learned, but ill-natured 'Divine,——attacked Sherlock's book on the Trinity, 'not without wit and learning, but without any meaſure of Chriſtian charity, and without any regard 'either to the dignity of the ſubject, or the decency 'of his profeſſion. He explained the Trinity in the 'common method, that it was one eſſence in three Subſiſtancies. Sherlock replied, and charged 'this with Sabellianiſm; ſome others went into the 'diſpute with ſome learning, but with more heat. 'The Socinians divided them into real and nominal Trinitarians. Sherlock they put into the 'firſt claſs; as for the ſecond claſs, they pretended it had been the doctrine of the weſtern Church, 'ever ſince the time that the fourth council in the 'Lateran ſat (35).' The Biſhop has undeniably here ſpoken the general ſenſe of the nation at this time, though very unwillingly intimated in reſpect to our author's ſuperiority in explaining the ſubject of the diſpute. As to the indignity and indecency of his management of it, they are confeſſedly inexcuſable, unleſs the inexpugnable confidence of his antagoniſt, added to his own ardent zeal for the eſtabliſhed doctrine of the Church of England, may be taken for an excuſe; in defending which 'tis remarkable that, his good ſenſe and great learning are conſtantly made the dupe of his boundleſs inexhauſtible wit; of which the following in his ſecond piece againſt Dr Sherlock, is one conſpicuous inſtance. 'The ſoul of Socrates, 'ſays he, vitally joined with a female body, would 'certainly make a woman; and yet, according to 'this author's principle, (affirming that it is the ſoul 'only which makes the perſon) Socrates with ſuch a 'change of body, would continue the ſame perſon, and 'conſequently be the ſame Socrates ſtill. And in like 'manner for Xantippe, the conjunction of her ſoul 'with another ſex, would certainly make the whole 'compound a man, and nevertheleſs Xantippe would 'continue the ſame perſon, and the ſame Xantippe 'ſtill; ſave only, I confeſs, that upon ſuch exchange 'of bodies with her huſband Socrates, ſhe would have 'more right to *wear the breeches*, than ſhe had before '(36).' The ſarcaſm is a confirmation of Burnet's remark of our author's ill-nature, as it plainly alludes to the common bruit concerning his antagoniſt, which repreſents him as being a little unhappy in this reſpect with his conſort. During the heat of this controverſy, out comes a piece, intituled, *Archæologia*, &c. written by Dr Burnet, maſter of the Charter-houſe, impugning the divine authority of the old Teſtament. Whereupon all the three divines received a not improper chaſtiſement in the following very humerous ballad, to the tune of *a ſoldier and a ſailor*, &c.

(35) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol III. p. 295. 8vo. edit.

(36) Tritheiſm, charged upon Dr Sherlock, &c. p. 129.

A Dean and Prebendary
Had once a new vagary;
And were at doubtful ſtriſe, Sir
Who led the better life, Sir;
And was the better man,
And was the better man.

The Dean he ſaid that truly,
Since Bluff was ſo unruly,
He'd prove it to his face, Sir,
That he had the moſt grace, Sir:
And ſo the fight began, &c.

When Preb. replied like thunder,
And roar'd out, 'twas no wonder,
Since gods the Dean had three, Sir,
And more by two than he, Sir;
For he had got but one, &c.

Now while theſe two were raging,
And in diſpute engaging,
The maſter of the CHARTER,
Said both had caught a Tartar,
For gods, Sir, there was none, &c.

That all the books of Moſes,
Were nothing but ſuppoſes:
That he deſerv'd rebuke, Sir,
Who wrote the Pentateuch, Sir,
'Twas nothing but a ſham, &c.

That as for father Adam,
With Mrs Eve his madam,
And what the Serpent ſpoke Sir,
'Twas nothing but a joke, Sir,
And well invented ſham, &c.

Thus in this battle royal,
As none would take denial,
The dame for which they ſtrove, Sir,
Could neither of them love, Sir,
Since all had given offence, &c.

She therefore ſlily waiting,
Left all three fools a prating:
And being in a fright, Sir,
Religion took her flight, Sir,
And ne'er was heard of ſince.
And ne'er was heard of ſince.

Whether this ballad is worded with that decency that the ſubject of the diſpute, or the very eminent and learned perſons concerned in it, deſerve, we ſhall not determine. But the reception it met with, being tranſlated into ſeveral languages, particularly Latin, by a curious hand, at the Univerſity of Cambridge, and the preſents ſent the author by the nobility and gentry, made it evident, that their ſentiments were againſt having the myſteries of our Holy Religion diſcuſſed and canvaſſed after ſo ludicrous a manner.

[Q] *He exerciſed his wit againſt Biſhop Stillingfleet.*] This Prelate in the preface to his *Vindication of the Trinity*, quotes the following ſentence againſt the treatment given each other by our antagoniſt. '*Oderit Rixas & jurgia præſertimque inter Eruditos, ac Turpe eſſe dicebat viros indubitate doctos caninâ rabie famam Viciſſim ſuam rodere ac lacerare ſcriptis trucibus tanquam viliſſimos de Plebe Cerdones in Angiportis ſeſe, luto & ſtercore conſpurcantes* *. He ever hated broils and opprobrious language, eſpecially among the learned, and ſaid it was a very odious and unſeemly thing for men, who were undoubtedly renowned for knowledge and underſtanding, to inſult and tear to pieces each others reputations in their inhumane writings, with a canine fury, not unfitly compared to coblers ſprung from the vileſt dregs of the people, beſpattering each other in lanes and narrow paſſages with dirt and dung.' This Dr South took to be levelled at him in behalf of Dr Sherlock, whom he called not only the aggreſſor but the tranſgreſſor too. Therefore, notwithſtanding his great deference for his Lordſhip's unqueſtionable merit in polemical and caſuiſtical Divinity, joined to his obedience to the royal mandate and the Epiſcopal order, held his hands from entering the liſts with him in a controverſial way; yet he could not reſtrain himſelf from having a fling at them both in the dedication mentioned above to Narciſſus Boyle, Archbiſhop of Dublin; where among other remarkable paſſages are to be found theſe, 'Surely, ſays he, it would be a 'very odd way of ridding a man of the plague by running him through with a ſword; or of curing him of 'a lethargy by caſting him into a calenture, a diſeaſe

* Vie Rig'a't. V. 2 P. Puttani, P. 48.

brought upon him the bloody-flux, which was followed by the ſtrangury, that excepting ſome tranſitory releaſes, ſcarce left him to his laſt moments. Yet notwithſtanding theſe pains, he ſtill kept the ſprightlyneſs and vivacity of his temper with the few friends he converſed, which were always well choſen. During the greateſt part of the reign of Queen Anne, he was in a ſtate of inactivity, and the infirmities of old age growing faſt upon him, he performed very little of the duties of the miniſterial function, otherwiſe than when his health would allow of his attending the divine ſervice at Weſtminſter Abbey; though he would take a journey to his ſeat near Reading, having always two chairmen attending his coach to take him out when he was uneaſy, through his indiſpoſition beforementioned, and carry him in the chair. Notwithſtanding his ill ſtate of health, he continued his wonted recourſe to books, and the improvement of his mind almoſt to the day of his death; and it was with great difficulty that his Surgeon, who had the cure of a ſore leg under hand, prevailed on him not to creep into his ſtudy too often; which yet he could not refrain. Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe impediments to activity and motion, none ſhewed a greater concern for the Church, when he judged it to be in danger. In this ſpirit he was unwearied in his application to many of the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, to be mild and gentle in their ſentence againſt Dr Sacheverell, who was highly indebted to him for a very ſucceſsful advocate. Upon the change of the miniſtry in 1710, the Doctor was again ſollicited and courted (z) to accept of ſome higher dignities of the Church, and particularly to ſucceed Dr Sprat in the Biſhopric of Rocheſter and Deanery of Weſtminſter in 1713, but he returned for anſwer, 'That ſuch a chair would 'be too uneaſy for an old infirm man to ſit in, and he held himſelf much better ſatisfied 'with living upon the eves-droppings of the Church (a a) than to fare ſumptuouſly, by 'being placed at the pinnacle of it.' In the ſame humour, upon the promotion of Dr Atterbury, to thoſe moſt deſirable dignities, being aſked by a gentleman concerning the ſtate of his health. 'Within an inch of the grave, no doubt, ſays he, ſince I have 'lived to ſee a gentleman, who was born the very year in which I was made one 'of the Prebendaries of this church, appointed to be Dean of it [R].' On the death of the Queen, telling a particular friend, who uſually viſited him once or twice a week, 'that it was time for him to prepare for his journey to a bleſſed immortality; ſince all 'that was good and gracious, and the very breath of his noſtrils, had made it's departure 'to the regions of bliſs and eternal happineſs.' Accordingly, he began thenceforward to ſet his houſe in order, and to provide for the further good of poſterity, as appears by the benefactions in his laſt Will [S]. In 1715, he publiſhed a fourth volume of ſermons, which

(z) Apparently by Mr Bromley.

(a a) Alluding to his Prebendal houſe, that was adjoining to the abbey.

'of a contrary nature indeed, but no leſs fatal to the 'patient, who equally dies, whether his ſickneſs or 'his phyſic, the malignity of his diſtemper, or the me-'thod of his cure diſpatches him. And in like manner 'muſt it fare with a Church, which feeling itſelf infec-'ted with the poiſon of Socinianiſm, flies to Thritheiſm 'for an antidote. But at length ſteps in the royal au-'thority to the Church's relief, with ſeveral wholſome 'injunctions in it's hands, for the compoſing, healing, 'and ending the diſputes about the Trinity then on 'foot, and theſe indeed ſo wiſely framed, ſo ſeaſona-'bly timed, and by the King at leaſt ſo graciouſly in-'tended, that they muſt in all likelihood, without 'any other Irenicon (37), have reſtored peace to the 'Church had it not been for the importunity and im-'partiality of ſome, who having by the awe of theſe 'injunctions endeavoured to ſilence the oppoſite party, 'which by their arguments they could not do, and 'withal looking upon themſelves as privileged perſons, 'and ſo above theſe ordinances, which others were to 'be ſubject to, reſolved not to be ſilent themſelves: 'but renewing the conteſt, partly by throwing Mug-'gleton and Rigaltius, with ſome other full ſtuff in 'their adverſaries faces; and partly by a ſhameful re-'printing (without the leaſt reinforcing) the ſame tri-'theiſtic notions again and again, they quite broke 'through the royal prohibitions, and ſoon after began 'to take as great a liberty in venting their innovations 'and invectives, as ever they had done before: ſo 'that he who ſhall impartially conſider the courſe 'taken by theſe men, in reference to thoſe who are 'engaged on the other ſide of the controverſy, about 'the Trinity, will find, that their whole proceeding in 'it, reſembles nothing ſo much as a thief's binding 'the hands of an honeſt man with a cord much fitter 'for his own neck. But bleſſed be God, matters 'ſtand not ſo with you in Ireland, the climate there 'being not more impatient of poiſonous animals, than 'the Church of poiſonous opinions, an univerſal con-'current orthodoxy ſhining all over it, from the ſupe-'rior Clergy who preſide, to the inferior placed under 'them, ſo that we never hear from thence of any 'Preſbyter, much leſs of any Dean, who dares inno-'vate upon the faith received, and leaſt of all ſhould 'ſuch a wretch chance to ſtart up among you) can I 'hear of any Biſhop likely to debauch his ſtyle and 'character ſo low, as either to defend the man, or 'colour over his opinions. Nor laſtly, do *we* find 'that in the judgment of the Clergy there, *a man's 'having wrote againſt one ſort of hereſy*, or *hetero-'doxy*, ought to juſtify or excuſe him in *writing for 'another*, and much leſs for it *worſe*.'

(37) Alluding to Dr Stillingfleet's book, under that title.

[R] *Appointed to be Dean of it.*] This anſwer gave occaſion to ſeveral perſons that were not acquainted with the Doctor's way of talk, *to* ſuggeſt that he took the gift of this preferment away from him in diſguſt. But the truth is on the contrary ſide; for he had a great eſteem for the new Dean's parts and perſon, received viſits from him to his dying day; and made it one amongſt his other requeſts, that at his burial my Lord of Rocheſter might perform the laſt office (38).

(38) Life, p. 138.

[S] *The benefactions by his laſt Will.*] This bears date March 30, 1714, and was drawn up by himſelf. Thereby the Doctor, beſides his church preferments, appears to have been poſſeſſed of ſeveral good temporal eſtates, hereditary and acquired, which he diſpoſes of in the following manner. In the firſt place, he bequeaths his eſtate of inheritance, rented at 75 l per annum, in the Hamlets of Whitley, in the pariſh of St Giles, Reading, in Berkſhire, to Robert South, his nephew by half blood, charged with the payment of 900 l. to his three nieces the ſaid Robert's ſiſters, and 400 l. to two of the daughters of his ſiſter Joan Hall, deceaſed. After which he bequeaths to Mrs Margaret Hammond, his houſe keeper, relict of Mr Edward Hammond, Clerk, all the reſidue of his leaſe of his meſſuages and tenements in or near Holyday-yard in London, held for a term of years from the Chapter of St Paul's; though, ſays he, I could, and do moſt heartily, wiſh, that at, or before her death, ſhe would give and ſettle the ſame to ſome charitable uſe for ever: and this to the great honour of Almighty God; the benefit of the publick, to my own great ſatisfaction, the good of her own ſoul and the juſt reputation of us to all poſterity. He alſo bequeaths to the ſame Mrs Hammond one eſtate in the pariſh of Caverſham in Oxfordſhire, and another in the manner of Cantlers or Cantlow, in Kentiſh town in Middleſex, during her

which he inſcribed to Mr Bromley, as a teſtimony of his high eſteem, and ſincere affection to that friend, though at that time in diſgrace at Court; and in the ſame ſteady zeal to his firſt connections, he proceeded to ſhew his regard to the family of the Duke of Ormond, (who had unhappily forfeited his title by a bill of attainder in Parliament) in cauſing himſelf to be brought in a chair to the election of a new High-Steward of Weſtminſter, vacant upon the forfeiture of his Grace. The candidates were the Duke of Newcaſtle and the Earl of Arran, the late Duke's only brother, who had loſt his election, had not Dr South, though in a manner bed-ridden, made the voices of the Prebendaries equal, by ſaying very briſkly, when he was aſked whom he would vote for,

Heart

her life, and after her death he gives them both to the Chapter of Chriſt-Church, in Oxon. for ever, in truſt, that out of the clear profits, they ſhall pay to and among the following Vicars, Curates, and Incumbents, for the time being, ten pounds a piece yearly for ever, free from all deductions of taxes, or any other duties, chargeable upon the ſaid premiſes, to be paid half yearly, viz. the Vicar of Southſtoke cum Capellis, and the Vicar of little Compton, the Curate of Drayton, the Curate of Stratton Audley, and the Vicar or Curate of Dorcheſter, all in Oxfordſhire. To the Vicars of Eaſt Garſden and of Ardington, both in Berkſhire. The Curates of South Littleton and of Offenham in Worceſterſhire; to the Vicar of Netherſoll in Glouceſterſhire, and the Vicar of Cereton in Wiltſhire. And in caſe the ſaid yearly rents and profits ſhould happen to fall ſhort of ſatisfying the ſaid ſum of ten pounds to each of the ſaid Vicars, &c. then there ſhould be an equal and proportionable deduction out of every one of the ſaid ſalaries. But if it ſhould happen in any following year (as no doubt it will) that more ſhould accrue out of the yearly rents, than is ſufficient to anſwer the ſaid yearly ſtipends, then he wills, that all deficiences ſo happening in any former year or years ſhall be made up and ſupplied to the ſaid Vicars, &c. out of ſuch overplus. 'And my further Will, proceeds he, by all means is, that if any of the Vicars, &c. receiving this my charitable benefaction, ſhall be convicted at the mouth of two or more witneſſes, or generally noted for, though not formally convicted thereof by witneſſes, of any thing groſly immoral, as whoredom, fornication, drunkenneſs, or common ſwearing, or any thing ſcandalous, or againſt the act of uniformity, or rule of the Church of England, ſuch as are preaching in, or going to, any conventicle or meeting of the Diſſenters from the Church of England, for religious worſhip; that then, and in every ſuch, and the like caſe, the ſtipend allotted to ſuch Vicar, &c. ſhall forthwith ceaſe, and the perſon or perſons ſo guilty be utterly deprived of the ſame for ever And that it be from time to time paid to ſuch Vicars, &c. as ſhall be ſo qualified as in the premiſes has been expreſſed, and known to the Dean himſelf, or to any one or more of the Prebendaries of Chriſt-Church in Oxon. for the time being, to be of a ſober unblameable life, and of ſtrict conformity to the Church of England, as now by Law eſtabliſhed.' He further bequeaths all the overplus of the money remaining of the yearly profits of the ſaid two eſtates, to ſix poor ſcholars for ever, twenty nobles a piece yearly, to be all of Chriſt-Church, and bred in Weſtminſter ſchool, to be at the nomination of the ſaid Chapter of Chriſt-Church, and the remainder of the ſaid profits to be applied towards the finiſhing of the new buildings then carried on in Chriſt-Church. He then confirms a deed of ſettlement, formerly made to the Dean and Chapter of St Peter's Weſtminſter, for erecting and endowing at his ſole charge a charity-ſchool at Iſlip. He proceeds to give further to the Dean and Chapter of Chriſt-Church the ſum of 500 l. to be laid out in purchaſing the perpetual advowſon of a good living, for one of the ſtudents of that College, who ſhall profeſs the ſtudy of Divinity, the ſaid 500 l. to be paid by his executrix within five years after his deceaſe. In the next place, he gives to the Dean and Chapter of St Aſaph, &c. in North Wales, the ſum of 100 l. in truſt, to be laid out for the apprenticing out twenty poor youths, born in the pariſh of Llanchiadar in Mocknant aforeſaid, to good honeſt trades, by 5 l. a peace to be paid by his executrix, when ſhe ſhall have received of his tenant for the tythes of Llanchiadar, all that ſhall be due from him on that account, and not otherwiſe, and before the full receipt thereof. He further gives the ſum of 100 l. to the public library of Oxford, for the buying into it ſuch modern authors of principal note, as the Vice-Chancellor and Head Librarian, for the time being, ſhall judge to be moſt uſeful, and moſt wanting there. He further gives the ſum of 200 l. to twenty poor ejected Clergymen, Nonjurors, at the choice and nomination of his executrix, to be diſtributed to them by ten pounds a piece. He likewiſe gives the ſum of 200 l. to forty poor widows of Miniſters, at the choice of his executrix, to be diſtributed at five pounds a piece, both to be paid within two years after his deceaſe. He alſo gives the ſum of 100 l. towards the maintenance of the poor children, taught and bred in the Grey-Coat Hoſpital in Tothill-fields. He likewiſe gives 100 l. to fifty poor houſe-keepers or widows, thoſe of Clergymen excepted as having been provided for in his Will before, within the city of Weſtminſter, to be diſtributed by his executrix, at forty ſhillings a piece, and to be at her nomination, but ſtill ſuch as ſhall be truly conformable to our Church as now by Law eſtabliſhed, and diligent attenders upon the ſervice and worſhip thereof, either at Weſtminſter Abbey (which ſays he I moſt like) or in ſome pariſh church thereabouts, and this to be done as ſpeedily, as it can with any tolerable convenience, be after my funeral. 'Alſo to the poor of the pariſh of Caveſham or Caverſham in Oxfordſhire, where, ſays he, I have dwelt for many years laſt paſt, I give ten pounds, having been all along very liberal to that place, and the poor thereof during all the time I ſpent there. And ten pounds to the poor of the town and pariſh of Iſlip in the county of Oxford alſo, to which I have been a conſtant, and (as they themſelves very well know) no ordinary benefactor, I give five pounds to the poor of the pariſh of Hackney in Middleſex, near London, where I was born and baptized. I give five pounds alſo to the poor of the place where I ſhall happen to be buried, in caſe it proves to be none of thoſe three places already mentioned, but not otherwiſe He concludes with appointing Mrs Hammond his ſole executrix and reſiduary legatee. Further in a codicil annexed, dated June 2, 1714, he bequeaths 500 l. towards carrying on the new buildings at Chriſt-Church, to be paid out of a deed or deeds of aſſignment for 977 l. to his ſaid executrix, as ſecurity for the repayment of 617 l. lent by him to William Vernon of Weſtminſter, gentleman. He alſo, as a pledge of reſpect, gives to the Honourable William Bromley, then Secretary of State, to Francis Gaſtril, Biſhop of Cheſter, to Dr John Hammond, and Dr William Stratford, both Canons of Chriſt-Church, five Carolus pieces of gold each for a ring. In another codicil, dated the ſame day as the former, he gives to Robert South, Attorney at Law, in Northampton, ſon to his half brother Mr James South, deceaſed, his the Doctor's father, drawn by the excellent hand of Vanzoeſt, then hanging in his lodgings at Chriſt-Church, as alſo a gold ring ſet with an amethyſt, with his father's arms, curiouſly engraved upon it; likewiſe a pebble ſtone artificially ſet in a gold ring (to be uſed as a ſeal) with the ſame coat of arms caſt or engraven on it; moreover an agate of a pretty large ſize, and handle tipped with ſilver, and bearing his father's arms alſo upon it, intended chiefly for the ſmoothing of writing paper; and together with this a ſmall ſilver ſeal, with the ſame engravement upon it, commonly uſed by himſelf in ſealing his letters. 'Which ſaid legacies, continues the Doctor, whether he ſhall paſs a due value upon them or no (for I have heard of his character) I have thought fit to leave him as the propereſt things to remind him of the worthy father, whom he is deſcended from, and the family which he belongs to, and deſerves with the utmoſt reſpect to be remembered by him.'

Heart and hand for my Lord Arran.

So that the Dean, who had the caſting vote, determined the choice in his Lordſhip's favour. This being the laſt time he went abroad, it is eaſy to imagine, that weakneſs, the attendant upon old age, made quick advances towards his diſſolution, which happened on Sunday the 8th day of July, 1716 (*bb*). Four days after his deceaſe, the corpſe having for ſome time lain in a decent manner in the Jeruſalem-chamber, was brought into the college-hall, where a Latin oration (*cc*) was ſpoken by Mr John Barber, Captain of the King's ſcholars. Thence it was attended by the Biſhop of Rocheſter, with the Prebendaries who were in town, the maſters, the ſcholars, the whole choir, and all the ſervants belonging to the royal foundation, with many members of the univerſity and college of Chriſt-Church in Oxford. Upon their entrance into the abbey, the choir performed the part of the funeral ſervice, 'till the body was placed in the area of the church; after which followed evening prayers, and an anthem ſuitable to the occaſion (*dd*). Prayers being ended, the corpſe was attended in the ſame manner to the grave, near the ſteps of the altar, adjoining to the late Dr Buſby's, where the choir performed the laſt part of the ſervice, the Right Reverend the Dean reading the burial office, with ſuch affection and devotion, as ſhewed his concern for this loſs to the Church (*ee*). A ſumptuous marble monument, after the model of Dr Buſby's, and adjoining to it, was erected to his memory with a Latin epitaph by Dr Freind, then Head-Maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool, containing his eloge. The purport of which is, that he did honour to his age and country; his judgment was penetrating, and his knowledge extenſive. He poſſeſſed at once all thoſe extraordinary talents, that were divided amongſt the greateſt authors of Antiquity; he had the ſound, diſtinct, comprehenſive, knowledge of *Ariſtotle*, with all the beautiful lights, graces, and embelliſhments, of *Cicero*. One does not know which to admire moſt in his writings, the ſtrength of reaſon, force of ſtyle, or brightneſs of imagination. As to his moral and religious conduct, he was not only a ſon, but a father to the Church of England; ſincere and hearty to her friends, and ever bold and undaunted in the defence of truth and loyalty; wherein his arguments were ſo ſolid and nervous, that as few have come near him, ſo none have excelled him. Inſomuch, that while he was poſſeſſed of Tertullian's oratory and force of perſuaſion, he was inveſted and cloathed with St Cyprian's devotion and humility. He was a true friend to Monarchy, even when rebellion was ſucceſsful and faction meritorious. His charity to the poor was very liberal, and the greateſt part of it induſtriouſly concealed, having our Saviour's rule not to let our light ſhine before men always upon his mind, whereby we may be aſſured, that he found greater ſatisfaction in the duty than he could propoſe from the title of a generous benefactor. To deſcribe him fully, ought only to be attempted by a perſon that is bleſſed with ſuch a ſhare of wit and devotion as he enjoyed. Here we ſee the bright ſide of the Doctor's character, which is repreſented as all pure gold without any alloy. Nevertheleſs an alloy it undeniably had mingled in it's compoſition, and which therefore, as it becomes an impartial hiſtorian, we ſhall lay before the reader, in the words of a late writer, who in a panegyric, intituled, The life of Archbiſhop Tillotſon (*ff*), recounting ſuch Proteſtants as had attacked his Grace's Sermons, ſets our Divine at the head of them. 'One of the moſt forward and petulent, ſays he, was Dr South, whoſe learning and genius, were accompanied with an unreſtrained acrimony of temper, and a boundleſs ſeverity of language, mixed with the loweſt and falſeſt, as well as the trueſt wit, both in his converſation and writings, againſt thoſe, who differed in the leaſt from him, eſpecially in matters, which he imagined or repreſented, to concern the intereſts of the Eſtabliſhed Church, for which, after the Reſtoration, he appeared the moſt zealous champion on all occaſions, though before that event, he had inſinuated himſelf into the good opinion of Dr John Owen, Dean of Chriſt-Church, where he was educated, and of the Independent party, whom he afterwards abandoned, and joyned with the Preſbyterians [*T*].' The Doctor is alſo repreſented

(*bb*) From his epitaph in Weſtminſter-abbey.

(*cc*) It is printed at the end of the Memoirs of his Life, together with an Engliſh tranſlation of it.

(*dd*) The ſame which was ſung at the interment of the Queen [Anne], compoſed by Dr Will. Croft. Ibid. p. 140.

(*ee*) P. 141.

(*ff*) p. 354, edit. 1753.

[*T*] *He herded firſt with the Independents and afterwards with the Preſbyterians.*] In order to confirm the juſtice of this repreſentation, it is obſerved, 'that the circumſtances are related by Mr Wood, who has drawn his character in a manner not at all favourable to his memory, and has the more weight from his own conformity to the Doctor's profeſſed principles, both in Church and State (39). Enough has been ſaid already to evince Mr Wood's prejudice againſt our author, where the root from whence it ſprung is now laid open. And we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter, that his Grace of Canterbury was handled with little leſs ſeverity by him (40); a circumſtance, which is ſunk into a dead ſilence in the account of his life, the greateſt blemiſh of which, is the blackning and blanching of characters, as beſt ſerves the purpoſe of heightning the otherwiſe ſufficiently confeſſed merit of the ſubject. In this deſign we ſee the writer raking up, and retailing every little tale in diſparagement of Dr South. Thus, for inſtance, to ſet off the moderation of the Archbiſhop's temper and principles, having remarked, 'that he was ſtigmatized with the name of Latitudinarian, by perſons of very oppoſite characters, is introduced a piece, intituled, *The Principles and Practices of certain moderate Divines*, &c written (41) by Dr Fowler, afterwards Biſhop of Glouceſter, who is dignified with the epithet *of pious and rational*, becauſe in it he complains, *that this term of reproach, this word, as he calls it, of a foot and a half long*, Latitudinarian, *was frequently thrown out at that time, not only in converſation, but from the pulpit; and that it accompanied good ſtore of other bombaſts and little witticiſms, in ſeaſoning, not long ago, the ſtately Oxonion theatre.* Which paſſage evidently refers to the ſpeech of Dr South, then Orator of the univerſity of Oxford, in which he treated not only the new Philoſophy and the Royal Society, but likewiſe moderation, comprehenſion, and other topics of that kind with his uſual virulence and buffoonry, ſo juſtly complained of by Dr Wallis in a letter to Mr Boyle (42), as unſuitable to a learned body, on ſo ſolemn an occaſion.' Again for proof of the vivacity of the Archbiſhop's

(39) Life of Tillotſon, p. 354.

(40) In Archbiſhop Tillotſon's article.

(41) In 1669, as appears by the dedication in the beginning of July that year, tho' not publiſhed 'till 1670.

(42) Dated at Oxford, July 27, 1669. See Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 514.

repreſented by another author, as of a moroſe and reſerved perſon, who declares, that it was the fourneſs of his diſpoſition, which made him unfit for converſation, that made him a ſcholar; on the contrary, the writer of his life maintains him to be ſo far from deſerving this character of moroſeneſs and a ſour wit, that whoever was once in his company went off with ſuch a reliſh of his wit and good humour, as to covet the coming into it, though at the expence of bearing a part in the ſubject of his rallery, ſo that what was ſaid of Horace, might, on as juſt grounds be worked into his character,

Ridentem Flaccus amicum
Tangit, & admiſſus circum præcordia ludit.

Whatever may be thought of this compariſon in favour of the Doctor's converſible wit in particular; the uſe, which he is obſerved to make of his wit in general, by the author of the Tatler (*gg*), will hardly be diſputed. That ingenious writer, an acknowledged wit of the firſt rank, who cannot be ſuſpected of partiality on the Doctor's ſide, in a paper, the ſubject of which, was confeſſedly ſuggeſted by reading one of his ſermons, having inculcated the practice of virtue from the contemptibleneſs of vice, proceeds thus. 'I have oftned wondered, conſidering the excellent and choice ſpirits, that we have 'among our Divines, that they don't think of putting vicious habits into a more con-'temptible and unlovely figure, than they do at preſent; ſo many men of wit and 'ſpirit as there are in ſacred Orders, have it in their power to make the vogue on 'their ſide. The leaders in human ſociety are more effectually prevailed upon this way, 'than can eaſily be imagined. I have more than one in my thoughts, at this time, 'capable of doing this, againſt all the oppoſition of the moſt witty as well as the 'moſt voluptuous. There may poſſibly be more acceptable ſubjects, but ſure there are 'none more uſeful. It is viſible, that though mens fortunes, circumſtances, and plea-'ſures, give them propenſions too ſtrong to regard any mention, either of puniſhments 'or rewards. They will liſten to what makes them either inconſiderable or mean 'in the imagination of others, and by degrees in their own. It is certain, ſuch 'topics are to be touched upon in the light we mean, only by men of the moſt 'conſummate prudence, as well as excellent wit; for theſe diſcourſes are to be 'made, if made to run into example, before ſuch as have their thoughts more intent 'upon the propriety than the reaſon of the diſcourſe. What indeed led me into this way 'of thinking is, that the laſt thing I read was a ſermon of the learned Dr South, upon '*The ways of pleaſantneſs*.' This admirable diſcourſe was preached at Court, where the 'Preacher was too wiſe a man not to believe the greateſt argument in that place, againſt 'the pleaſures then in vogue, muſt be, that they loſt greater pleaſures by proſecuting 'the courſes they were in. The charming diſcourſe has in it whatſoever wit and wiſdom 'can put together. This gentleman has a talent of making all his faculties bear to the 'great end of his hallowed profeſſion. Happy Genius! he is the better man for being 'a wit.'

(*gg*) No. 204 in the 4th volume.

biſhop's wit, we have the following inſtance of his talent at repartees, drawn from him on occaſion of Dr South's *Animadverſions on* Dr Sherlock's *Vindication of the Trinity, in* 1693. Dr South being deſirous, 'tis ſaid with what probability is left to the reader's judgment) to know the Archbiſhop's opinion of his performance, wherein he had occaſionally reflected upon his Grace, for *his ſignal and peculiar encomium*, as he calls it, *of the reaſoning abilities of the* Socinians, procured a friend of his to draw it from his Grace, who gave it to this effect, that the Doctor wrote like a man, but bit like a dog. This being reported to the Doctor, he anſwered, that *he had rather bite like a dog than fawn like one*. To which the Archbiſhop replied, *That for his own part, he ſhould chuſe to be a ſpaniel, rather than a cur* (43). Thus his Grace muſt needs be a match for Dr South as a wit, and that too in a ſpecious of wit, which is undeniably the ſpawn of ill nature and malevolence, and which, as ſuch, is allowed to be a foul diſgrace to the univerſal wit of his rival, who is however, here, inſinuated to bring this rebuke upon himſelf, by paying a kind of homage to his Grace's judgment. It would be running into the like ridicule, to ſet Dr South upon a level with Tillotſon as a preacher, though ſome of his performances that way are indiſputably excellent. Yet *he* characteriſed them in general, moſt aptly, who called them not Sunday, but week day ſermons. The peculiar turn and temper of theſe, as well as his other writings, were undeniably the produce of the idioſyncracy of his nature, to uſe a term of Dr Henry More, and the ſame may be ſaid of other writers and preachers, Dr Tillotſon not excepted, who on that account, incurred the imputation of a Latitudinarian, from a ſpirit of the ſame kindred with that which branded Dr South as an intolerant (44).

(43) Life of Tillotſon, p. 323.

(44) Conſult the ſame Life, p. 195, 354, 355, 428, 429.

P

SPEED [JOHN], author of the Hiſtory and Maps of Great Britain, a man of wonderful induſtry, abilities, and ingenuity, conſidering his education and profeſſion, was born at Farrington in Cheſhire (*a*) [*A*], in the year 1552 (*b*). He was brought up a taylor, and free of the Merchant-taylors company in the city of London. But Sir Fulk Grevile, a great encourager of learning, obſerving his natural diſpoſition, took him off from his ſervile employment, and by a proper allowance enabled him to follow entirely his ſtudies [*B*]. The firſt fruits of them was his 'Theatre [or Maps] of the Empire 'of

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Cheſhire, p. 181.

(*b*) This is inferred from his age at the time of his death. See his Epitaph below.

[*A*] *Was born at Farrington in Cheſhire.*] So Dr Fuller was informed by Mr Speed's own daughter, Mrs Blackmore, a ſtationer's wife in St. Paul's Churchyard (1).

(1) Worthies, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *But Sir Foulk Grevile——enabled him to follow entirely his ſtudies.*] This Mr Speed thankfully acknowledges, in theſe words. Sir Foulk Grevil,—— 'in whoſe perſon ſhineth all true vertue and high No-'bility.—Whoſe merits to me-ward, I do acknow-'ledge, in ſetting this hand free from the daily im-'ployments

‘ of Great Britaine [C].’ Which was followed with his Hiſtory of Great Britaine [D]; a work of infinite labour, and, allowing for the author's want of a learned education, well executed. For it is digeſted in a much better manner than the chronicles of Fabian, Grafton, Holinſhed, and Stow, and elegantly printed. The account and character given of it by Biſhop Nicolſon, and others [E], is ſet down below. Mr Speed was alſo author of

‘ ployments of a manuall Trade, and giving it full ‘ liberty thus to expreſs the inclination of my mind, ‘ himſelf being the procurer of my preſent Eſtate (2).’

[C] *Theatre* [or Maps] *of the Empire of Great-Britaine.*] The title of this work is, ‘ The Theatre of ‘ the Empire of Great-Britaine: preſenting an exact ‘ Geography of the Kingdomes of England, Scotland, ‘ and Ireland, and the Iſles adjoyning. With the ‘ Shires, Hundreds, Cities, and Shire-Townes within ‘ the Kingdome of England, divided and deſcribed by ‘ John Speed.’ Lond. 1606 fol. Theſe Maps are the beſt that had till then been made of the Britiſh Dominions. The corners of them are ornamented with coins, and the ichnography of the moſt conſiderable cities and towns in the reſpective counties. They were deſigned to go along with his Hiſtory; and, in the Contents, are made the Four firſt Books of that work.——Biſhop Nicolſon's judgment and opinion of theſe Maps is as follows (3). ‘ His Maps, ſays he, ‘ are extremely well; and make a noble *Apparatus* ‘ (as they were deſigned) to his Hiſtory. But his ‘ Deſcriptions of the ſeveral Counties are moſtly ſhort ‘ abſtracts of what Camden had ſaid before him, ſav- ‘ ing only that of Norfolk, which (he owns, tho' he ‘ is not always ſo civil to his chief benefactor) he had ‘ from Sir Henry Spelman.’ Is not this a little too Severe? Our author makes a due acknowledgment of his Benefactors, particularly with regard to his Maps, in theſe words (4).—‘ So plenteous is our Story, and ‘ ſo largely requires it to bee writ. Through all ‘ which my weake body with many yeeres labour hath ‘ alone trauelled, as well in the reuieuing of the Geo- ‘ graphicall parts of the Land, as in the compiling of ‘ the ſucceeding Hiſtory, though far vnable to perfect ‘ either, according to their owne worths. But leſt ‘ the waight of the whole ſhould reſt vpon ſo ſlender ‘ a proppe as my ſelfe: I have laid my buildings vpon ‘ far ſtronger arches, as by the many alleaged autho- ‘ rities may appeare. For firſt the *Chards* for the moſt ‘ part traced by others(5), and moſt of them diuulged ‘ vnto view, were the foundations of my begunne ‘ paines; in ſupplying their wants with my many ad- ‘ ditions, and dimenſions of the Shire-townes, and ‘ Cities true platformes. The further deſcriptions of ‘ ſundry provinces, I have gleaned from the famous ‘ workes of the moſt worthy and learned *Cambden*, ‘ whoſe often ſowed Seedes in that Soile hath laſtly ‘ brought forth a moſt plenteous harveſt.’ An Epi- tome of it was publiſhed in 1676.

[D] *Which was followed with his Hiſtory of Great-Britaine.*] This is intituled, ‘ The Hiſtory of Great- ‘ Britaine under the Conqueſts of the Romans, Saxons, ‘ Danes, and Normans. Their Originals, Manners, ‘ Warres, Coines, and Seales: with the Succeſſions, ‘ Lives, Acts and Iſſues of the Engliſh Monarchs from ‘ Julius Cæſar, to our moſt gracious Soveraigne King ‘ James.’ Firſt printed in 1614, large folio. Re- printed ſince, with ſome pretended additional decora- tions, but much inferior, in print and paper, to that firſt and beſt edition. In this Hiſtory, our Author had the Aſſiſtance of ſeveral perſons of the greateſt learn- ing. The reign of King Henry V. for inſtance, was compiled from collections, notes, and extracts made by George Carew Earl of Totneſs. That of *Henry* VII. is almoſt wholly the Lord Viſcount St Albans, Sir Francis Bacon's. The notes and collections of Sir Robert Cotton, were made uſe of in the reign of King *Henry* VIII. Thoſe of Sir Henry Spelman, in ano- ther. The life of King *John* was written by Dr Bark- ham, Dean of Bocking; who alſo drew up the life of King *Henry* II. in oppoſition to, or for ſuppreſſing, one written by the learned Edmund Bolton (6); who being a Roman Catholic was thought to favour too much the haughty carriage of Thomas Becket (7). The Catalogue of the religious Houſes, at the end of King Henry the eighth's reign, was compoſed by Wil- liam Burton, Eſq; (8) But let us hear Mr Speed's own account of his chief aſſiſtants.—‘ For the body of the ‘ Hiſtorie, ſaith he, many were the *manuſcripts*, notes ‘ and Records, wherewith my honoured and learned ‘ friends ſupplied me; but none more (or ſo many) as ‘ did the worthy repairer of eating times ruines, the ‘ learned Sir *Robert Cotton* Knight Baronet, another ‘ *Philadelphus* in preſerving old Monuments, and an- ‘ cient Records: whoſe Cabinets were unlocked, and ‘ Library continually ſet open to my free acceſſe ‘ from whence the chiefeſt garniſhments of this ‘ have beene enlarged and brought: ſuch as a ‘ antique Altars, and Trophies in Stone, by him pre- ‘ ſerved from periſhing oblivion: The Coins of gold, ‘ ſilver, alcumy, and copper, of the Britaine Ro- ‘ mans, Saxons, Danes and Engliſh, with the Br ‘ Seales of thoſe Kings ſince the ſame were in uſe: ‘ all of them ſo followed from the originall medalles, ‘ and moneyes, by the moſt exquiſit and curious hand ‘ of our age (9), as any eye may witnes they are the ‘ true prints from thoſe ſtamps. The like moſt ac- ‘ ceptable helpes, both of Bookes and Collections, ‘ (eſpecially in matters remoter from our times) I con- ‘ tinually received from that worthy Divine, Maſter ‘ *John Barkham*, a gentleman compoſed of Learning, ‘ Vertue, and Curteſie, as being no leſſe ingenuouſly ‘ willing, then learnedly able, to advance and for- ‘ ward all vertuous endeavours. Beſides theſe, ſome ‘ other ſupply I have had: for my diſeaſe growne ‘ dangerous, and life held in ſuſpence; it behoved ‘ him who had towards the publiſhing beſtowed ſo ‘ great coſt, to forward the finiſhing; and to that end ‘ hee procured mee to his further charges an aſſiſtant ‘ (10) in the lives of our middle Engliſh Kings: whoſe ‘ Stories and raignes (by the Judicious) may by their ‘ ſtiles bee knowne to bee writ with another penne. ‘ Laſtly for the matters of Herauldrie, the willing and ‘ ready paines of Maſter *William Smith*, Rough * ‘ Dragon (an officer at Armes) was ever at hand: and ‘ by theſe hands this building is mounted to ſuch an ‘ height as thou ſeeſt (11).’—But Dr Thomas Smith affirms, that Sir Robert Cotton had the reviſing, cor- recting, and poliſhing of the whole work. His words are theſe. ‘ Hanc benevolentiam, ſi quis un- ‘ quam, ſæpiſſimè expertus eſt *Joannes Speedus*, Civis ‘ Londinenſis, ob induſtriam ſaltem maxime commen- ‘ dandus, qui generalem magnæ Britanniæ hiſtoriam ‘ qualem qualem vernaculo idiomate pro captu, modu- ‘ lo, viribuſque ſuis ſcribere aggreſſus, tanto oneri ‘ plane ſuccubuerat, niſi Cottonus ſubſidiariam labo- ‘ ranti operam præſtitiſſet: cujus conſiliis monitiſque ‘ tanquam filo Ariadnæo ſeſe ex iſta labyrintho tandem ‘ feliciter extricavit. Cottonus enim ſchedas inculſas ‘ ſcabraſque ingenio, tanquam lima, perpolivit; ubi ‘ neceſſitas poſtulaverat, recoctas denuo reformavit, & ‘ inſigni obſervationum ſupplemento è penu ſuo auxit, ‘ ut opus illud qualecunque, quod longe alium auctorem ‘ in vetuſtis Scriptoribus tabulariiſque publicis verſa- ‘ tiſſimum deſideraret, ſi non cum laude, ſaltem cum ‘ venia & fructu legeretur (12).’

[E] *The account and character given of it by Biſhop Nicolſon and others.*] ‘ *John Speed*, ſays the Biſhop, ‘ muſt be acknowledged to have had a head the beſt ‘ diſpoſed towards Hiſtory of any of our writers; and ‘ would certainly have outdone himſelf, as far as he ‘ has gone beyond the reſt of his profeſſion, if the ad- ‘ vantages of his Education had been anſwerable to ‘ thoſe of his natural genius. But what could be ex- ‘ pected from a Taylor (13)? However, we may ‘ boldly ſay that his Chronicle is the largeſt and beſt ‘ we have hitherto extant: It begins with the firſt In- ‘ habitants of the Iſland, and ends with the union of ‘ the Kingdoms under King James, to whom it ‘ is dedicated. Tho' ſome ſay (14) he ſpent twice ‘ ſeven years in compiling the whole, he himſelf owns ‘ he made more haſte than he ought to have done; ‘ and that he was forced to truſt a deal of his work in ‘ the hands of his friends and journeymen. And the ‘ Truth of this honeſt acknowldgement and confeſſion ‘ is obvious enough to a diſcerning Reader; who will ‘ eaſily find a mighty Difference in the ſtyle, as well ‘ as matter, of ſeveral of the reigns (15).’—*Degory Whear* ‘ commends this Hiſtory in the Firſt place; ‘ and beſtows upon it the higheſt praiſes that can be.

Adding,

(2) Theatre of Great Britaine, in the Deſcription of Warwickſhire.

(3) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, edit. 1714, fol. p. 5, 6.

(4) See the concluſion of his Hiſtory.

(5) L. Har. Chriſt. Saxton. John Norden. Wil. White.

(6) See the articles BARCHAM, and BOLTON, above.

(7) The Surfeit to A. B. C. Lond. 1656. 32mo. p. 22. Wood Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 19.

(8) Biſhop Nicolſon's Engliſh hiſtorical Library, edit. 1714, fol. p. 73, 143.

(9) Chriſt. Swinſter.

(10) M. Edw. Bolton.

* Rouge.

(11) Concluſion of his Hiſtory.

(12) Vita D. Roberti Cottoni, præfixa Catalog. Biblioth. Cottonæ p. xxiv.

(13) An injurious reflexion! He was undoubtedly a man of a pretty good education, and certainly of very good ſenſe.

(14) Deg. Whear, Method and Order of reading Hiſtories, Sect. 31.

(15) Engliſh Hiſtor. Library, as above, p. 75.

of, 'Cloud of witneſſes, viz. the Genealogies of Scripture, confirming the Truth of holy 'Hiſtory and Humanity of Chriſt:' prefixed to the new tranſlation of the Bible in 1611, and printed afterwards in moſt of the ſubſequent antient editions of the ſame: Publiſhed likewiſe by itſelf in 1616, 8vo. (c). King James the Firſt granted him a patent, for ſecuring the property of this to himſelf and his heirs (d). After a uſeful and induſtrious life, and having lived fifty-ſeven years in marriage with one wife, by whom he had twelve ſons [F], and ſix daughters, he dyed at London July 28, 1629, and was buried in the church of St Giles Cripplegate, where a monument is erected to him on the ſouth ſide of the chancel [G]. Dr Fuller, in his quibling manner, ſays, that Father Speed truly anſwered his name in both the acceptions thereof for *Celerity* and *Succeſs* (e). Biſhop Nicolſon gives him this character (f): That he was a perſon of extraordinary Induſtry and attainments in the ſtudy of Antiquities; and ſeems not altogether unworthy the name of 'a very great and learned Antiquary (g), given him by one who was certainly ſo 'himſelf.'

(c) With this title, 'The Genealogies recorded in the ſacred Scriptures, according to every Family and Tribe. With the Line of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, obſerved from Adam to the bleſſed Virgin Mary.'

(d) Wotthies, as above.

(e) English Hiſtorical Library, as above, p. 5.

(f) Summus & eruditus Antiquarius. *Sheringham* de Anglorum Gentis Origine, Cantab. 1670, 8vo. p. 42.

Adding, that our Author 'having travelled over all 'Great Britain, read diligently all our own Hiſtorians, and thoſe of our neighbour Nations, together 'with a diligent Search in the Publick Offices, Rolls, 'Monuments, and ancient Charters, built up a ſplendid and admired Theatre of the Britiſh Empire; 'which, with great expedition and labour, he perfected in fourteen years, in Ten Books.——Wherefore I do moſt earneſtly exhort young Men, and eſpecially thoſe who are of Noble birth, and intend to travell, that they would firſt peruſe this beautifull *Theatre of Great-Britain*, and run over all the parts of it, before they travell into foreign countries, or viſit ſtrange Nations (16).'——*James Tyrrell*, Eſq; gives this character of it.——'It muſt be confeſſed, ſays he, that Mr *Speed* was the firſt Engliſh writer, who ſlighting Geoffrey's tales, immediately fell upon more ſolid matter; giving us a large Account of the Hiſtory of this Iſland during the Time of the Roman Emperors and Engliſh Saxon Kings; and had he not, by making his Reader follow thoſe Emperors in all their foreign wars and expeditions, wherein Britain was no way concerned, he had rendered his work leſs irkſome, and more profitable than now it is. But notwithſtanding *He and Stow*, had many choice Collections of noble Manuſcripts relating to our Engliſh Hiſtory, and might have had the view of ſeveral others if they would have been at the pains of ſeeking after them; yet it muſt be owned that they did not make that improvement of thoſe opportunities as might have been expected from ſuch great aſſiſtances; there being not much to be found material in either of them, but what was in the other Hiſtorians before publiſhed: though this muſt be allowed in their Commendation, that they are both of them (eſpecially the former) commonly right in their Chronologies, and the latter has given us a choice Collection of the Antient Coins of the Roman Emperors, as well as of the Engliſh Saxon Kings; and has alſo been more exact than any other Writer, in his account of their Wives and Iſſue (17).' But as to this laſt particular, he hath been much outdone by Mr Sandford's and Stebbing's Genealogical Hiſtory.——Finally, Mr Wood obſerves (18), that Mr Speed's part in this Hiſtory, is ſuch for Style and Induſtry, as is perhaps without many fellows in Europe.

(16) Whear, as above.

(17) General Hiſtory of England, by James Tyrrell, Eſq; Vol. I. Preface, p. 5, 6.

(18) Ath. Vol. I. col. 530.

[F] *By whom he had twelve ſons.*] One of them named John was born at London in 1595, educated at Merchant-Taylors School, and St John's college Oxford, where he took the degrees in Arts and in Phyſic. He dyed in May 1640, and was buried in the chapel of that college (19). Having married a daughter of Bartholomew Warner, M. D. (20), he had by her two ſons: *Samuel*, Student of Chriſt-Church Oxon. inſtalled Canon of that church May 6, 1674 (21), who dyed at Godalmin in Surrey January 22, 1681, of which he was Vicar (22). The other ſon, named *John*, was born at Oxford, elected Scholar of St John's college about the year 1643, but ejected thence by the Parliament-viſitors in 1648, he being then Batchelor of Arts, and Fellow. At the Reſtoration he was reinſtated into his Fellowſhip, and June 19, 1666, took the degree of Doctor in Phyſic (23); and afterwards quitting his Fellowſhip, he practiſed his faculty at Southampton. He wrote, 'Batt upon Batt. A Poem upon 'the Parts, Patience, and Pains of *Bartholomew Kempſter*, Clerk, Poet, and Cutler of Holy-Rood 'pariſh in Southampton.' And, 'The Viſion, wherein is deſcribed Batt's Perſon and Ingenuity, with an account of the ancient and preſent State and Glory of 'Southampton.' Both printed at London in two Sheets in *folio*, and *quarto* (24).

(19) Wood Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col 631.

(20) Idem, col. 300.

(21) Idem, col. 631.

(22) Id. Faſti, Vol. II. col. 197.

(23) Idem, ibid col 165.

(24) Idem, Ath. Vol. II. col. 1083.

[G] *Where a monument is erected to him.*] The inſcription upon it, is in theſe words. 'Piæ memoriæ 'chariſſimorum Parentum: *Johannis Speed* civis Londinenſis, Mercatorum Sciſſorum fratris, ſervi fideliſſimi regiarum Majeſtatum, Elizabethæ, Jacobi, & 'Caroli nunc ſuperſtitis. Terrarum noſtrarum Geographi accurati, & fidi Antiquitatis Britannicæ Hiſtoriographi, Genealogiæ ſacræ elegantiſſimi Delineatoris. 'Qui poſtquam annos 77 ſuperaverat, non tam morbo 'confectus, quam mortalitatis tædio laſſatus, corpore 'ſe levavit Julii 28, 1629, & jucundiſſimo Redemptoris ſui deſiderio ſurſum elatus, carnem hic in Cuſtodia 'poſuit, denuo, cum Chriſtus venerit, recepturus.'

On the other ſide of him.

'Suſannæ ſuæ ſuaviſſimæ, quæ poſtquam duodecim 'illi filios, & ſex filias pepererat, quinquaginta ſeptem 'annos janctis utriuſque ſolatiis, cum illo vixerat; liberos, gravi & frequenti hortamine, ad Dei cultum 'ſolicitaverat; Pietatis & Charitatis opere quotidiano 'præluxerat, emori demum erudiit ſuo exemplo. 'Quæ ſeptuagenaria placide in Chriſto obdormivit, & 'Fidei ſuæ mercedem habuit, Martii vigeſimo octavo, 'Anno Domini M DC XXVIII (25).' C

(25) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's additions, Vol. I. book 3. p. 85, 86.

SPELMAN [Sir HENRY], Knt. was deſcended from an ancient family of his name, which, as he himſelf hath ſhewn (a), flouriſhed in the time of Henry the Third, at Bekington in Hampſhire; and in the following century, removing thence into Suffolk, came at laſt to ſettle in Norfolk, where our author's great-grandfather was poſſeſſed, in the XVth century, of a conſiderable eſtate, being Lord of Stowe, Breclys, Magna & Parva Wotton, Colny, Welinge, Roclond, and Crowis; and marrying the heireſs of the Narburgh family, his eldeſt male iſſue became Sir John Spelman, Knt. of Narburgh; who having ſeveral children, his fourth ſon, Henry Spelman, Eſq; was ſeated at Congham (b), a ſmall village near Lyn-Regis in that county; at which place his wife Frances, daughter of William Sanders of Ewel in Surrey, brought him this his eldeſt ſon [A], the

(a) In the pedigree of his family, adjoined to the account of his Life prefixed to his Engliſh Works, by Dr Gibſon, p. 112. 2d edition.

(b) He was Lord and Patron of that place. Preface, by Jer. Stephens, to Sir Henry's treatiſe concerning Tythes.

(1) In his Life of Sir Henry Spelman, prefixed to his Engliſh works.

[A] *Brought him this eldeſt ſon.*] Dr Gibſon, the late Biſhop of London, ſpeaking of our author's family, relates it thus (1). 'His father's name was Henry Spelman, Eſq; as we learn from a pedigree of the family under Sir Henry's own hand, and *not John, as a certain writer has affirmed.* Referring in the margin to the Life of Sir Henry Spelman in Latin, prefixed to the third edition of his Gloſſary; where that writer, who

the ſubject of our preſent article (*c*), who was born in the year 1562 [*B*]; and, as ſoon as he arrived at a proper age, was put to ſchool at the neighbouring town of Walſingham [*C*]; whence he was hurried away to Trinity-college in Cambridge, when he had ſcarcely paſſed ſix months in the fourteenth year of his age [*D*], and, according to the modeſt opinion which he had of himſelf, before he was ripe for entering into academical ſtudies (*d*). However, he applied himſelf cloſely to his books, and was greatly pleaſed with this ſituation: but was unhappily torn from it by the death of his father, being called home on that occaſion by his mother, to give her ſuch aſſiſtance as he was capable of, in managing the affairs of the family. He had not ſpent two years and a half in the univerſity, and was not yet quite ſeventeen years old. After he had continued with his mother about twelve months, ſhe ſent him to London, and had him admitted of Lincoln's-Inn, with a deſign of breeding him to the Law [*E*]. Having now again obtained his liberty with his books, he gave his attention chiefly to polite literature, and the more liberal branch of the ſtudy he was intended for, in which branch of it he took a ſingular delight; but having an averſion, too often ſeen in young minds, to the flat drudgery neceſſary for attaining to the lucrative part of that profeſſion, he made no extraordinary progreſs therein, ſatisfying himſelf probably with a general knowledge of ſuch laws and cuſtoms, as are of common and ordinary uſe in practice. When he had ſpent near three years in theſe ſtudies, being almoſt of age, he went down into Norfolk, and was ſoon after married to Eleanor, the eldeſt daughter of John le Strange, a gentleman of an ancient family [*F*] in the

(*c*) His Life, prefixed to the third edition of his Gloſſary, printed in 1684, fol.

(*d*) He expreſſes it thus: E ſchola rapior Cantabrigiam tenellus adhuc & Academiæ diſciplinæ omnino inidoneus. Præf. ad Archæolog. publiſhed in 1626, fol.

who ſubſcribes himſelf J. A. in the firſt page of his account, has, indeed, theſe words, *nomen patri Johannes erat*. But turning over the leaf, I was not a little ſurprized, to find in the very next page Sir Henry's pedigree traced after Sir Edward Byſhe, in theſe words: 'Henricus *Spelman Elizabetham duxit filiam* 'et *hæredem Gulielmi Narburgh*; *ex qua genuit Jo*-'*hannem Spelman, qui uxorem habuit Elizabetham, fi*-'*liam & hæredem Henrici Fowick, Equitis Aurati.* 'Ex iis natus Henricus hunc autorem noſtrum Henri-'cum dedit.' Reflecting upon theſe two moſt extraordinary accounts, there was no avoiding this plain inference, that the inexcuſable oſcitancy of Mr J. A. was a proper bait for the little leſs blamable promptneſs of his cenſurer, in finding fault. In the mean time, great allowance is to be made for the author of the General Dictionary (2), who has very faithfully tranſcribed this notable remark of Dr Gibſon, the then [viz. in 1739] actually Biſhop of London.

(2) Under the article SPELMAN [Sir HENRY].

(3) Ubi ſupra.

(4) In Vita Henrici Spelmanni, prefixed to the third edition of his Gloſſary, in fol. 1684.

[*B*] *He was born in* 1562.] Dr Gibſon obſerves (3), that Sir Henry was about eighty years of age when he died in 1641; whence the author of the General Dictionary infers, that he was born in 1561; and Mr J. A. (4) had before expreſſed the age at which he died, in theſe terms: *obiit octageſimo ætatis anno & quod excurrit*. This may [poſſibly] either mean that he died ſome time after his birth-day, in the year that he arrived at the age of fourſcore, or elſe that he died in his eightieth year current. This laſt author honeſtly declares, that he had no acquaintance at all with the Spelmans family, but had his information chiefly from Anthony Wood, the Oxford Antiquary; and Dr Gibſon, no doubt, not caring to enter into ſuch *minutiæ*, has here apparently given a looſe tranſlation of the Latin writer, leaving it undetermined, as a matter of no moment; which is certainly well judged: but here the copyer, willing to ſqueeze ſomething out of his words, infers from them, that Sir Henry was born about 1561. This remark, it is hoped, will excuſe the following, otherwiſe intolerable, diligence. Sir Henry, in his letter to Mr Richard Carew, printed at the end of his larger work upon Tythes, and dated September the 18th, 1615, writes thus: *Denuo otii deſiderio captus Londinum tertio hinc anno veni*. And in the preface of his Gloſſary, ſpeaking again of his coming to ſettle in London, he ſays, *Provectus itaque ad ſenectutis confinia annum nempe quinquageſimum.—— Londinum tranſfero*. If theſe two paſſages be compared, take them in what ſenſe you pleaſe, the inference is unavoidable, that he could not be born before the year 1562; and, on the other hand, if he died in his eightieth year, that is, when he was full ſeventy-nine years old, it is equally evident, that he could not be born after 1562, in which year we have therefore ventured to place his birth.

[*C*] *He was put to ſchool at Walſingham.*] Mr Wood, it ſeems, could give his friend J. A. * no information concerning this particular; Sir Henry being bred at Cambridge, did not lye directly in the road of the Oxford Antiquary; but it is ſomething remarkable, that Dr Gibſon ſhould tread in the ſame ſteps, and paſs it over in a dead ſilence, ſince the treatiſe where it is expreſsly declared muſt in ſome manner have been peruſed by him. He gives us his word for it, and, in further proof, has drawn up a very faithful general plan of it; in which he has given us the title at length of the very chapter where it is found, and concluded the whole with a very pertinent remark in favour of the author, which ſeems chiefly taken from a paſſage in this chapter. I mean Sir Henry Spelman's *Hiſtory and Fate of Sacrilege*. In which treatiſe (5), in ſpeaking of Walſingham-abbey, he has theſe words. 'One 'Sydney, Governour of the Spittle there, as was com-'monly reported *when I was a ſcholar at Walſingham*, 'was by the townſmen employed to have bought the 'ſite of the abbey,' &c. A ſufficient apology has been already offered for the author of the General Dictionary, who here again hath diligently followed the then Biſhop of London.

(5) Hiſtory of Sacrilege, p. 259.

* His words are, De puerili noſtri Equitis ætate perpauciſſima habeo quæ dicam.

[*D*] *When he had ſcarcely paſſed ſix months in the fourteenth year of his age*.] This preciſion was incidentally occaſioned by our being drawn into the enquiry under the note [*B*], in the manner there related; when we could not avoid obſerving, that Sir Henry, in the preface to his Gloſſary, ſays, Nondum xv annorum Puer è ſchola rapior Cantabrigiam; and finding him likewiſe complaining to his friend Mr Carew in theſe terms, Cantabrigia (miſerum me) mater exoit cum 17 ætatis non ſalutaveram, we became irreſiſtably puſhed into the exactneſs here marked.

[*E*] *With a deſign of having him bred to the Law.*] Dr Gibſon (and his tranſcriber) tells us, that he was ſent to ſtudy the Common Law at Lincoln's-Inn, either with a deſign to practiſe it, or (which is more probable) as an uſeful accompliſhment of an Engliſh gentleman. Sir Henry's own account of it is thus expreſſed: 'Emiſit [mater mea] me tamen ſub anno al-'tero Londinum juris noſtri capeſſendi gratia, cujus 'cum veſtibulum ſalutaſſem, reperiſſem linguam pere-'grinam, dialectum barbaram, methodum inconcinna-'am, molem non ingentem ſolum, ſed perpetuis hu-'meris ſuſtinendam. Excidit mihi fateor animus, 'blanditioribuſque ſubridens muſis rigidam hanc Mi-'nervam ferreis amplexibus coercendam leni molimine 'delibavi. Excuſſit me interea (O intelicem!) e cli-'entela ſua, gratiæ, poteſtatis, dignitatis, immenſæque 'apud nos largitrix opulentiæ, illa inquam veſtitu ſim-'plici & inculto, ſed jurium omnium municipalium 'abiit dictis invidia) nobiliſſima Domina, omni utpote 'juſtitia moderamine prudentia ſublimi jue acumine '(temere licet eum periſtrinxerit Hotomannus) reſertiſ-'ſima.' We muſt leave it to the learned reader to judge, whether the words (which we have relied on), Juris noſtri capeſſendi gratia, cujus cum veſtibulum ſalutaſſem, Excidit mihi animus, Excuſſit me immenſæ apud nos largitrix opulentiæ illa—Domina, are ſufficient to juſtify what is here aſſerted in the text, againſt the opinion of the late Biſhop of London.

[*F*] *A gentleman of an ancient family.*] Sir Henry drew up the pedigree of this family under the following title: *Familiæ Extraneorum, ſive Le Strange, accurata deſcriptio*. He found ſomething very particular in

the ſame County. Being thus, agreeably to his affections (e), ſettled in the country, he applied himſelf immediately to rural affairs, and the particular care of his domeſtic. He kept his land in his own hands, and took pains to manage it to the beſt advantage; and notwithſtanding his family increaſed apace, yet he found wherewithal to make ſome new purchaſes (f). In the mean time the match he had entered into brought another care upon him in the guardianſhip of his brother-in-law Sir Hamon le Strange, during whoſe minority he reſided at Hanſtanton, the ſeat of his ward. However, though the greateſt part of his time was ſpent in attending to theſe engaging duties, yet did he not neglect to make a proper uſe of his education, and found ſome ſpare hours to improve thoſe beginnings which he had made in the knowledge of the conſtitution, and laws, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, of his country. While he was yet a young man, he wrote a Latin treatiſe intituled *Aſpilogia (g)*, wherein he diſcourſes with great variety of literature concerning thoſe marks of honour now called *Arms*. It was likewiſe in his younger years that he collected the tranſcripts of ſeveral foundation-charters of the monaſteries in Norfolk and Suffolk. In 1694, being thirty-four years of age, he likewiſe wrote *A Diſcourſe concerning the Coin of the kingdom*, particularly to ſhew what great treaſures were exhauſted from England by the uſurped tyranny of Rome [G]. Before this he had been admitted a member of the Society of Antiquaries [H], which brought him intimately acquainted with Sir *Robert Cotton*, Mr *Camden*, and ſeveral others, the moſt eminent men in England for that kind of literature. In 1604 he was appointed High-Sheriff of Norfolk, and probably about the ſame time it was that he wrote a deſcription of that County, which he communicated to *John Speed*, who printed it in 1606 [I]. Thus he began by degrees to be taken notice of, diſtinguiſhing himſelf, upon all occaſions, by his great prudence and abilities; inſomuch that in 1607 he was pitched on by his Majeſty [K. James I.] to be one of the Commiſſioners for determining the unſettled titles to lands and manors in Ireland [K]. This Poſt carried him three times

(e) He ſays of this marriage, Lætiſſimi ſuſceptis hymænei vinculis. Ib.

(f) He purchaſed the leaſe of Blackburgh and Wrongey Abbies in Norfolk. Hiſt. of Sacrilege, p. 257, where it is called Mr Fiſher's Great Leaſe, p. 129, as being apparently ſomewhat conſiderable.

(g) Mr J. A. ſays of it, Hoc ab Eo etiamnum Juvene ſcripta. ubi ſupra. It was publiſhed in 1659, with notes, by Sir Ed. Byſhe, together with two other pieces, one by Nic. Upton, De re Militari, and another, De Armis, by Johannes de Bado Aureo.

in tracing this pedigree, which led him to write another piece, intituled *Hiſtoria Familiæ de Shereburn*. This laſt family he traces up as far as to one *Thokas*, who was converted to Chriſtianity, and baptized by St *Felix*, at this time with Honorius Archbiſhop of Canterbury, at whoſe requeſt that Saint came to England from Burgundy. From this Thokas he traces it without a ſingle *hiatus* down to Chriſtopher Shereburn, who died July 6, 1676. This Chriſtopher married firſt Anne Veer, of the family of the Earl of Eſſex, and afterwards Duke of Norfolk, and had Frances, who married into the family of Le Strange. Sir Henry, it ſeems, was quite ſtruck with this ſingular pedigree, and has expreſſed it in a diſtich prefixed to the Reader.

Non Vulgare vides monumentum, forte videbis
Haud dico præterea talia, ſi qua vides.

No Vulgar monument you ſee; ſcarce two
The like you'll find, if any one you do.

[G] *A Diſcourſe concerning the Coin of the kingdom.*] This was wrote in the thirty-ſixth year of Queen Elizabeth, as appears from the following paſſage in the Concluſion of it to that Queen. 'Moſt Royal, therefore is the prudence and expediting of your excellent Majeſty, who (as it were with Lynceus Eye,) looking into the loweſt ſecret of the practices of your Enemies, have not only for theſe thirty-ſix years entirely cancelled and made them fruſtrate, but foreſeeing alſo what mighty conſequences might depend on mean beginnings, ſpareth no diligence to defeat them, whilſt they are yet in the ſhell; or ſo to ſhoot the mark at which they are levelled, that being hatched, they will be able to perform nothing.' We muſt not omit to inform the Reader, that the Editor of this piece tells us, he dares not poſitively aſſert it to be Sir Henry's; 'but my finding them, ſays he, among his other papers, and the accurate knowledge of our Engliſh affairs which appears in them, inclined me to believe that he was really the Author of it (6).'

(6) Mr Gibſon in Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, publiſhed in 1698.

[H] *He was admitted a member of the Society of Antiquaries before* 1694.] This appears from the account which he gives of it in the Introduction to his Diſcourſe concerning the original of the four Law Terms, as follows. 'About forty-two years ſince, ſays he, divers gentlemen of London ſtudious of Antiquities, formed themſelves into a College or Society of Antiquaries, appointing to meet every Friday weekly in the Term at a place agreed of, and for learning ſake to confer upon ſome queſtions in that faculty, and to ſup together. The place, after a meeting or two, became certain at Derby-houſe, where the Heralds Office is kept, and two queſtions were propounded at every meeting to be handled at the next that followed; ſo that every man had a ſeven-night's reſpite to adviſe upon them, and then to deliver his opinion. That which ſeemed moſt material was by one of the Company (choſen for the purpoſe) to be entered in a book, that ſo it might remain unto Poſterity. The Society increaſed daily; perſons of great worth, as well noble as learned, joyning themſelves unto it. Thus it continued divers years; but as all good Uſes commonly decline, ſo many of the chief Supporters thereof either dying or withdrawing themſelves from London into the Country, this among the reſt grew for twenty years to be diſcontinued. But it then came again into the minds of divers principal gentlemen to revive it, and for that purpoſe upon the day in the year 1614, there met at the ſame place, Sir James Sey, Knight, then Attorney of the Court of Wards, ſince Earl of Marlborough, and Lord Treaſurer of England; Sir Robert Cotton, Knight and Baronet; Sir John Davies, his Majeſty's Attorney for Ireland; Sir Richard St-George, then Norroy; Mr Hackwell, the Queen's Sollicitor; Mr Camden, then Clarencieux; myſelf, and ſome others: *Of theſe, the Lord Treaſurer, Sir Robert Cotton, Mr Camden, and myſelf, had been of the Original Foundation* (7).' What Perſons his admiſſion into this Society brought him acquainted with, will be ſeen in the Catalogue of ſome of their names, viz. Thomas Earl of Dorſet; Henry Earl of Northampton; Fitz-Allen, the laſt Earl of Arundel; William Lord Burleigh; the Herberts, Earls of Pembroke; the learned Lord Lumley; Sir Phillip Sidney; Sir Henry Billingsley; Sir Gilbert, and Sir William Dethicke; Sir Henry Fanſhaw; Dr Bartholomew Clerk, and Dean Couſins; Sir Walter Cope and Raleigh; Dr Cowell; Francis Thynne, Eſq; *Lancaſter*; Mr Glover, *Somerſet*; Heneage, Keeper of the Records; Benefield; Erdſwick; Lambert Valence, Eſq; Mr Talbot; and Mr John Stowe, &c. (8).

(7) A Diſcourſe concerning the original of the four law terms. In the Introduction.

(8) Life of Sir Walter Raleigh by Mr William Oldys, prefixed to the laſt Edition of his Works in fol. 1735, p. 136.

[I] *A deſcription of Norfolk, communicated to John Speed, Eſq;*] The title of Speed's book is *The theatre of Great Britain*. Mr Archdeacon Nicolſon not only ſuggeſts that this deſcription of Norfolk by Sir Henry Spelman is a good one, but affirms that his book is the only good one. Sir Henry it appears was a great Encourager of Mr Speed, and furniſhed him afterwards with notes and collections for the life of one of our Kings, which he printed in 1614, in his Hiſtory of Great Britain, &c. before which work there appears, among others, a Recommendatory Poem by Sir Henry (9).

(9) Engliſh Hiſtorical library, part 1. pag. 13. edit. 1696. And Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. Col. 530. 2d Edit.

[K] *One of the Commiſſioners for determining the unſettled titles to lands and manors in Ireland.*] The ſeveral Manors and Eſtates within the Counties of Roſcommon, Sligo, Mayo, and Galway, being unſettled as to their titles, K. James I. by Commiſſion under the Great Seal, bearing date the Second of March, in the fourth Year of

times into that kingdom; and, as he diſcharged his ſhare of the truſt with great reputation, ſo, in the courſe of it, he muſt needs feel the advantage of the progreſs he had already made in ſearching into the originals of the ancient uſages and cuſtoms. No wonder then that we find him reſolved ſoon after to puſh that ſtudy. The natural bent of his genius had always apparently lain more this way than to buſineſs of any kind. Beſides, the occupation of farming, and a country life, in which his love and concern for his family had ſo long engaged him, contrary to the conſtitutional turn of his temper, had, for ſome time, begun to grow exceedingly tedious and irkſome to him, and he had met with ſome remarkable diſappointments in it [L]. He therefore determined to live no longer under that reſtraint, but to paſs the remainder of his life amongſt books, and in the ſociety of his learned acquaintance. With this reſolution, in the year 1612, he ſold the ſtock upon his farms, let out his eſtate to tenants, quitted the country, and ſettled in London with his wife and family. He was now in the fiftieth year of his age, and the time he had hitherto paſſed in his ſtudy ſeems to have been laid out chiefly for his own gratification; though not without being ſometimes of ſervice both to his friends and country, but without an eye to any particular great undertaking. He now fixed his choice upon a moſt uſeful and important ſubject, *the grounds of the Law from original records* [M]. With this deſign he made it his firſt buſineſs to collect all ſuch books and manuſcripts as related to that Article. And with indefatigable diligence he read over the Fathers, Councils, and as many of the hiſtorians of the middle age as he could meet with, whether foreign or domeſtic *(b)*. He had not been long engaged in this ſtudy, when he was interrupted, in ſome meaſure, by an incidental diſcourſe with his Uncle, Mr *Francis Saunders*, who complained to him of many croſſes and diſappointments that he unexpectedly met with in a building he had then in hand upon the Glebe of his Appropriate parſonage at Congham. The Nephew was glad of ſo favourable an opportunity, and preſently took occaſion to declare his ſentiments freely upon it, which were, that God was not pleaſed with his Uncle's deſign, ſince it tended to the defrauding of the Church; adding moreover ſome reaſons which induced him to think it utterly unlawful to keep Appropriate parſonages in Lay hands. He had the ſatisfaction to find that what he ſaid, notwithſtanding it ſo nearly touched his Kinſman in point of Intereſt, had made ſome impreſſion upon him *(i)*. Wherefore, while he was in a diſpoſition to liſten to ſuch arguments, our Author drew up his Thoughts in writing, and ſent the paper to Congham. But his Uncle dying upon the ſame day, Auguſt 16, 1613, that the Meſſenger arrived there, gave occaſion to its being printed that year *(k)* (though without any deſign of publiſhing it) *(l)*

(b) Preſat. ad Archæolog. ubi ſupra.

(i) See a letter to his Uncle, prefixed to the tract *De non temerandis Eccleſiis.*

(k) Epilogue to the ſame tracts, p. 105, 106.

(l) Ibid. in the Appendix, p. 115.

of his reign, did authorize certain Commiſſioners (among whom our Author was one) by Letters patents to make grants of the ſaid lands and manors to the reſpective owners. This Commiſſion held ſeveral Years, and our Author tells us himſelf that he was three times in Ireland, twice in the remote Counties, and once in the nearer parts of that Kingdom. Several Letters patents paſſed under his Majeſty's great ſeal by vertue of the commiſſion for the ſtrengthening of ſuch titles as might otherwiſe ſeem defective; and Sir Henry himſelf intimates that he had been of ſervice to the Owners of thoſe Eſtates, *his Hiberniæ tractum ultimum, propinquiorem tertio ex re luſtro alienâ, fideique multa credita per annos plures ſatis (ſi et mihimet) auſpicate ſequor.* Theſe are his words in the preface to his Gloſſary, where he expreſsly intimates, that his attendance on this public affair had been ſome diſadvantage to his private affairs; immediately after which he relates how, grown weary of a country life, he therefore went to ſettle in London; nor do I ſee any thing in this preface to ground ſuch an obſervation upon as is made by Dr Gibſon (10), and that in it Sir Henry ſeems to complain of the like prejudice to his family, occaſioned by his attendance on the other commiſſion he was afterwards engaged in, which was *to enquire into the oppreſſion of Exacted fees.*

(10) In the Life of Sir Henry, ubi ſupra.

[L] *He had met with ſome remarkable diſappointments in it.*] This had happened in his purchaſe of Blackburgh and Wrongey Abbies, mentioned in the text, his right to which was, it ſeems, about this time, called into queſtion. The caſe was thus: Theſe two Abbies had been granted and annexed to the Biſhopric of Norwich, where Edmund Sclater, being made Biſhop 27 of Eliz. made a leaſe of moſt of the manors and lands thereof, and amongſt them of theſe two Abbies to the Queen for twenty-nine Years at the loweſt rent he might. Queen Elizabeth aſſigneth this leaſe to Sir Thomas; he leaſeth it to his Lady, afterwards Counteſs of Southampton; ſhe ſelleth her term in theſe Abbies, with the manors and lands belonging to them, to one Fiſher, a Skinner in London, by the procurement of one Wrenham her Servant; Fiſher entereth and enjoyeth them as undoubtedly his own, leaſeth them for twenty-one Years to one Harpley at a great encreaſed rent. Wrenham dieth without contradicting any thing; his Son, John Wrenham, pretending that Fiſher had the grand leaſe but in truſt for his Father, exhibits one bill in Chancery againſt Fiſher; another againſt his Son, Sir Edward Fiſher, as having it from his Father; and a third againſt *Harpley* the Underleaſer. Lord Chancellor Egerton by a decree declareth Harpley's leaſe to be good, who thereupon enjoys it quietly, and dieth; his Executrix ſelleth it to Sir Henry Spelman, and Wrenham exhibits a bill againſt him. It is true, it does not appear, by any thing here produced, that this Law-ſuit commenced before Sir Henry's ſettling in London; but as the ſame Author [Mr. Jeremy Stephens] afterwards informs us, that by this affair Sir Henry firſt diſcerned the Infelicity of meddling with conſecrated places, and it will appear preſently, that he had been of this opinion for ſome time before he came to London; thence I have ventured to place it here.

[M] *The grounds of the Law from original records.*] We have already taken notice, from Sir Henry's own words, that he had ſome knowledge of the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom then in uſe before he left Lincoln's-Inn; and there can be no doubt but that knowledge had been continually improved as his Occaſions required, eſpecially as we find him afterwards very pathetically regretting the diſtaſte he had to that ſtudy in his Youth. But ſuch a general knowledge would not ſatisfy a mind ſo curious, and a judgment ſo ſolid, as his appears to have been in all his Writings. Theſe inclined him to ſearch into the reaſons and foundations of the law, which he knew were not to be learned but from the cuſtoms and hiſtories of our nation in Elder Ages, nor theſe uſages to be traced but by a ſtrict Examination of the moſt ancient records. Upon this Dr Gibſon makes the following remark: *It is* very much, ſays he, to the diſadvantage of the law, that they, who by their abilities are beſt qualified to improve the knowledge of it from original records, are ſo much taken up with the buſineſs of their profeſſion, that they have little time to beſtow upon ſuch enquiries. As, on the other hand, Men who are born to leiſure and Eſtates, however inclinable they may be to the polite parts of learning, do ſeldom care to engage in a ſtudy which, at firſt ſight, ſeems to be ſo rough and tedious; but it was the Happineſs of Sir Henry Spelman (and much more of the Engliſh nation) that he had both time and inclination to it, I mean to examine the ancient laws and monuments, not only of our own, but alſo of moſt other Northern kingdoms.

with

with the title *De non temerandis Eccleſiis.* The meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, having been diſcontinued for twenty years, was revived in 1614 by Sir Henry, together with ſome others, particularly ſuch as had been of the old Society. Upon this occaſion our Author wrote *A diſcourſe concerning the original of the four Law terms of the year* [N]. And an unforeſeen accident gave occaſion to the reprinting and publiſhing his tract *De non temerandis Eccleſiis* in 1615, 8vo [O]. About the ſame time he wrote an Apology for this treatiſe

(N) *A diſcourſe concerning the original of the four Law terms.*] Upon the revival of the Society of Antiquaries, Sir Henry ſays (11), 'at their firſt meeting ſeveral rules 'for their government and limitation being drawn up, 'and Mr Hackwell choſen their Regiſter and Con-'vocator (it is his expreſſion) of their Aſſemblies for 'the preſent, they agreed upon two queſtions for the 'next meeting, and ſo ſupping together, departed. 'One of the queſtions was touching the original of 'the terms, about which, as being obſcure and gene-'rally miſtaken, I beſtowed, ſays he, ſome extraordi-'nary pains, that coming ſhort of others in under-'ſtanding, I might equal them, if I could, in dili-'gence. But notwithſtanding one of their rules was, 'that they ſhould neither meddle with matters of ſtate, 'nor of religion, yet before their next meeting, they 'had notice that his Majeſty took a little miſlike of 'their Society, not being informed that they had re-'ſolved to decline all ſtate affairs. Hereupon they 'forbore to meet again; and ſo, ſays Sir Henry, all 'our labours loſt. But mine lying by me, and hav-'ing been often deſired of me by ſome of my friends, 'I thought good, upon a review and augmenta-'tion, to let creep abroad in the form you ſee it, 'wiſhing it might be rectified by ſome better judg-'ment.' As to the Society of Antiquaries, it appears by a manuſcript ſuppoſed to be printed in 1619 (12), that there was a deſign to revive it, and ſome attempts made to procure a grant from King James I. to conſtitute it a royal corporation, under the title of King James's Academy or College of Honour, but it came to nothing. What Mr Hearne obſerves (13) of them, is ſeen by what is related of them in Remark [H] to be very juſt, that this Society, in the time of Queen Elizabeth and King James, was made up of right learned Antiquaries, who as they undertook great matters, ſo their performances were anſwerable to their undertakings; and had they gone on, there is no doubt but we had had a complete account publiſhed of the moſt material things in our hiſtory and antiquities. What follows is an account of their diſſolution, which, becauſe it is ſomething different from that of Sir Henry, we ſhall give it in Mr Hearne's own words, thus. 'But it 'being ſuggeſted, that the ſaid Society would be preju-'dicial to certain great and learned bodies, for that 'reaſon the members thought fit to break it off. Nor 'were there wanting powerful men that proved enemies 'to them, and among other things they were pleaſed to 'alledge, that ſome of the Society were perſons not 'only diſaffected to, but really of a quite different per-'ſuaſion from the Church of England (14).'

(11) In the Introduction to this Diſcourſe.

(12) Intituled an Addreſs for a Corporation Royal to be founded, under the title of King James his Academy, or College of Honour, in the poſſeſſion of the late Mr Vertue, the Engraver.

(13) In his Preface to A Collection of curious Diſcourſes, written by eminent Antiquaries upon ſeveral heads in our Engliſh Antiquities. Oxford 1720, 8vo.

(14) See a further account of this Society in Abp Whitgift's Article.

[O] *Occaſion to the reprinting and publiſhing his tract De non temerandis Eccleſiis in* 1615] The whole title runs thus: De non temerandis Eccleſiis, *Churches not to be violated. A Tract of the rights and reſpects due unto Churches, written to a Gentleman who, having an appropriate Parſonage, employed the Church to profane Uſes, and left the Pariſhioners uncertainly provided of divine Service in a pariſh there adjoyning.* There can be no better proof of Sir Henry's Sincerity in this advice to his Uncle, than that which he gave from his own practice. For, being poſſeſſed of the Impropriation of Middleton in Norfolk, he took a Courſe to diſpoſe of it for the Augmentation of the Vicarage, and alſo ſome additions to Congham which lies near it. He never put up any of the rent to his own private uſes, but diſpoſed of it by the aſſiſtance of Mr Thorowgood, a neighbouring Clergyman, to whom he gave a power to augment the Vicar's portion, which was carefully performed; and, having a ſurpluſage in his hands, he waited an opportunity to purchaſe the Appropriation of Congham, to be added to the Miniſter there, where himſelf was Lord and Patron. The ſame Author informs us likewiſe, that, while Sir Henry Spelman lived, there came ſome unto him, almoſt every term at London, to conſult him how they might legally reſtore and diſpoſe of their Impropriations to the benefit of the Church; and there wanted not others that thanked him for his book, promiſing they would never purchaſe any appropriate parſonages to augment their Eſtates. Sir Ralph Hare, in particular, who was an intimate friend to Sir Henry, upon reading this book offered to reſtore a good Parſonage (the only one he had in his Eſtate) which he preſently performed, and, procuring a licence from the King, gave the perpetual advowſon to St John's college in Cambridge. Then follows the particular inſtance of Sir *Roger Townſend*, and ſeveral others, to which Dr *Gibſon* has added (15) what was then, in 1695, a late benefaction of this kind, made by Mrs Anne Saville, then living, and daughter of John Saville of Medley, Eſq; which Lands purchaſed the rectory of Ardwick in the Weſt riding of Yorkſhire, for which ſhe gave about 900l. and ſettled it in the hands of Truſtees for the uſe of the Church for ever, and this from a generous and pious principle, upon the reading of Sir Henry Spelman's treatiſe *De non temerandis Eccleſiis*. Mr Jeremy Stephens takes notice of ſeveral colleges in Oxford, who, being poſſeſſed of Impropriations, had taken a Courſe, by leſſening their fines upon renewal of the leaſes, to reſerve a good portion of their tythe Corn from their tenants, thereby to increaſe the Vicar's maintenance. But it may be queſtioned whether this was occaſioned by what Sir Henry Spelman had ſaid, ſo much as by K. James I's letter, ſent for this purpoſe, to the Univerſities in 1603 (16), and more particularly to the diſpoſition ſhewn by K. Charles I. to reſtore all ſuch Impropriations to the Church as were then in poſſeſſion of the Crown. The occaſion of reprinting and publiſhing this piece in 1615 is declared by the Printer, who, having printed it for the Author above two Years before, with no Intent to have it publiſhed, found it to be lately printed in Scotland (contrary, ſays he, both to the Author's and my Expectation) and dedicated by another man to the Biſhops and Clergy there, which I ſuppoſe, continues he, had the Author known, or once miſdoubted the ſequel, inſtead of *De non temerandis Eccleſiis*, he would have put another title, *De non temerandis Scriptis alienis*; wherefore I have, in the right as well of the Author as of myſelf, to whom the right of the ſole printing belonged, cauſed it to be reprinted (17). As Our Author omits no opportunity of doing honour to his Countryman Lord Chief Juſtice Coke, ſo in this tract [page 98. Edit. Ox. 1668.] he inſerts a paſſage from the ſecond part of his reports (18), where that Great Lawyer obſerves, that it is recorded in hiſtory, that there were, amongſt others, two grievous perſecutions; the one under Dioclefian, the other under Julian named the *Apoſtata*; for it is recorded, that the one of them (19) intending to have rooted out all Profeſſors and Preachers of the Word of God, *occidit omnes preſbyteros*. But, this notwithſtanding, religion flouriſhed, for ſanguis Martyrum eſt ſemen Eccleſiæ, the blood of the Martyrs is the ſeed of the Church, and this was a cruel and grievous perſecution. But the perſecution under the other (20) was more grievous and dangerous, *quia*, as the hiſtory ſaith, *ipſum occidit preſbyterium*, he deſtroyed the very order of prieſthood, for he robbed the church and ſpoiled ſpiritual perſons of their revenues, and took all things from them whereof they ſhould live. And upon this, in a ſhort time enſued great ignorance of true religion and the ſervice of God, and thereby great decay of Chriſtian profeſſion. For none will apply themſelves or their ſons, or any other that they have in charge, to the ſtudy of Divinity, when after long and painful ſtudy, they ſhall have nothing whereupon to live. The contraſt between theſe two perſecutions has been lately ſet in the ſtrongeſt light by Mr Warburton (21), now Biſhop of Glouceſter, who endeavours to ſhew, that the defeat of the leſs violent attempts of Julian to ruin Chriſtianity was a more ſignal atteſtation of its divine original, than that of turning the blood of the Martyrs into the ſeed of the Church, ſince the diſappointments that the Apoſtate continually met with in the purſuit of that, as he calls it, more artful method, threw him upon the daring and deſperate attempt to rebuild the Temple of Jeruſalem, which gave occaſion to the moſt remarkable miracle that had been wrought ſince the deſtruction of that

(15) From his own Edition of Camden's Britannia, p. 724, and Edit. 1722, p. 848.

(16) That to Oxford is dated from Windſor, the 10th of July, 1603.

(17) The Scotch man made it his pretence, that he did it purely to encourage Sir Henry to print his larger work.

(18) L'Eveſque de Wincheſter's caſe, fol. 44. b.

(19) Dioclefian: See Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. lib. 7. cap. 3. and Nicephorus, lib. 7. cap. 3.

(20) Julian. See Theod. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 6. and Niceph. lib. 10. cap. 5.

(21) In a treatiſe intituled Julian: or A Diſcourſe concerning the Earthquake and fiery Eruption which defeated that Emperor's attempt to rebuild the Temple of Jeruſalem.

treatiſe [*P*]; and a Latin Epiſtle to Mr Richard Carew, who had expreſſed his diſſatisfaction at ſome particulars in that piece [*Q*]. And it was either this or the next Year that, in the proſecution of the ſame ſubject, he ſtruck a remarkable Circle in the map of Norfolk [*R*], with a view

that Temple in the defence of the Chriſtian religion. However, in juſtice to this writer it ought to be obſerved, that as he declares he has taken more pains than any writer had before him to prove Julian's defeat to be a miracle, ſo he acknowledges it was not the general opinion. We gladly alſo take this firſt opportunity of doing another piece of Juſtice to this Biſhop, by declaring, that ſince the letter at the end of Dr Joſeph Smith's Article was printed off, where it is ſaid, that his Lordſhip [then Mr Warburton] was introduced by the Biſhop of Saliſbury to Sir Thomas Hanmer, we have been ſince ſhewn a paſſage in his Lordſhip's preface to his edition of Shakeſpeare, where he aſſerts that Sir Thomas was introduced to him as a poor Critic, which, if we had then known, ſhould have been inſerted as a marginal note to the aforeſaid letter of Sir Thomas Hanmer. However, the difference between them may be eaſily adjuſted. We need only ſuppoſe (what is highly probable) that the ceremonial was conducted by the Biſhop of Saliſbury with ſuch a reſpectful addreſs to both, that each might well enough look upon the introduction to be made to himſelf.

[*P*] *He wrote an Apology for this treatiſe.*] This was wrote in anſwer to ſome reflections upon his book *De non temerandis Eccleſiis* by an unknown Author, who had called upon Sir Henry for a further explanation and defence of his opinion concerning the right to the ſet portion or *quantum* of Tythes, as alſo with reſpect to ſuch Parſonages as have Vicarages well endowed. Both thoſe articles Sir Henry excuſes himſelf from entering into at preſent. Though he had declared in the Epilogue to that work, that he then deſigned to ſhew his mind further, particularly on theſe two paſſages, having already ſpoke to both of them in his *larger work of Tythes*, to which he had referred in an advertiſement before this *De non temerandis Eccleſiis*. In the Appendix to the ſecond edition of which book, written about the ſame year with this Apology, he obſerves 'that the argument had many adverſaries, not only of 'the Laity, but of the Churchmen themſelves. All 'were not pleaſed with this form of maintenance, others 'not ſatisfied how it is due. Some take Scripture in 'one ſenſe, ſome in another. Thus he that cometh 'upon the ſtage is the object and ſubject of every 'man's opinion. To ſatisfy all I labour not, ſays he, 'but to the worthier ſort I would perform what I could. 'To theſe latter ſort, ſome of whom had objected to 'his application of the 12th verſe of the 83d Pſalm 'only to the ſanctified things of the Jews, which they 'ſaid were ſpoken of all the houſes and cities in general, 'he had given his reaſon *et fidei et facti*, which becauſe 'it had ſatisfied them, he printed it in this Appendix.' The Author, to whom the Apology now under conſideration is directed, was, it ſeems, diſpleaſed with him for paying ſo much reſpect to Churches, and particularly for applying the word *Eccleſia* to a material Church, urging that the term belongs to an aſſembly or congregation: this Sir Henry takes notice of in his *Gloſſary*, under the article *Eccleſia*, producing ſome inſtances of the uſe of that word in ancient Authors, to defend his acceptation of it.

[*Q*] *A Latin Epiſtle to Mr Carew.*] That Gentleman had objected to Sir Henry's arguments againſt Impropriations, that the Clergy themſelves [in the Biſhops] had conſented to it in paſſing the Act of the 27th year of Henry VIII; to which he anſwers in this Epiſtle, that in the firſt place he could not but agree with Baronius, who in his anſwer to Cardinal Aſcham, had maintained, that the Church had no power to ordain any thing againſt itſelf, *Eccleſiam nihil poſſe in ſe ſtatuere h. e. in ſuam perniciem cum Baronio Aſcanio Cardinali reſpondente in ſententiam iniero.* However, he endeavoured to prove that it was his opinion the Biſhops did not conſent in that Act to the taking away of parochial tythes, which was not the intent of the Act. *Mihi autem videtur cum de abolendis monaſteriis cogitaret Senatus ille Conſultus (an. 27 Henrici Octavi) nihil etiam tunc in animo habuiſſe de tollendis parochianis decimis prædiiſve, ſed de his tantum egiſſe, quæ ipſis cœnobiis inhærebant. Et ſi quis id in cornu haberet fœni, latuiſſe hoc opinor ſanctos Patres, qui Concilio aderant. In illo enim Actu ne verbum quidem de parochianis decimis, nec de Eccleſiis prædiiſve parochialibus, ſed nec de ipſis quas vocant appropriatis. Cum vero in vulgus jam exiiſſet Actus ille Parliamentarius, reperintque omnia demoliri et vi eripi, e Juriſconſultorum prodiit interpretatione ut præda hoc etiam in caſſes Regios redigeretur: Partita ergo Ea demum inter regni Nobiles, neceſſario tandem habitum eſt, ut ſubalternis corroboraretur legibus.*

[*R*] *He ſtruck a remarkable Circle in the map of Norfolk.*] This is in the eighth chapter of his Hiſtory of Sacrilege, where he tells us he deſcribed with a pair of compaſſes, in the map of Norfolk, a circle of twelve miles in the ſemidiamiter, according to the ſcale of the map, placing the center about the chief ſeat of the Yelvertons. Within this circle and the borders of it were incloſed the manſion-houſes of about twenty-four families of gentlemen, and the ſite of as many monaſteries, all ſtanding together at the time of the diſſolution. He then obſerved, that the gentlemen's ſeats continued at that day in their own families and names. But the monaſteries had flung out their owners, with their names and families (all of them ſave two) thrice at leaſt, and ſome of them four, five, or ſix times, not only by failure of iſſue or ordinary ſale, but very often by grievous accidents and misfortunes. He obſerved yet further, that though the ſeats of theſe monaſteries were in the fatteſt and choiceſt places of all that part of the country (for our anceſtors, ſays he, like Abel, offered the beſt unto God,) yet it hath not happened, that any of them, to my knowledge, or any other in all this country, hath been the permanent habitation of any family of note; but, like deſolate places, left to the Farmers and Huſbandmen. No man almoſt adventuring to build or dwell upon them, for dread of infelicity that purſueth them. Among the Abbies contained in this remarkable circle, are thoſe of Blackborough and Wrongey, the leaſe of which was purchaſed by Sir Henry, and it is not improbable *that* purchaſe gave occaſion to this his ſo uncommon a curioſity. What makes it ſtill more credible is, that about the time of drawing it, there ſeems to have been a hearing of his cauſe before my Lord Chancellor. For after Wrenham had exhibited a bill againſt him, as is mentioned in Remark [*L*], the ſuit proceeded to a hearing between Wrenham and the Fiſhers, when the Chancellor decreed it againſt the Fiſhers, and all claiming under them. This explains an expreſſion of Sir Henry, in his Epiſtle to Mr Carew, written in 1615. *Otii deſiderio captus Londinum veni pace vero mihi videbar exoptatiſſima fruiturus, qua Muſarum limina ex voto delibarem. Sed Eu! nova in me rerum tempeſtas, nova litium moles inopinata proruit, qua luctantem adhuc varieque agitatum neſcio quouſque detinuerit: Poetæ autem illud teneo,* Dabit Deus his quos finem. Here he alludes to the two contrary decrees of Lord Chancellor Egerton; by the firſt Sir Henry was encouraged to purchaſe this leaſe, which was taken from him by the laſt. Yet his fortune was ſtill harder afterwards by the next decree. For the Lord Chancellor Egerton going out of his place, is ſucceeded by Sir Francis Bacon, who reverſeth the former decree, and decreed it back again to Sir Edward Fiſher; and by another decree giveth to him Sir Henry Spelman's leaſe, without calling or hearing Sir Henry. This, it muſt be owned, was ſingularly unlucky, to loſe his leaſe in conſequence of a decree made in favour of it. But the matter did not end here: Wrenham complaineth in a petition to King James, and taxeth the Lord Chancellor Bacon with corruption and injuſtice. The King himſelf peruſeth all the proceedings, and approveth the Lord Bacon's decree; and Wrenham is cenſured for his ſcandal to loſe his ears in the pillory, &c. A parliament followeth in the nineteenth year of King James; both Wrenham and Sir Henry Spelman ſeverally complain there. It is found that the Lord Chancellor Bacon had, for theſe decrees, of Sir Edward Fiſher a ſuit of hangings of eighty-nine pounds. The Lord Chancellor for this, among other ſuch crimes, is depoſed. The Biſhop of Lincoln is ſet in his room. The ſuits are again in agitation before him, between Wrenham and Fiſher; and Sir Henry Spelman, by a petition to the King, obtaineth a review of the proceedings againſt him, upon which a recompence is given him by a decree againſt Sir Edward Fiſher. The Biſhop of Lincoln is removed by King Charles I, and the Lord Coventry made Lord Keeper,

a view of ſhewing the unhappineſs that attended the Lay Poſſeſſors of Abbey Lands (m). In 1621, an Apology for Archbiſhop *Abbot*, touching the death of *Peter Hawkins* the Keeper, wounded in the Park of *Bramſil*, July 24, came into the hands of Sir Henry on the 28th of October, and he wrote an anſwer to it on the 19th, wherein he endeavours to ſhew, that the Archbiſhop not only contracted an irregularity by that Act, but alſo intimates, that he could not be effectually reinſtated without ſome extraordinary form of a new conſecration (n) [S]. All this while he continued in the eager purſuit of his grand Inquiry into the foundation of our laws. The chief diſcouragement he found in theſe ſtudies was the vaſt number of obſolete words which were hard to be underſtood, and yet are ſo important, that the drift and meaning of the whole ſentence depends upon them. However he went forward, and whenever he met with any ſuch word, he ſet it down in its proper order, with a diſtinct reference to the place, till by degrees he had collected a variety of inſtances, and, by comparing the ſeveral paſſages where the ſame word occurred, he was able to give a tolerable conjecture of the true ſignification of it. After he had made a conſiderable collection of this kind, and obſerved how by this means the reading of the old hiſtorians became every day more eaſy, he began to digeſt his materials, and from the ſeveral quotations to draw a judgment of the ſtrict acceptation of each word in the reſpective ages when it was uſed. But, though a number of inſtances gave him good ſatisfaction as to the words or terms, yet, finding that many of our laws ſince the conqueſt were taken from the conſtitutions of the Saxons, and that many obſolete terms in our Latin hiſtorians are

(m) An Account of it is printed at the end of his Hiſtory of Sacrilege, p. 243, et ſeqq.

(n) This is in Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ by Mr Gibſon, who has alſo inſerted the letters and inſtruments relating to the killing of Hawkins by the Archbiſhop.

by whom the other differences are at laſt compounded, and the grand leaſe divided into many parcels. Wrenham, that raiſed this tempeſt, is never the richer by it, but liveth a Projector. Sir Edward Fiſher, of 8000 l. (as Bedon, his ſervant, proteſteth) ſpent in the ſuit, is conſumed, and not to be ſeen of every man. Sir Henry Spelman, a great Loſer, and not beholden to Fortune; yet happy in this, that he is out of the briars; but eſpecially in this, that he hereby firſt diſcerned the infelicity of conſecrated places.

[S] *An Anſwer to the Apology for Abbot.*] Our Author's zeal for the ſacred honour of the Church flames out no where with ſo much warmth, as in this piece. He produces ſeveral canons which abſolutely forbid hunting to the clergy, and particularly the uſe of the croſs-bow (uſed by the Archbiſhop in this action,) 'that 'deadly engine, ſays he, which imagineth miſchief as 'a law, whoſe force a man cannot mitigate, as in other 'weapons, and is properly numbered among the inſtru-'ments of war, and therefore by a multitude of canons 'prohibited to clergymen.' He obſerves, likewiſe, that the uſe of this engine has not the advantage of exerciſe common to all others, ſince every limb and feature in the body, even the eye itſelf, the minuteſt of all others, is kept abſolutely without any motion at all. He likewiſe takes notice, that Archbiſhop Abbot muſt needs have been very unſkilful in handling the croſs-bow, otherwiſe this misfortune could not have happened to him, as appeared by the ſituation of *Hawkins* with reſpect to him, and the deer; which he takes to be an aggravating circumſtance in the offence. The Apology having alledged the *Charta de Foreſta* in the Archbiſhop's favour, our Author very tartly, in his Reply, obſerves, that the *Charta de Foreſta* is *Clero lachrymabile nomen*; for the firſt breach that ever was made on the freedom of Clergymen, and which gave paſſage to all that followed, aroſe from the occaſion of Clergymen's hunting in Foreſts, which Henry II, greatly diſcontented with, never reſted till, by aſſent of the Pope's Legate, Hugo Petreleonis, he obtained a law, in the twenty-firſt year of his reign, ann. 1157, to convene them before ſecular Judges, and there to puniſh them. The ſtatute of Richard II. had been likewiſe alledged by the Apologiſt, which only forbids perſons not poſſeſſed of 10 l. per ann. from keeping a greyhound, and thence concludes, that Clergymen of that worth are not excluded, and conſequently may legally hunt, at leaſt, with greyhounds. In conſequence of this argument, Sir Henry diſtinguiſhes three faculties in the perſon of a Biſhop; 1. his ſpiritual function, wherein he is a Biſhop; 2. his legal ability, wherein he is a Layman, and has liberty to contract; 3. his temporal dignity, wherein he is a Baron and Peer, and poſſeſſeth their privileges. Hence it appears what portion the Church had in the Biſhops, what the Commonwealth, and what the King. When the King granted temporal lands, they take them as Lay-Barons do; yet they could not uſe them otherwiſe than might conſiſt with their ſpiritual function. Hence notwithſtanding they are not forbid, if poſſeſſed of 10 l. per ann. to keep a greyhound by the ſtatute law, yet they are forbid to hunt by the canon law. The Apologiſt had further urged an ancient record, whereby the Biſhop of Rocheſter, at his death, was to render the Archbiſhop of Canterbury his kennel of hounds as a mortuary, whereof, as he was credibly informed, the law taketh notice for the King *ſede vacante* under the name of *muta canum*, or *mulctura*. For the Record, ſays King Harry, that relateth, &c. I muſt, ſays Sir Henry (as it is in the law,) demand oyer of the record, we ſhall otherwiſe ſpend many words in vain: but that dogs ſhould be given for a mortuary, is againſt all likelihood; for a mortuary is an offering given by him that dieth unto the Church, in recompence of his tythes forgotten; and it is a plain text, Deut. xxviii. 18. *Non offeres mercedem proſtibuli nec pretium canis in domo Domini.* But if there be no other words to ſignify a kennel of hounds, than *muta canum* and *mulctura*, the expoſition may be doubtful, though it comes really near it. Frederic II, Emperor, in the prologue to his ſecond book *De venatione*, ſpeaking of a hawk's mue, ſays, *Domicula quæ dicitur muta*, following the Italian vulgar, which cometh *a mutando*, becauſe the hawk doth then change her coat (21); and for the affinity between dogs and hawks, it may be κυλακρεσικῶς, transferred to a dog-kennel. But all that may have dogs, may not uſe them; as I may have a coat of cloth of gold, but not wear it, notwithſtanding the ſtatute of Apparel. Beſides, religious perſons were in ancient times driven to keep dog-kennels for the King's hounds. For *Rad. Niger in Ann.*—ſaith, that King Henry II. *Abbates Hippodromos & canum Cuſtodes fecit.* Laſtly, whereas the Apologiſt would juſtify the Archbiſhop from the practice of his Predeceſſors, eſpecially Cranmer and Whitgift, and more particularly the latter of theſe, who, ſays he, killed twenty bucks in Lord Cobham's park, near Canterbury, in one Journey, uſing hounds, greyhounds, or his bow at his pleaſure, although he never ſhot well. Sir Henry very alertly replies, that this argument only proves the offence to be grown inveterate, and therefore God had now ſent this misfortune to remind them of it. After all, he concludes, that the caſe of that reverend and moſt worthy perſon deſerved commiſeration and moſt tender handling, for who can prevent ſuch unexpected caſualties? Yet may the conſequence prove ſo miſchievous, both to himſelf, and thoſe that are to receive their conſecration from him, as of neceſſity it muſt be carefully lookt into, and provided for. And becauſe, ſays he, we are fallen into a caſe, wherein perhaps ſome extraordinary conſecration may be required, I will relate two which I have met with. The firſt is of Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury in the time of Henry I, who being elected to be Biſhop of St Andrew's in Scotland, then in the dioceſe of York, was conſecrated by taking the Staff from the Altar, which had been laid ſolemnly thereon; and William Wallaſton, the good Biſhop of Worceſter, both reſigned his Biſhopric, by laying the Staff thereof upon the Shrine of St Edward the Confeſſor, by the agreement of a Council holden under Lanfranc, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in ann. 1095, and in like manner received the ſame from thence in the preſence of King William, Lanfranc, and many others; if we may believe Matthew Paris * not without a miracle.

(21) Sir Henry refers to this paſſage under the words Muta Canem in his Gloſſary.

* In anno 1095.

of Saxon original, he despaired of accomplishing his design for want of understanding that language; at least he was certain, that the knowledge of it must needs lead him to a clearer interpretation of many obscure passages, and enable him, throughout the whole work, to deliver his opinion with greater perspicuity and certainty. This language was not to be learned at that time without great difficulty; little assistance was to be expected in that age upon the subject of a language which few people regarded [T]. However he set about the task, and made himself a tolerable master of it. And thus, after he had made large collections, and acquired a pretty good knowledge of the Saxon tongue, he resolved to go on with his undertaking. But his modesty not suffering him to rely upon his own judgment, he printed one or two sheets by way of specimen about the year 1621 (o). These he communicated to his friends to have their opinion of his design. And he was encouraged in it by the most learned persons of that age; at home, by Mr *Camden*, Archbishop *Usher*, Bishop *Williams*, then Lord Keeper, Sir *Robert Cotton*, and Mr *Selden*; abroad, by *Peireskius*, *Rigaltius*, *Salmasius*, and others. He was likewise assisted in it by *Cowel*, *Skene*, and *Lydia* at home; and abroad by *Bignonius*, *Meursius*, and *Lindenbrogius*; whose favours he gratefully acknowledges. Upon these encouragements he prepared part of it for the press, and offered it to Mr. *Bill* the King's Printer. He was very moderate in his demands, desiring only five pounds in consideration of his labour, and that sum too to be paid him in books: but the Bookseller refusing to give that small rate for the copy, he ventured to print part of it, to the end of the letter L, at his own charge (p). This he published in 1626, under the title of *Archæologus*, &c. [U]. In 1627, he compiled a history of the civil affairs of the kingdom from the conquest to *Magna Charta*, taken from our best historians, and generally set down in their own words [W]; and the following year he was very active

(o) Among the friends who encouraged him, on seeing this specimen, he mentions Bishop Williams, Johannem Lincolnienſem antistitem, Magni tum Sigilli Custodem, Prof. ad Archæolog. and this Bishop was made Lord Keeper of the great seal in 1621.

(p) Answer to Petit's Jani Anglorum facies nova, by Dr. Brady, p. 229.

[T] *Few people then regarded the Saxon Language.*] The Bishop of London tells us (22), that Sir Henry had neither the directions of grammar or dictionary, as we, says he, at this day are accommodated with, both very accurate in their kinds. By which he must mean, that Sir Henry had not so good helps in this kind, as were to be had at the time of writing his Life by Mr Gibson. For it is certain, and could not but be well known to that writer, who was so great a proficient in the Saxon language, that something of this kind had been wrote in Sir Henry's time, as particularly a *Vocabularium Saxonicum, or A Saxon English Dictionary*, by Laurence Nowel (23), and could have hardly escaped the diligence with which Sir Henry applied to this Study. For though this manuscript, which was written in 1567, lay in private hands in the time of Sir Henry Spelman, yet the author, Mr Nowel, must have come to his knowledge, as he was Tutor to the famous William Lambard in the Saxon language, and particularly because Mr Camden (24), our Author's old acquaintance, in his *Britannia*, the last edition of which by himself was published in 1607, mentions this Laurence Nowel, and says, that he was a man of good note for his singular learning, and was the first in our age that brought into use again and revived the language of our Ancestors, the Saxon, which, through disuse lay forlorn and buried in oblivion. It is true, it is not hence certain that this manuscript did ever come to the knowledge of Sir Henry Spelman; neither, I presume, did Mr Gibson mean to take upon him to assert, it did not, notwithstanding his words seem to imply so much; and for that reason it is, that the above stricture is made upon them, to prevent the Reader of them from being led thereby into too hasty a conclusion. The remark which Mr Gibson makes afterwards, though I think, says he, Sir Henry never perfectly conquered it [the Saxon tongue], may undoubtedly be depended upon, and is closed with a very pertinent and just observation, that yet under so many great inconveniencies, it is a greater wonder, that he attained so good a knowledge in it, than that he did not make himself absolute master of it.

(22) In his Life of our Author, ubi supra.

(23) Brother to Alexand. Nowel, the famous Dean of St Paul's. Ath. Oxon. V. 1. col. 285. It came at last into the hands of Selden, and thence into the Bodleian library, whence Somner made use of it in compiling his Saxon Dictionary.

(24) In his Description of Cornwall.

[U] *He published under the title of Archæologus.*] In an advertisement prefixed to the book, he gives the reason of his chusing this title rather than *Glossarium*, as we commonly call it: a glossary, strictly speaking, being no more than a bare explication of words, whereas this treats more especially of things, and contains entire discourses, and dissertations upon several heads. Before this edition is the following remarkable dedication:

Deo, Ecclesiæ, Literarum Reipublicæ
Sub protestatione de addendo, retrahendo, corrigendo, poliendo,
Prout opus fuerit, et consultius videbitur,
Deo clementissime annuente,
HENRICUS SPELMANNUS
Omni supplex humilitate, D. D. (25).

(25) This dedication being omitted in the editions of 1664 and 1687, we thought proper, with Mr Gibson, to preserve it, as a mark of our Author's modesty and love of truth.

Mr Gibson tells us why Sir Henry went no farther than the letter L, is not known, nor, says he, has Sir Henry so much as hinted the cause of it, either in his Preface, or in any part of his works, as we know of. M. du Fresne, who very much laments that he did not publish the second part himself, fancies that his design of publishing the English Councils, might be the occasion of his breaking off in the middle of his Glossary; and it has been affirmed by others, that he stopt at the letter M, because he had said something under *Magna Charta* and *Maximum Consilium*, that his friends were afraid might give offence. This opinion the Bishop of London, Dr Gibson, agrees with, and observes further, that it was not a season to speak freely, either of the prerogative of the King, or the liberty of the subject, both which would, upon many occasions, fall in his way. Yet after all, the true reason why Sir Henry went no further in the impression, was very plainly hinted by him (though not in any of his works) to Sir William Dugdale afterwards, who about the year 1637 acquainted him, that many learned men were very desirous to see the second part published, and requested of him to gratify the world with the work intire. Upon which Sir Henry shewed him the second part, as also the improvements which he had made in the first, which was interleaved with blank leaves, wherein he had added and altered much, as also in the second part in manuscript; but withal told him the discouragements he had met with in publishing the first part, mentioned in the text; and indeed so little was the work regarded at its first coming out, as the printer *Bill* had rightly presaged, that eleven years after, the greatest part of the impression remained unsold, till in the year 1637 two booksellers, viz. Stephens and Meredith, took it off his hands. Upon his death all his papers came into the hands of his eldest son, Sir John Spelman, a gentleman who had sufficient abilities to complete what his father had begun, if death had not prevented him. After the restoration of King Charles II, Archbishop Sheldon and Lord Chancellor Hyde inquired of Sir William Dugdale what became of the second part of the *Glossary*, or whether it was ever finished. He told them, that it was finished by the Author, and that the copy was in the hands of Mr Charles Spelman, grandson to Sir Henry. They expressed their desire that it might be printed, and that he would prevail upon Mr Spelman to do it, which he did, and Mr Spelman offered it to the Booksellers; but finding they would give nothing for the copy, and not being willing to do it at his own expence, the two Lords procured a good number of subscriptions, and referred it to Sir William Dugdale to agree with the Printer to perform the work, who willingly undertook the management of that part.

[W] *A History of the Conquest, &c.*] The manuscript in the Bodleian library is intituled *Codex legum veterum et statutorum Regni Angliæ quæ ab ingressu Gulielmi usque ad annum nonum Henrici III. edita sunt. h. e. ante primum statutum omnium impressorum in libris Juridicis quod Magna Charta appellatur ab Edvardo I. confirmata. Evariis monimentis, authoribus, manuscriptis, et antiquis paginis concinnatum. Opera et studio Hen. Spelman, collecta Anr. Dom.* 1627, with the Imprimatur of Sir John Bramston,

active in inquiring into the oppreſſion of exacted fees; upon which occaſion he wrote his treatiſe *De ſepultura (q)*, or *of Burial fees* [*X*]. He had been appointed, by the recommendation

(q) It was publiſhed in 1640. Mr J. A. tells us it was only two leaves, but Mr Gibſon rightly obſerves it was five ſheets in 4to.

July 7, 1640. Many of theſe inſtruments are printed in the ſecond volume of the Councils, and it has been ſince printed by Dr David Wilkins, at the end of his edition of the Saxon Laws.

[*X*] *Upon which occaſion he wrote his treatiſe* De ſepultura.] The particular fact that immediately gave occaſion to it, was this. A complaint was brought before the Commiſſioners, of a Churchman, ſince deceaſed, and his Clerk, that came together to the houſe of a perſon in their pariſh, then newly dead, and ſpeaking with the executors, would not ſuffer the body to be brought out of the houſe till he had 14 l. paid to him and the pariſh-officers, according to the bill of particulars then ſhewed unto them; nor could the executors compound with them for any abatement more than 10 s. in the Clerk's ſhare, and paid them thereupon 13 l. 10 s. We here ſee ſeveral ſuch corrupt practices of the Clergy in thoſe times in extorting their fees, which our Author has not ſpared to cenſure very ſeverely. He ſhews, from the Canon-law, that the Clergy had no claim to any money, either for the grave, or for the office of burial. For this he alledges ſeven different Councils, where it is declared, 1. To be a vice, and a vice of Covetouſneſs; a bad cuſtom that may be ſaid to be moſt irreligious, as a ſelling of the Church; a cauſe of joy to the Parſon when men die, a reaping of commodity out of the carcaſſes of the dead, and the ſorrow of the living. 2. A diſcourteſy to the dead by him that muſt die, a ſelling of earth by him that is earth, a ſelling of that is none of his own, a ſelling of what was given freely to give freely, a denying of burial. 3. A thing too horrible, that bringeth the portion of *Gehazi* upon the offender, that is, the brand of Simony, as the Gloſſary expounds it; a Curſe, an uncleanneſs, and cauſe of ſeparation from common Society. And, laſtly, as maladies are the moſt grievous and contagious that continue longeſt, ſo in theſe Councils the Fathers conclude this to be ſo much the more grievous, by how much the longer it hath continued, and declare it to be *abolendæ conſuetudinis perverſitas*, the perverſity of a cuſtom that muſt be aboliſhed. He then proceeds to give the ſum of their cenſure, which is, 1. That nothing be exacted, or required for any ſepulture; which words the Gloſſary declares to comprehend the ground or place of burial, and the miniſtry of the Prieſt or Parſon about the ſame: and in ſome of the Councils it is particularly ſo expreſſed. 2. That all cuſtoms for ſuch taking, are evil, impious, and void. 3. That the offence in taking is Simony. 4. That the cognizance thereof belongeth to the Biſhop of the place. 5, That gifts of piety for the uſe of the Curch may notwithſtanding be taken. 6. That none ſhall be buried in the body of the Church. He diſtinguiſhes ground into three kinds, 1. *Locus purus*, ſecular ground, never uſed in burial, for which a fee may be taken; 2. *Locus religioſus*, when once any corpſe has been buried in it, after which, by the Canons, nothing may be taken for burial. Some ſuch places, ſays he, I ſuppoſe are about this city, adjoining to Churchyards for enlarging thereof: and ſome of them, for which the Owners do take a yearly rent of the pariſh that uſeth it, let it unto them to ſow dead men's carcaſſes in, as they were to ſow corn, and as though the carcaſſes would grow, like the Fable of *Cadmus*, and bring them a crop to pay the rent with: this the Canons do merely forbid, as doth alſo the Civil law and law of humanity, the Fathers, the Councils, and St Jerome, in the caſe of *Ephrem*. For my own part, continues he, I take it to be a kind of uſury, to let that for money, whereof the hirer can make no kind of profit. 3. *Locus ſacratus*, is that which is ſettled by the Donor upon God and the Church, as Churches and Churchyards, the fee ſimple of which is *in nubibus* and abeyance. He then proceeds to ſhew ſeveral inſtances of the exaction of theſe fees, as follows. Give me leave, ſays he, to preſent unto you what I find in a Veſtry conſtitution, lately made (26), and ſubſcribed by the Churchwardens, with twenty-three more of the aſſembly, confirmed by the Biſhop, approved by his Chancellor, declared to be a laudable cuſtom of that pariſh, and in teſtimony thereof, entered as a ſolemn Act in the principal regiſtry of the Lord Biſhop of the dioceſe, and finally ratified with the Chancellor's hand and ſeal of office, I may ſay, *vidi pudetque vi-*

(26) Nov. 24, 1627.

dere (27). Whoſoever will be buried in the chancel ſhall pay to the Parſon as ſhall be agreed . . . . for interring the corpſe. In the iſles of the chancel. To the Churchwardens for the ground, 2 s. 8 d. To the Parſon for interring the corpſe, 6 s. 8 d. In the body of the Church, 20 s. To the Parſon, &c. 6 s. 8 d. In the Churchyard. To the Parſon, 26 s. 8 d. and the ſame for every child under ſeven years. Theſe if coffined, if uncoffined, 2 s. 4 d. each. All theſe double to every ſtranger. In another pariſh I find 6 s. 8 d. to the Parſon for the duty of burial in the Church, when himſelf doth it not, but his Curate, who for his pains, by the ſame certificate, 10 s. beſides other, 10 s. for a ſermon, though there be none. Upon this Sir Henry thus exclaims. The grave is the only inheritance that we are certainly born to, the inheritance which our grandmother hath left to deſcend to us in gavelkind among all her children; ſhall one enter and hold another out, and drive him to pay a fine *pro adeunda hereditate*, as they ſay in the Feudal Law, or *pro ingreſſu habendo*, as we now ſay in the Common Law? Is our tenure baſe, like a Copy-hold, *ad voluntatem Domini*, or not rather noble by frank almoigne, free from all payments and ſervices? And how do the dead reſt from their labours, if they be taxed with payments? how go they to their grave in peace, if they pay for their peace? *laborat ære alieno qui debito tenetur*; and his peace is not worth thanks, if he muſt pay for it; he payeth for his peace, if he payeth for the place where his peace cannot otherwiſe be had; he payeth for his reſt, if he may not enjoy it without payment; he payeth for his inheritance, if he cannot enter into it without paying a fine *pro ingreſſu*, his inheritance ſettled upon him by the great charter, *terram dedit filiis hominum*, a royal gift, but as it is uſed, *male collocatum*, ill diſtributed; the poor man, alas! hath nothing of all this but the grave, and may not now have that, unleſs he pay for it. Well, to whom ſhould he pay? reaſon anſwers, if to any, to the Owners of the land; true, but the Owner of the ſoil was the founder of the Church, and he, out of piety and charity, gave the Church freely for prayer, the Churchyard freely for burial, *abſque allo tenemento*, without any rent, any ſervice, any reſervation; nor could he if he would have done otherwiſe, for the Canons would not ſuffer him; not, though he were the abſolute Owner, yet if he had reſerved but a pepper-corn out of a grave, it had been not only void, but execrable. A pepper-corn? what talk we of a pepper-corn? no ground in the kingdom is now ſold ſo dear as a grave, that poor little Cabinet, that is not commonly above ſix feet long, and a foot and a half in breadth, where is no room to ſtir either hand or foot, and the roof (as St Bernard ſays) laid ſo low, as it toucheth the noſe: this ſilly cabinet is ſometimes in the Churchyard ſold to the prieſtman for 16 d. ſometimes for 2 s. 8 d. ſometimes 3 s. ſometimes 6 s. In the Church it is at 10 s. 20 s. 40 s. 3 l. 4 l. 5 l. yea 10 l.; and yet the purchaſer has no aſſurance of it, but is conſtrained to hold *ad voluntatem Domini*, or is a tenant for ſeven or ten years, within which term, he is ſometimes caſt out, and another put into his room; no writ of *quare ejecit infra terminum* lieth for him. Shall I tell what I was aſhamed to hear. A grave or burying place, let to farm at 20 s. a year, the rent duly paid for divers years, and being then behind, the Parſon threatened to uncaſe the corpſe, by pulling down the monument, if he were not ſatisfied, and ſhame was ſo far from him, as he ſpared not to defend it even before the Commiſſioners; to whom it was teſtified, that another had paid 40 l. for one grave in ten years, by 10 l. at a time; a ſtrange thing to me, what to others I know not: but I ſuppoſe *cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis*, the oldeſt living has not heard the like. Is it not time that his Majeſty ſhould do as he doth? that, like Joſias, he ſhould reform the Temple, the Houſe of God? God be bleſſed, that put it into his heart, and grant him well to finiſh the work in hand, being ſo noble, ſo pious, and ſo full of neceſſity. He obſerves, that the Clergy grounded themſelves much upon a law of Canutus the Dane, cited by Mr Fox, which would be a very good voucher, if true; but Mr Fox, he ſhews, has given a wrong tranſlation of that law in theſe words. It is meet and right that no funeral money be given for opening the earth; therefore if any body of corpſe be carried from his own pariſh unto another,

(27) April 25, 1628.

tion of Biſhop (afterwards Archbiſhop) Laud, one of the Commiſſioners for that purpoſe, and their power extended to all the Courts and Offices of England. To this buſineſs he gave his conſtant attendance for many years with great integrity as well as application; and the Government was ſo ſenſible of his good ſervices, that the Council procured his Majeſty's writ of Privy ſeal for three hundred pounds to be preſented to him, not as a full recompence (for ſo they declared) but only as an occaſional remembrance, till they ſhould have an opportunity of doing ſomething for him, that might be a more ſuitable conſideration for his diligence in that and other public affairs. In reality, this Attendance obliged him to neglect his own private affairs, to the great prejudice of his family; and his eldeſt Son, Sir *John Spelman*, repreſented to the Privy Council, how much his Father's eſtate had ſuffered by it, appealing, for a proof of his great pains therein, to the knowledge of ſeveral of their Lordſhips, to the Journals of that commiſſion, and to his papers and collections relating to the ſame *(r)*. In the mean time Sir Henry ſpared no pains in carrying on and improving his *Gloſſary*; and before that work was quite finiſhed he entered upon another, which was *The Hiſtory of the Engliſh Councils*. To this he was particularly encouraged by Dr *George Abbot* and Dr *William Laud*, ſucceſſively Archbiſhops of Canterbury, and above all by the moſt learned Primate of Armagh, Archbiſhop *Uſher*. He was likewiſe much incited in this deſign by what he had heard from Dr *Matthew Wren*, firſt Biſhop of Norwich, and afterwards of Ely, who told him, that Dr *Andrews*, the then late Biſhop of Winchester, had been reflecting with great concern upon the diligence of the Germans, French, Italians, and other nations, in publiſhing the hiſtories and decrees of their reſpective ſynods, whilſt the Engliſh, who had greater plenty of evidences, both in Eccleſiaſtical and Civil affairs, than any of their neighbours, had not ſo much as attempted any thing of that kind. Upon this occaſion he deſired Dr *Wren*, that, for the honour of our religion and the ſervice of our nation, he would think of ſuch an undertaking; and, leſt it ſhould prove over tedious for any ſingle hand, to engage a competent number of perſons of ſufficient Learning and Judgment to aſſiſt in the work. That thereupon he [Dr Wren] promiſed to conſider of it; and had proceeded in it, but that the Biſhop excuſed him, upon an aſſurance that Sir *Henry Spelman* was engaged in the ſame deſign. Sir Henry, having been told this paſſage by the Biſhop of Norwich, did with great modeſty expreſs his concern at taking the work out of much abler hands: but, ſince it had happened ſo, he did not any longer look upon it as a matter of choice whether he ſhould go forward or no, but thought himſelf bound in juſtice to make the beſt ſatisfaction he was able, for depriving the Church of the joint labours of ſo many learned men *(s)*. As ſoon as he had digeſted the materials into ſome form, he communicated the manuſcript to Archbiſhop *Abbot* a little before the death of that Prelate [*Y*], who earneſtly deſired him to prepare the work for the preſs

(r) Gibſon's life of Sir Henry, ubi ſupra.

(s) Preſat. ad Concilia, Tom. 1.

another, the money of the burial ſhall be due to his own pariſh Church, whereas the ſenſe is: It is juſt that the ſoul-ſhot, or money given for praying for the ſoul, be always paid at the opening of the grave, and if the corpſe be buried elſewhere than in its own pariſh, yet let the ſoul-ſhot be paid to the Church to which it belongeth. Hence it appears how this grave ſilver, or money for graves, grew up to be taken. It was firſt given for praying for ſouls, and ſuch like; but that being aboliſhed, and given to the King, the Parſon, it ſeemeth, taketh it for the grave: and to ſay what I think, do now take that which was given for praying for the ſoul, under their fee for their office of burying the corpſe, and thoſe for the grave beſides; for they take them both. After all, he aſſerts the Parſon's right to a fee in the following words. Somewhat, ſays he, doubtleſs, may be due to the Parſon upon the burial of the dead; for why elſe ſhould the Canons provide, that the bodies of thoſe which die be not carried to burial out of their pariſhes, leſt the Prieſt ſhould thereby loſe what is due unto him; and the Canon *ad Apoſtolicum* approves of godly and laudable cuſtoms, theſe are not uſually defined, but according as devotion hath begotten them in any pariſh. My drift is only to ſhew, that they muſt not be thoſe now in uſe, to take money for the grave, or office of burial; for thoſe cannot be ſaid to be godly and laudable cuſtoms, ſince ſo many Canons have declared them to be vicious, impious, injurious, irreligious, too too horrible, and the more grievous by their longer cuſtom and continuance, and therefore damneth and annulleth them by expreſs words, how ancient and how general ſoever they be; yet laudable cuſtoms are due, ſuch as this, that for every one that dies there, ſo much as hath uſually been given unto the Parſon or the Church. This it is will hold water. But, I fear me, none of our Parſons can maintain it in this form. It cannot be a mortuary, for that is provided for by expreſs ſtatute of the twenty-firſt year of Henry VIII. c. 6. turning them into a certain ſum of money, and forbids any thing to be taken otherwiſe, either for mortuary or corpſe. Other laudable cuſtoms, 1. for lights in the Church; 2. praying for the ſoul; the Parſon, it may be, doth enjoy it, not mentioning the original, and ſo it behoveth him to do, leſt the King be intitled to it by the ſtatute of ſuperſtitious uſes. But I ſay no more. It hath fallen upon me to be an unworthy member of that moſt noble and moſt gracious *commiſſion of exacted fees and innovated offices*, and thereby to have notice by certificate of divers Perſons of worth, and chief Pariſhioners of the greateſt pariſhes in London; yet none of them hitherto, to my remembrance, hath made any ſuch claim, nor know I how they ſhould approve it, if they did. It is hatched of late within this city of London againſt the Canons of the Church. Upon the whole it is obſervable, that Sir Henry at laſt comes to this concluſion; that they may take this money as a cuſtom to be given for the uſe of the Church, and that is the footing upon which it ſtands at this day.

[*Y*] *A litrle before that Prelate's death.*] To the firſt volume of the Councils is prefixed, the following atteſtation. *Atteſtatio Cl. Viri Edm. Scot Eq. Aurat Rev. in Chriſto Patris Dom. Guliilmi nunc Archiepiſc. Cant. Seneſchalli Domeſtici. Memini me adfuiſſe, quum Cl. Vir D.* Hen. Spelman. *Eques Aurat.* (28) *duos libros manuſcriptos* D. Georgio Abbot *nuper Cant. Archep. volvendos obtulerit, quorum titulus fuit* Decreta et Conſilia Eccleſiarum Orbis Britannici. *Multas horas in eis legendis impendebat Rev. Pater, et frequenter, me audiente, magnis encomiis honeſtabat. Preſenſque fui, quum ſerio D.* Henricum Spelmannum *hortaretur, ut limatos ab Ipſo et ultimam manum paſſos in lucem exire ſineret, nonnihil enim in eis impolitum adhuc erat et imperfectum, et ſepoſita mora, quanta poterat feſtinatione prælo daret, totum enim opus magni æſtimandum duxit, quodque publico et poſteritati donare jure ſuo videbatur meruiſſe.* Ita teſtatur Ed. Scot. 13 Feb. 1633. Here we find the Archbiſhop both ſaw and approved this work before it was finiſhed; and hence, by a paſſage in another work of Sir Henry, it ſeems not improbable that this happened in 1632. In which year he was at Lambeth with the Archbiſhop, as appears from his *Hiſtory and Fate of Sacrilege*, where he tells us (29), that *he dined with the Archbiſhop at Lambeth, Nov.* 13, 1632, *and had much diſcourſe with him.* Hence, by the bye, likewiſe, we ſee the Archbiſhop either knew nothing of Sir Henry's anſwer to the

(28) This is a miſtake, for Sir Henry's title of honour was *miles*.

(29) P. 287. edit. 1698. 8vo.

preſs as ſoon as poſſible, that the public might ſpeedily be poſſeſſed of ſuch a valuable treaſure. Thus encouraged, he proceeded, and branched his undertaking into three parts, aſſigning an entire volume to each diviſion: (1) *From the firſt plantation of Chriſtianity to the coming in of the Conqueror in* 1066; (2) *From the Norman conqueſt to the caſting off the Pope's Supremacy by K.* Henry VIII. (3) *The Hiſtory of the Reformed Engliſh Church from Henry VIII. to his own time.* Every one of theſe Sir Henry expreſsly and ſeparately declares that he had completed; and the firſt volume, containing the firſt of theſe heads, was publiſhed by him in 1639 [Z], about two years before his death, with his own annotations upon the more difficult places. He had been brought, about a year or two before, into the acquaintance of Mr (afterwards Sir *William*) *Dugdale*, who then, at the requeſt of ſeveral learned men, informed him, that the ſecond part of his Gloſſary was much deſired by them; whereupon he ſhewed Mr Dugdale the ſecond part, as alſo the improvements which he had made in the firſt; but withal told him the diſcouragements he had met with in publiſhing that which we have already mentioned. However, Meſſrs *Stephens* and *Meredith*, two bookſellers in St Paul's church-yard, did this year, 1677, purchaſe the remainder of the impreſſion then lying upon his hands (*t*). In proſecuting that work [the Gloſſary] he went to Cambridge, in order to conſult ſeveral Saxon manuſcripts in that Univerſity, eſpecially ſome in the public Library. In this buſineſs the Principal Librarian, Mr *Abraham Wheloc* of Clarehall, very readily gave him all the aſſiſtance that lay in his power (*u*). This gentleman was Profeſſor likewiſe of Arabic, and knew ſo much at leaſt then of the Saxon, that he could read it to Sir Henry, which was of great uſe to him, being now almoſt fourſcore years old; and he was the more ſenſible of this help, as he met with very few that were capable of doing even ſo

(t) Our Author's life, by Mr. J. A. It is not improbable, that theſe Bookſellers were induced to make this purchaſe by a promiſe of the Copy of his Councils, which I find was printed by them.

(u) Wheloc's edition of Bede's hiſtory in Saxon, in the Preface.

the *Apology* abovementioned, or elſe had excuſed it. The forementioned conjecture is favoured by what Mr Wood relates (30), that it was in 1633 that Jeremy Stephens was joined with Sir Henry to aſſiſt in compiling the firſt volume of his Councils.

(30) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 341.

[Z] *He publiſhed the firſt volume in* 1639.] The driſt of the Author's deſign in this work is ſeen in the Dedication, which is addreſſed to King Charles I, to whom he expreſſes his great diſlike of the humour that then began to run high againſt the hierarchy. In oppoſition to which, he takes notice how much the Biſhops and Clergy had been always honoured and eſteemed, from the firſt foundation of the Engliſh monarchy by Alfred, and ſhews that the Clergy, in the reigns of the Saxon Kings, ſat with the Lay-Judges in all the courts, from the King's Council in his palace, to the Hundred-Courts. He obſerves, that the Conqueror (who firſt introduced the ſlaviſh part of Feudal Tenures) though he promiſed not to diminiſh the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, yet the ancient immunities of the Church began to be attainted under him and the reſt of the Norman race; that Henry II. abſolutely cut the ſinews of it in the Council of Clarendon, by enacting, among other things, that the Clergy ſhould anſwer to the Court of King's Bench what was done, to uſe his own words, *Juſto licet haud felici tamen auſpicio, ex illo enim die uſque ad noſtra tempora in ſequentibus pleriſque Parliamentis coercetur aliqualiter res Eccleſiæ.* But that they were ſtill employed in all the higheſt offices of the kingdom. That of them there had been ſeven Regents, and twelve chief Juſticiaries, at a time when that office was ſuperior to all others in honour and extent of Juriſdiction, holding the precedency of the King's Council, and comprehending the ſeveral poſts of Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, the Maſter of the Wardrobe, and ſeveral branches of the Lord High Chancellor, and Treaſurer of England. That there had been of the Clergy a hundred and ſixty Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal, eighty Lord Treaſurers, all the Keepers of the Privy Seal, and Maſters of the Rolls, to the twenty-ſixth year of Henry VIII, and a great number of the itinerant Judges to the time of Edward III. In the thirty-ninth of whoſe reign, he obſerves, that the Lord Chancellor, Treaſurer of the Privy Seal, Maſter of the Rolls, ten Maſters in Chancery, Chief Baron, Lord Steward, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Clerk of the Privy Seal, Treaſurer of the Houſhold, Maſter of the Wardrobe, the Puiſne Barons of the Exchequer, the Treaſurer of Aquitain, as alſo of Calais and Ireland, were all Clergymen. He afterwards takes notice, that the authority of the Eccleſiaſtical Law had always prevailed in England, not by virtue of the Papal Power, againſt whoſe uſurpations the Clergy had often aſſerted their liberty; that thus theſe laws being often purged from the Roman leaven, were at laſt intirely freed from the Yoke by Henry VIII, ann. 25, by the third of Edward VI, and by the firſt of Queen Elizabeth; and if that part of the regal authority hath hitherto ſlept, or been too lukewarmly put in execution, it is a part, ſays he, of your Majeſty's royal power and wiſdom to define it as may be requiſite, and put the finiſhing hand to that affair. *Aurem mihi vellit Cynthius; non defuerunt attem qui reſiduos vellicare palmites aggreſſi ſunt et integram Eccleſiæ juriſdictionem ſic impetere, ut Exceſſa cruce (Eccleſiæ ſymbolo) e Corona Regia, emblema ſeculi ſolum radiaret Lilium*; there have been thoſe amongſt us, who have not ſpared to deny the King's ſupremacy eccleſiaſtical, and attempted to deprive the Crown of that Jewel, *cohibuit hoc molimen Princeps Optima* Regina Eliz. ann. 39, *et alias; oppreſſitque Pater veſter Prudentiſſimus* Jacobus Rex, *qui neutrum e ſororibus columnis arcam et Coronam regni ſui ſuſtinentibus violari paſſus eſt aut temerari; florentes autem ambas pariter, pariter ambas ſimul exercitio Regio veſtro porrexit, uti acceperat, patrocinio, ſub quo læta et quieſcens Anglicana Eccleſia, poſthabitis tum externorum quam Indigineram calumniis, hodie ovat, et ovet, precor, in perpetuum, Pia Humilis, et Sincera.* In the Preface, our Author honeſtly tells us, that in ſuch a confuſion of thoughts and papers, he had omitted the accounts of ſome Synods, which he had ready by him; that he had received obſervations from many learned perſons, after the preſs was gone too far, to have them inſerted; and that, particularly, the learned Primate of Armagh had communicated his animadverſions upon the whole volume. To which purpoſe the late Biſhop of London informs us, that he had ſeen among Sir Henry's papers, the remarks of Salmaſius and De Laet, but could not tell where the reſt were to be found. Out of theſe, and the corrections and additions that Sir Henry had made, he reſolved to publiſh an Appendix to this firſt Tome, but probably was prevented by death. However, to incline the reader to a favourable interpretation of the omiſſions and imperfections of his work, he deſires him to conſider, that moſt of his materials were fetched from manuſcripts, of which indeed there were great numbers, both in the univerſities, and in other parts of the kingdom, but being neglected by the generality of ſcholars, they lay in great confuſion, and were in great meaſure uſeleſs, either to his, or any other, deſign. As it is, he confeſſes it would have been impoſſible for him to finiſh it without the aſſiſtance of his own ſon, and Mr Jeremiah Stephens. Of the firſt of theſe, we have him ſpeaking at large in the concluſion of this article; but as to Mr Stephens, to whom our Author left the care of ſome of his papers, it may not be amiſs to obſerve in this place, that he was bred at Brazen-noſe College in Oxford, and had the rectory of Quinton in 1621, and five years afterwards that of Wotton, both in Northamptonſhire, conferred upon him by King Charles, and Archbiſhop Laud procured him a Prebend in the Church of Lincoln (31), for his aſſiſting in the publication of the firſt volume of the Councils; and Sir Henry does, in effect, recommend him for preparing the ſecond and third volume, as a perſon every way qualified to complete the deſign. Sir Henry's words are: *Quo autem auſpicio in lucem prodibunt (me jam ſane propemodum exhauſto) ſecundus et tertius Tomus, haud auſim polliceri, niſi illos vir dilectus et bono natus publico* Jeremias Stephens *typis curaverit mandandos, cujus opera primus hic Tomus (me adhuc tantum non invito) in lucem prodiit.*

(31) Wood informs us it was the Prebend of Biggleſwade in that Church. Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 341.

much for him. He had himſelf found the excellent uſe of that language in the whole courſe of his ſtudies, and much lamented the neglect of it both at home and abroad, which was ſo general, that he did not then know one man in the world who perfectly underſtood it. Hereupon, this ſame year 1639, he ſettled a Saxon Lecture in the Univerſity of Cambridge [*AA*], and appointed Mr *Wheloc* his firſt Profeſſor (*w*), allowing him an annual ſtipend of ten pounds, and preſenting him to the Vicarage of Middleton, near Lynn in the county of Norfolk, giving him likewiſe the impropriate Rectory of the ſame (*x*), both which were intended by him to be ſettled in perpetuity as an endowment of that Lecture; but this deſign was defeated. Our Author had likewiſe at this time an opportunity of diſplaying his profound knowledge in our old Feudal law, in the great caſe of Tenures upon *the commiſſion of defective titles*, argued by all the Judges of Ireland, publiſhed, after their reſolution, by order of the Lord Deputy *Viſcount Wentworth* this year. It fell out, upon the fourth point of the caſe, to be affirmed, that Tenures had their original in England before the Norman conqueſt; and, in purſuit of this aſſertion, it was concluded, that Feuds were then and there in uſe. In proof whereof divers laws and charters of the Saxon kings, and ſome other authorities, were alledged, which being conceived to have cleared the point, it was followed in the report. And therefore it was ſaid that Sir Henry Spelman was miſtaken, who in his Gloſſary (*verbo feudum*) refers the original of feuds in England to the Norman conqueſt, to which their corollary (*y*) adds theſe words; *neither is the bare conjecture of Sir Henry Spelman ſufficient to take away the force of thoſe laws (z).* Being thus, by way of Voucher, made an Antagoniſt, as he himſelf obſerves, to the reverend opinion of thoſe learned Judges, he humbly deſires them to pardon his miſtakings where they fall, and to hear without offence what may lead him to his conjectures, which they ſpeak of. To this purpoſe he publiſhed a piece, intituled, *The original growth, propagation, and condition of Tenures by knight ſervice in England (aa)* [*BB*], wherein he confirms what he

(*w*) Mr Wheloc tells us he was firſt recommended to Sir Henry by his eldeſt Son. Hæres me huic muneri commendaverit. Ibid.

(*x*) Mr Wheloc tells us it was firſt ſignified to him by the Rev. Mr Thorowgood, which we the rather take notice of, as that Divine had the diſpoſal of the profits of the impropriate rectory by Sir Henry's deſire. See an Account of it in his treatiſe *De non temerandis Eccleſiis.*

(*y*) P. 35, 38.

(*z*) Vide Spelmann. Gloſſar. Verbo feudum.

(*aa*) It is the firſt piece in Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, ubi ſupra.

[*AA*] *He ſettled a Saxon Lecture at Cambridge.*] As there is no ſuch lecture at preſent in that Univerſity, it will be proper to give ſome account how ſo worthy a deſign came to be defeated. Dr Gibſon's account is, that Sir Henry and his eldeſt ſon both dying in the compaſs of two years, and the civil wars breaking forth, and their eſtates being alſo ſequeſtered, the family became incapable of accompliſhing the deſign. But we have another account of this matter from Mr Somner, who, in the Dedication to his *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*, takes notice, that when by the death of Mr Wheloc, in 1657, the diſpoſal of that lecture fell to Roger Spelman of Hulm, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of Sir John, and grandſon of the Founder, he had deſigned to beſtow it upon a learned Divine, named Mr Samuel Foſter, but that Archbiſhop Uſher recommended him [Mr Somner] to the Patron for the ſtipend of ten pounds, to enable him to proſecute his Dictionary (in which he had then made a conſiderable progreſs), which would more improve the Saxon language, than bare Academic Lectures. Mr Spelman, who had not before heard of Mr Somner, being thus informed of his particular merits in the Saxon tongue, was prevailed on to comply with Archbiſhop Uſher's recommendation, which was likewiſe conſented to by Mr Foſter; who, upon Mr Somner's application to him, was content to enjoy the living without the lecture. How long the ſtipend was paid to Mr Somner after he had finiſhed the Dictionary, I know not; but the lecture being thus unfortunately ſeparated from the endowment, was never heard of afterwards. Dr White Kennet (32), in relating this affair, obſerves, that herein the Prelate [Uſher] was, like himſelf, judicious; for the endowments of public lectures, ſays he, has often met with this ill ſucceſs, to make the Readers neglect, and the Hearers deſpiſe them: whereas, were the ſame rewards given on condition of printing thoſe lectures, or publiſhing ſome other remains of that Art or Science, men's induſtry would be greater, and the republic of letters much better ſerved. 'This, continues he, ſeems to 'be the intention of the Founder, Sir Henry Spelman, 'in eſtabliſhing his lecture, the words of his founda-'tion being to promote the Saxon tongue, either by 'reading it publickly, or by the edition of Saxon ma-'nuſcripts and other books.' This writer tells us likewiſe, that the reaſon of the thing, and the will of his grandfather, inclined Mr Spelman to comply with the advice of Archbiſhop Uſher. We have ſeen what this concluſion is grounded upon, viz. a paſſage in Somner's Dedication of his Dictionary, and another in Wheloc's Preface to Bede; but the reflection herein occaſionally raiſed againſt the Univerſities, has no other ground to ſupport it, except the writer's ill-will to thoſe learned Bodies. In the mean time it is obſervable, that he could not be ignorant, that the caſe of this lecture of Sir Henry Spelman was, among others, a remarkable exception to his general cenſure, ſince what he has turned, at the expences of the Univerſities in favour of Mr Somner, whoſe panegyric he was writing, is borrowed from the Preface to Bede, a Saxon book, which Mr Wheloc, the Editor, aſſures us was undertaken and publiſhed in purſuance of Sir Henry Spelman's Will in the foundation of his lecture, to ſay nothing of Mr Wheloc's appeal in that Preface to Archbiſhop Uſher, who, he there aſſures us, had actually heard him read lectures upon the Saxon language in the Univerſity. Neither can it well be ſuppoſed, that though Sir Henry's firſt and principal intent in this foundation, was to promote the knowledge of our Saxon Antiquities, yet that he had not an eye in the next place to advance the honour and intereſt of the Univerſity; or at leaſt that he judged his deſign was moſt ſecure from being, either dropt, or diverted to other uſes, by being committed to the truſt of that Community. And I hope I may obſerve without offence, ſeeing it is remarkably to the preſent point, that in the larger work of the Tythes, Sir Henry declares his opinion very warmly againſt changing that way of ſupport for the Clergy into any other whatſoever, though never ſo fair ſeemingly, and promiſingly advantageous. And one of the principal reaſons he gives for it, is the danger thereby of having that ſupport diminiſhed by degrees, till at laſt the Clergy would be left with very little, or even no ſupport at all, which he ſaw would be a ſure way of ruining that religion itſelf, of which they are the Teachers and Profeſſors. Dr Gibſon ſeems to have been ſenſible of the objections to which Mr Kennet's opinion lay expoſed, and therefore gave that aforementioned; and it is certainly much more candid and unexceptionable, and for that reaſon alone, if he had no other, deſerves, in my mind, the greater credit.

(32) Afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough.

[*BB*] *The original of Tenures by knight ſervice in England.*] The particular caſe that gave occaſion for this treatiſe was, that Lord Dillon, in the county of Mayo, upon inquiry at this time into the title of his Majeſty King Charles I. to that county, found there was an Act of State publiſhed, commanding all thoſe who had any lands therein by letters patent from the Crown, in purſuance of the commiſſion granted by James I, as abovementioned (33), to produce the letters, or an enrollment thereof, before the Lord Deputy and Council, by a certain day, to the end that they might be ſecured in the quiet poſſeſſion of thoſe Eſtates, in caſe the ſaid letters were allowed by that board to be good and effectual in law. In purſuance of theſe orders, ſeveral letters patents were produced, and particularly thoſe granted to the Lord Viſcount Dillon, which laſt, upon the peruſal and conſideration thereof by his Majeſty's Council, were thought to be void in law, and therefore it was ordered by the Lord Deputy and Council, that the doubt ſhould be drawn up into a Caſe, and that Caſe to be openly argued at the Council board. It was drawn up accordingly in theſe words: 'King James, by 'com-

(33) In remark [K].

he had aſſerted in his *Gloſſary*; but obſerves, that the miſtake was committed by the perſon that drew the breviate for the judge; for that he himſelf had no where referred the original of feuds in England to the Norman conqueſt. On the contrary, in ſpeaking of them he ſaid, *habentur plurima, quæ huc apprime conducunt, in Anglo-Saxonum noſtrorum legibus*, which he ſtill affirmed, and that the paſſage in his *Gloſſary* had been much perverted. It being

' commiſſion under the great ſeal, did authorize certain ' Commiſſioners to grant the manour of *Dale*, by ' letters patents under the great ſeal of the kingdom, ' to A. and his Heirs; and there is no direction given ' in the ſaid commiſſion touching the tenure to be re- ' ſerved.—There are letters patents, by colour of the ' ſaid commiſſion, paſſed unto A. and his Heirs, to ' hold by Knight Service, as of his Majeſty's caſtle of ' Dublin.' Here it was agreed on all hands, that the letters patents were void, as to the tenure; and that the Commiſſioners had acted beyond their commiſſion, in reſerving a *mean* tenure to the prejudice of the Crown; when they ought, either to have reſerved an expreſs tenure by Knight Service *in Capite*, or have mentioned no tenure at all, but have left the law to imply a tenure *in Capite*. The queſtion therefore was, whether the deficiency of the tenure did ſo far affect the grant, as wholly to deſtroy the letters patents, or whether the letters patents might not be good as to the land, and void only as to the tenure. The caſe was argued ſeveral days by Council on both ſides, and was afterwards referred to the Judges, who were required by the Lord Deputy and Council to conſider of it, and to return their reſolution. But they, upon a private conference, not agreeing in their opinions, it was thought neceſſary, for the public ſatisfaction, to have it argued ſolemnly by them all; which was accordingly done: and when it came to be debated, whether the reſervation of a tenure, ſo different from that intended and warranted by the commiſſion, could make void the whole grant, this led them to a more general inquiry, what the reſervation of a tenure is to the grant? whether it be part of the grant, and the *modus conceſſionis*, or whether it be a diſtinct thing, *aliud*, from the grant; for (as the printed caſe repreſents their opinion,) if the reſervation of the tenure, and the grant of the land, be *aliud et aliud*, two diſtinct things in the conſideration of the whole grant made, and the authority given by the ſaid commiſſion for the making thereof, then the letters patents may be void as to the tenure, and yet good for the grant of the land; but if the reſervation of the tenure be incident unto the authority, and inſeparably joined with it, and the reſervation of the tenure, and the grant of the land, make up but one intire grant, ſo that the one is a part of the other, and the reſervation of the tenure be *modus conceſſionis*; then the grant of the land reſerving a diverſe and contrary tenure to that which their [made] authority did warrant them to reſerve, is a doing of *idem alio modo*, and ſo the whole Act is void. They who pleaded for the validity of the letters patents as to the land, and their being void as to the tenure, urged, among other arguments, that tenures *in Capite* were brought into England by the conqueſt; but grants were by the Common Law, and therefore grants being more ancient than tenures, theſe muſt of neceſſity be *aliud*, from the thing granted: and to prove that theſe tenures came in with the Conqueror, they cited Mr Selden in his *Spicilegium ad Eadmerum*, p. 194, where he has that out of Bracton *de acquir. rerum domin.* b. 2. *forinſecum ſervitium dicitur regale ſervitium, quia ſpectat ad Dominum Regem et non ad alium, et ſecundum quod in Conqueſtu fuit adinventum.* But this argument, and the authority, were both overruled; and it was affirmed, that tenures were not brought into England by the Conqueror, but were common among the Saxons. As to *Selden*, it was anſwered, that in *that* place, he barely recites Bracton's words, not delivering his own opinion; for in that book cited, p. 170, and in his *Titles of Honour*, laſt edition, p. 612, we find he was of another opinion. What were the *Thani Majores*, or *Thani Regis*, among the Saxons, but the Kings immediate Tenants of lands, which they held by perſonal ſervice, as of the King's perſon by *Grand Serjeanty*, or *Knight's Service in Capite?* The land ſo held, was in thoſe times called *Thane-land*, as land holden in ſocage, was called *Reve-land*, Coke's Inſtit. § 117. Sometime after the coming of the Normans, the title of *Thane* grew out of uſe, and that of *Baron* and *Barony* ſucceeded for *Thane* and *Thane-land*. Hence the true reaſon of Coke in Lord Cromwell's Caſe, p. 81. That every Barony of ancient times was held by Grand Serjeanty. It is true, the poſſeſſions of Biſhops and Abbots were excepted by the Saxons, and turned into Baronies by the Conqueror, and ſo their tenure may be ſaid in *Conqueſtu adinventum*: but Thane lands were held by that tenure before. What was that *Trinodia neceſſitas*, which ſo often occurs in grants of the Saxon Kings, under this form, *Exceptis iſtis tribus, Expeditione, Arcis, & Pontis extructione* (34), but that which was afterwards expreſſed by *ſalvo forinſeco* in Bracton (35)? It is moſt manifeſt, that Capite tenures, Tenures by Knight Service, Tenures in ſocage, Frank almoigne, &c. were frequent in the time of the Saxons: and if we will believe what is cited out of an old French Cuſtumary, in a manuſcript treatiſe of the Antiquities of tenures in England (36), many, if not all theſe tenures, were in uſe, even in the time of the Britons. There, it is ſaid, the firſt Britiſh King divided Britain into four parts, and gave one part to the Arch-Flamines, to pray for him and his poſterity. The ſecond part he gave to his Earls and Nobility, to do him Knight's Service. The third he divided among Huſbandmen, to hold of him in ſocage. The fourth part he gives to mechanical perſons, to hold of him in burgage. But that teſtimony was waved, there being little certainty or truth in the Britiſh Story before the time of Cæſar. Neither did they make uſe of that, which we are taught by William Roville of Alençon in his Preface to the *Grand Cuſtumary of Normandy*, that all theſe cuſtoms (among which are theſe tenures) were firſt brought into Normandy out of England by Edward the Confeſſor. Beſides what hath been ſaid, they found feuds, both name and thing, in the laws of theſe times. Among the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, cap. 5, where it is thus provided, *debent enim univerſi liberi homines, et ſecundum fœdum ſuum et ſecundum tenementa ſua, arma habere, et illa ſemper in promptu conſervare, ad tuitionem regni et ſervitium dominorum ſuorum* (37). This law was afterwards confirmed by William the Conqueror (38). As theſe tenures were common in thoſe times, ſo were all the virtues of them, homage, fealty, ſocage, relief and wardſhip for relief, &c. (39). That wardſhips were then in uſe, and not brought in by the Normans, as Camden in his *Britannica* (40), nor by Henry III, as Ranulph Higden in his *Polychronicum* (not underſtanding him) had perſuaded. Among the privileges granted by Edward the Confeſſor to the Cinque Ports, that their Heirs ſhall not be in Ward (41), and in the cuſtoms of Kent, which are in Magna Charta of Tottel's edition, and in Lambard's Perambulation, there is a rule for the Wardſhip of the Heir in Gavelkind, and that he ſhall not be married by the Lord; and theſe cuſtoms ſay of themſelves, that they were *devant le conqueſt et en le conqueſt*. For the Antiquity of Wardſhip in England and Scotland, ſee alſo *Hector Boetius*, lib. 11. *Buchanan Rerum Scoticarum*, lib. 6. and the *Laws of Malcolm*, 11. which prove the Antiquity of Wardſhip in Scotland, and therefore in England, before the Norman Conqueſt; for in thoſe times, it is probable the laws of both nations did not much differ, as for the times after, it appears they did not by comparing their Regiam Majeſtatem with our Glenvil. Upon theſe, among other reaſons, they did conclude, that upon conſideration of the Authority given, and grants thereupon made, the reſervation of the tenures cannot be ſaid to be *aliud*, i. e. a ſeparate and diſtinct thing from the authority of granting the land, but rather concluded within it; and that the reſervation of the tenure, though it be not *ipſa conceſſio*, the grant itſelf, yet it is *modus conceſſionis*, and a part of the grant; and therefore the authority being not purſued in that, the whole grant is void. Theſe were the arguments, which our Author has conſidered ſeverally, both as to the truth and force of them; not ſtrictly confining himſelf to their reaſons and reflections, but taking occaſion from thence to draw up a very elaborate treatiſe of the nature and origin of feuds and tenures; wherein he has clearly ſhewn, that theſe tenures, ſuch as were granted in the letters patents by himſelf and the other Commiſſioners in Ireland, were not in uſe before the Conqueſt, and therefore the grants being made before that time, the tenures muſt of neceſſity be *aliud* from the thing granted, and conſequently the Patents were good, as to the lands.

(34) Coke's 6th Report.

(35) Lib. 2. c. 26. in the 35th year of Edward I.

(36) Selden's Anatect. Anglo-Brit. 78.

(37) Lambard's Archion. p. 35.

(38) Coke's Inſt. ſect. 103.

(39) Ib. p. 278.

(40) Selden's Notes on Fortescue de Laudibus, Leg. Angliæ.

(41) Lambard's Perambulations of Kent, p. 181. See the laws of K. Canutus, cap. 66. and 69. Of Edward the Confeſſor, cap. de heterochiis. And from Doomſday book in Coke's Inſtit. ſect. 103. Camden in Berkſhire, and Selden in Eadmer, p. 154.

neither his words, nor his meaning to ſay, that William the Conqueror firſt brought in the feuds or military ſervice, in a general ſenſe: but that he brought in the ſervitudes and grievances of feuds, as wardſhip, marriage, and ſuch like, which to this day were never known to other nations that are governed by the feudal law. He obſerves there is a great difference between *ſervitia militaria* and *ſervitutes militares*. The one noble, heroic, and full of glory, which might not therefore be permitted to any that was not born of free parents, no not to a king's ſon (as appears in Virgil), wherein our Saxon laws were very cautious, and wanted a ſoldier's ſhield to be *inſigne libertatis*. The other not ignoble only and ſervile, but derived even from very bondage *(bb)*. This ſeems to have been the laſt of our Author's performances in his ſtudy; and it is an illuſtrious inſtance of the vigour both of his ſpirits and underſtanding, ſuch as is not ordinarily met with at his years, being then upon the verge of fourſcore. He had paſſed the latter part of his life very agreeably with his ſon-in-law Sir *Ralph Whitfield* in Barbican *(cc)*, at whoſe houſe he died in 1641, having paſſed the eightieth year of his age *(dd)*. From this place his corpſe was carried with great ſolemnity, by order of K. Charles, to Weſtminſter Abbey, where it was interred in the South iſle, near the door of St Nicholas's chappel, at the foot of the pillar, oppoſite to the monument of his ancient friend Mr Camden. The late biſhop of London gives the following ſhort ſketch of his character: 'A gentleman, ſays he, of great learning, and a hearty promoter and encourager 'of it. In his temper calm and ſedate, and in his writings grave and inoffenſive; a true 'lover of the eſtabliſhed church, and a zealous maintainer of her rights and privileges;' to which I will venture to add, that he was not leſs hearty in wiſhing well to the rights and liberties of his country in general. The firſt article of this character, which is taken upon a peruſal of his works, will be abundantly confirmed by the general voice of the nation in particular. Since every one that looks into the hiſtory of his own country, cannot but obſerve, from the ſeveral quotations from Sir Henry Spelman, that his works have been, and to this day continue to be, a neceſſary ſtorehouſe to every writer of the Engliſh hiſtory ſince his time [*CC*]. How much he had the advancement of learning at heart is ſeen, as in other inſtances, ſo particularly by his foundation of a Saxon lecture at Cambridge, by which he merited the title of being *The Reviver and Reſtorer* of that branch of literature; and the encouragement he gave to men of letters, beſides what has been already taken notice of in regard to Mr *Speed*, both in the ſupplies which he furniſhed to that collection of records made by Mr *Dodſworth* relating to the foundation of monaſteries in the Northern parts of England, and eſpecially afterwards, when, becoming ſenſible that thoſe might be improved into a *monaſticum Anglicanum*, leſt that deſign ſhould miſcarry by Mr *Dodſworth*'s death, he prevailed with Mr *Dugdale* to join Mr *Dodſworth* in ſo commendable a work, promiſing to communicate his tranſcript of foundation-charters belonging to ſeveral monaſteries in Norfolk and Suffolk, and, for Mr *Dugdale*'s further encouragement, recommended him to *Thomas Earl of Arundel*, then earl marſhal of England, as a perſon well qualified to ſerve the King in the office of arms; by means of which recommendation, ſeconded by Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Mr *Dugdale* arrived to a good ſkill in them, was ſettled in the Heralds office *(ee)*, which gave him an opportunity to fix in London, and, from the many aſſiſtances there, to compile thoſe and the other laborious volumes afterwards publiſhed by him. Sir Henry likewiſe not only firſt adviſed Dr *Watts* (the celebrated editor of *Matthew Paris*) to the ſtudy of Antiquity, but was the principal Author of the Doctor's undertaking a new edition of that valuable hiſtorian *(ff)*. His zeal for the honour and intereſt of the clergy does not ſtand ſo much in need of an illuſtration, as ſome humanities that were incident to it ſeem to do of an apology. But, on the other hand, he was ſo much diſtinguiſhed by the ſteadineſs of his loyalty both to K. James and K. Charles I, and was ſo highly in their favour *(gg)*, as might have given room for ſome perſons to think him not ſo hearty, as he really was, in the cauſe of liberty, did not that heartineſs appear to be a juſt part of his character from a letter of his to Archbiſhop *Uſher*, which has been preſerved by Dr *Richard Parr* [*DD*]. Upon Sir Henry's death, all his papers fell into the hands of his eldeſt ſon, Sir *John Spelman*, after whoſe deceaſe Sir *Ralph Whitfield* had them in his poſſeſſion *(hh)*. In 1647, Mr *Jeremiah Stephens*, in purſuance of his truſt, printed a piece upon tythes, under the following title, *Sir Henry Spelman's larger treatiſe concerning tythes* [*EE*]: *whereunto*

(bb) The Introduction to this treatiſe.

(cc) Mr Wheloc, ubi ſupra, expreſſes it thus: Quorum [Rad. Whitfield] ætatem ſuam ſuaviſſimam agebat Heros. That the houſe was in Barbican, I gather from a letter of Sir Henry's to Archbp Uſher, dated from thence in 1628.

(dd) See Remark [*B*] compared with the expreſſion employed in the entrance of his life: Jam anni bis deni ſunt & quod excurrit, ex quo, &c. where he evidently means upwards of twenty years.

(ee) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 8.

(ff) Watt's preface to his edition of that Hiſtory. Sir Henry had a MS. of Matthew Paris, which contained ſeveral things not then in the printed copies. Hiſtory of Sacrilege, p. 135.

(gg) He was knighted by K. James I.

(hh) Wheloc's preface to Bede, ubi ſupra.

[*CC*] *A ſtorehouſe to every writer of the Engliſh Hiſtory ſince his time.*] We have a late inſtance of the truth of this obſervation in Mr Carte's Hiſtory of England. That Hiſtorian makes frequent uſe of Sir Henry's works; but he ſeems to have neglected this ſtore, in ſpeaking of the unction, and rejecting the common opinion, that our Kings were endowed with their eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy by virtue of their unction, he declares, that ſuch a power is inherent to Royalty, which, though true enough, yet is not ſo much to the purpoſe of an hiſtorian, as what Sir Henry obſerves, that our Kings actually exerciſed that authority before the unction was performed in England, or before King Alfred, viz. in the year 850, whereas Alfred was not crowned at Rome by Pope Leo, who gave him the unction, till the year 860 (42).

(42) Councils, p. 153.

[*DD*] *In a letter preſerved by Dr Parr.*] This letter is dated from Barbican, July 1, 1628 (43), and begins thus: 'I here preſent your Grace with the firſt printed 'Copy of the Petition of Parliament to his Majeſty for 'their ancient rights and liberties, with his Majeſty's 'gracious anſwer thereto: and by much inſtance I have 'got, even in this hour, from Mr Bill, before they are 'yet become public, and to the laming of the book from 'whence it is taken.' This ſhews his zeal to ſerve his friend, who had deſired the petition to be ſent. And his zeal for the cauſe of liberty further appears from another letter [Numb. CXXVIII.] dated May 26, the ſame year, wherein Sir Henry acquaints him, that the Houſe of Commons had admirably evinced the rights of the ſubject in every part of that petition.

(43) Numb. CXXX.

[*EE*] *His larger treatiſe concerning Tythes.*] This piece had been long expected, and was much deſired in Sir Henry's life-time by his friends, to whom he conſtantly excuſed himſelf (44) upon one account or other. In his Apology for the tract *De non temerandis Eccleſiis*, he writes thus: 'As to aſſerting Tythes to be due *Jure divino*, 'and his anſwers, my purpoſe is not here to meddle with 'them. They require a more ſpacious diſcourſe than 'either that volume admitted, or I now mean to enter 'into, it being not a queſtion between him and me only, 'but long controverted by greater Clerks, and left at 'this

(44) See the Appendix to De non temerandis Eccleſ. p. 114, 115. Edit. 1668.

whereunto is annexed, An answer to a queſtion of a gentleman of quality, by a reverend and learned divine living in London, concerning the ſettlement or abolition of tythes by the parliament, which cauſed him to doubt how to diſpoſe of his ſon whom he had deſigned for the miniſtry; (2) *Some animadverſions on a late pamphlet called The country's plea againſt tythes, diſcovering the ignorant*

'this day as *queſtionem vexatam non judicatam*. The 'truth is, the courſe of my argument led me upon it, 'and I therefore produced ſome arguments tending to 'the maintenance thereof, but referring the point unto (45) 'a greater work (45), and forbearing to deliver myſelf 'therein without ample, and more laborious examina- 'tion of ſo great a controverſy (46).' But perhaps nothing had raiſed the curioſity of his friends (ſuch I mean as were inclined to reverence his judgment) more than what he had there dropt concerning Tythes, *in quoto*. Upon which point, having declared that he could not ſay the law of nature had determined the ſet portion of a tenth, he ſubjoins the following note. 'Yet there 'be diverſe natural reaſons that commend this number '(for this purpoſe) above others.' We have already obſerved, that he expreſſed an inclination to have explained the words in this note, had it conſiſted with his deſigned brevity in that piece. This therefore appears in the fourteenth chapter of his large work, now before us, which being not a little curious, we ſhall give the ſubſtance of. He ſets out with an honeſt declaration, that in all his inquiries upon this article of tythes, he had never met with any thing concerning this point of limitation to the number ten; (47) 'from the nature of it therefore, ſays he (47), wanting 'a guide to direct me, I ſhall walk this way the more 'reſpectfully. He then proceeds to declare, that in 'his apprehenſion there are two reaſons thereof, one 'myſtical, the other political. Firſt, Reaſon teacheth 'that God ſhould have the beſt and the chiefeſt, and 'that is myſtically contained in this number ten. For 'it is the number appointed in Scripture, and St Auſtin 'teacheth, that we do not perfectly underſtand many 'things there for want of having the myſtery of num- 'bers; and both he and St Jerom obſerve, that in 'numbers there are great ſecrets. The number ten is 'ſaid to ſignify the firſt and the laſt, the beginning and 'the ending. It is, *finis ſimplicium et initium compoſi- 'torum*, the firſt radical number, and the laſt number 'of ſingle dimenſion; the number wherewith the pro- 'greſs of numeration, running as it were circularly, 'always endeth and beginneth again: *repreſentat*, 'ſaith Bartholomæus, *merito ipſum Chriſtum, qui eſt et* 'ALPHA ET OMEGA, PRINCIPIUM ET FINIS. In this, 'and ſuch other reſpects, it is alſo ſaid to be like a 'circle, the greateſt and the perfecteſt body in Geo- 'metry, having neither beginning nor ending, as in 'the attributes of God. Hermes, juſtly ſtiled Treſ- 'megiſt, labouring to deſcribe God by the moſt ſigni- 'ficant reſemblance that man's wit could attain unto, 'ſaid, God is like an imaginary circle, whoſe cen- 'ter is every where, and circumference no where; 'and as the circle or ſphere of all forms, is moſt 'ſpacious and of the greateſt capacity, comprehend- 'ing all other, and itſelf comprehended of none; 'ſo the number ten comprehends all numbers, and is 'itſelf comprehended of none of them; neither is there 'any number beyond it, but that ariſeth out of it. It 'is the foot and baſis whereon all of them are founded, 'and it containeth not only all dimenſions, but, to be 'ſhort, all the reaſons of arithmetick, geometry, and 'muſick; therefore *Philo Judæus* ſaith, they who firſt 'gave names unto things, ſeemed to me to have 'named *decadem* quaſi δεκάδα, i. e. *capacem* ἀπὸ τοῦ δέ- 'χεσθαι, *quod capiat et amplectatur omnia genera numerorum 'reliquorum ex numeris collectorum proportione harmoniarum 'rurſus et concentuum proprie appellaſſe*. In this manner 'the number ten repreſents to us (as ſuch things may) 'the nature of God, the moſt perfect and greateſt, 'comprehending all, and comprehended of none, the 'beginning and the ending, yet infinite and without 'beginning or ending. So that the number ten, this 'tribute money in queſtion, hath in all theſe reſpects 'the apparent image of God; and therefore let us ſee 'whether it hath his inſcription or not. For ſure if it 'hath his image and inſcription, it is due unto him 'by his own word, and his own argument. Firſt then; 'the Hebrews and the Greeks expreſs this number by '9 and ι, the firſt letter of his greateſt, and moſt eſſen- 'tial name. The Romans, and other Weſtern nations, 'by the letter X, which ſtands always for the name of 'Chriſt. The arithmetical figures 1 and 0, 1 ſignifies 'the ſame that *alpha* does in Greek, and o omega; 'therefore the figure of the number ſignifies the firſt 'and the laſt, the beginning and the ending; but as the 'cypher o, in this reſpect, ſignifies the end, we muſt 'mark, that it is a circle, and hath no end; being 'therefore joined to the figure of one, which ſignifieth 'the beginning, it ſheweth unto us, that the beginning 'is without end, and the end itſelf without beginning 'or end, both infinite, and without any limit. The 'firſt character in the figure of 10, viz. 1, begetteth 'all numbers, for it is *ſemen numerorum*, and is be- 'gotten of none, ſo that it is *Unus et Omnis*, one and 'all, and ſo the very figures ſignify *in notis Antiquorum*, 'according to Valerius Probus and Paulus Diaconus. 'Therefore to conclude, it hath both the image of 'God in ſignification of his Eſſence, and the Inſcrip- 'tion of his name in the form of the characters and fi- 'gures in all languages, and in all nations, after one 'manner or other; ſo that nature herſelf had taught 'them, that this part belongeth to God, which by no 'wit, or any learning, can be applied to, or found in 'any other number between one and millions of thou- 'ſands.—God will have ſuch a part as comprehendeth 'all; therefore, as in the ſacrifices, he eſpecially did 'require the head and tail, as comprehending all the 'reſt; ſo the laws of our land did anciently reckon 'theſe parts for all; for that the whole fiſh-royal be- 'longs to the King, yet Bracton ſaith it ſufficeth if 'he had the head and tail, for that in theſe parts the 'whole is implied: and, conſequently, when we give 'God the tenth part, we put him in poſſeſſion of all. 'This number is the number of fulneſs, and expreſſeth 'the greateſt things; and it has been of old obſerved, 'that in natural things the tenth is uſually the fulleſt 'and greateſt. *Vaſtius inſurgens decimæ ruit impetus 'undæ* (48), and Valerius (49) Flaccus terms it, *decimæ 'tumor ardens undæ*. So likewiſe it is noted by Silius 'Italicus, Lucan (50), and Seneca (51). And this 'obſervation among the Ancients hath been ſo noto- 'rious and remarkable, that they commonly uſed the 'word Tenth in Latin, to expreſs the greateſt things— 'decumanum limitem, decumanam portem ſerte fluctus 'ova, as Cicero in Verrem et accipenſerum; and for 'the like reaſons they uſed the word decimare for 'chuſing and culling out the choiceſt and principal 'things, as *Perrot* obſerveth. And becauſe in the 'procreation of man and other living creatures, the 'number ten is moſt happy and moſt effectual, as the 'tenth month in ſome, and the tenth week in others, 'the Romans admired the ſecret virtues of this num- 'ber ſo ſuperſtitiouſly, as they canonized it among 'their Gods by the name of *Decima*, as Tertullian and 'Gellius inform us; and for this cauſe Romulus cloſed 'the year within the compaſs of ten months, as the 'time of fulneſs and perfection. Laſtly, therefore, for 'more of this ſort of obſervations, *de ratione decima- 'rum et denarii numeri*, he refers to Philo (52), and 'concludes with this ſmart epigram upon the letter X.

(48) Ovid. Metamorph. lib. 4.
(49) Id. lib. 14.
(50) Pharſ. 5.
(51) In Agamemn.
(52) Liber de congr. eruend. gratia.

'*Exprimit antiquis hæc Xtum litera ſcriptis,*
'*Exprimit et partem quam petit Ille ſuam.*
'*Ergo citus Xti, quæ ſunt dato, munera, Xto;*
'*Cæſaris accipiat Cæſar; uterque ſuum.*

'*This X of old expreſs'd Chriſt's holy name,*
'*And eke the ſacred tenth which he doth claim.*
'*Give then to Chriſt what's his without delay;*
'*To Cæſar Cæſar's due; and both their pay.*'

We have given this reaſoning as an inſtance of a very great weakneſs in a truly great mind. Whoever conſiders how full the Canon Law abounds with ſuch flowers, and how much Sir Henry read and admired the ſanctity of that law, and the makers of it, and at the ſame time reflects how much real ſervice and honour his country reaped from his ſtudies in this law, will eaſily excuſe one failing. Beſides, we are aſſured by Mr Stephens (53), that this piece was left imperfect by Sir Henry; and moreover, that he had been plundered of ſome of the papers: upon which account, he was forced to omit divers additions material to the argument committed to him by the learned Knight.

(53) In the Dedication to Mr Crew and Knightly of Northamptonſhire.

(45) See p. 59. of that treatiſe.

(46) This was written in 1615, and Mr Selden publiſhed his Hiſtory of Tythes in 1618.

(47) Id. p. 55.

miſtakes of the authors of it touching the maintenance of the miniſtry by ſuch means; (3) *Animadverſions on the Kentiſh petition*, publiſhed by Jeremiah Stephens, B.D. *according to the appointment and truſt of the Author*. In this treatiſe Sir Henry ſhews the danger of changing tythes for any other way of maintenance, as of a pecuniary ſtipend, from the alteration in the value of money; and obſerves, that the change of the laws, which have continued for above a thouſand years, and of a right ſettled by common law, will produce many miſchiefs, eſpecially to the crown, in payment of tenths and firſt-fruits. He likewiſe takes notice of the peculiar fitneſs of this way of ſupport above all others, from the Clergy's ſharing the ſame fortune with the people, according to the times of plenty or ſcarceneſs. In 1656 came out a piece, intituled *Villare Anglicanum*, or *A view of the towns of England, collected by the appointment, at the charge, and for the uſe, of that learned antiquary* Sir Henry Spelman [*FF*]. In 1663, the ſame truſtee, Mr Stephens, entered upon the execution of the other part of his truſt, and began to print *The Hiſtory of Sacrilege* [*GG*]; but, being forbid to

[*FF*] *Villare Anglicanum.*] By the title it does not appear, whether our Author had any, or what ſhare he had in this work; but the point is, in ſome meaſure, cleared up by Biſhop Nickelſon, who tells us (54) it was ſaid to be compoſed by Mr Henry and Mr Dodſworth: though he thinks the greateſt part of it was drawn out of the alphabetical tables on the back of the maps in Speed's *Theatre of Great Britain*. .

(54) In his Hiſtorical Library, part 1. p. 13. Edit. 1696.

[*GG*] *The Hiſtory of Sacrilege was burnt in the fire of London.*] Mr Wood tells us, that both the whole Copy, and all the ſheets printed off, were then deſtroyed. That account, it ſeems, made it generally believed at Oxford that the whole book was irrecoverably loſt, till the manuſcript given by Biſhop Barlow came into the Bodleian library in 1693; not long after which, Mr Gibſon, then of Queen's College, upon examining thoſe manuſcripts, happened to meet with a part of it among them, which putting him upon a further enquiry, he found other parts in other places, and throwing all together into order, brought the work, as ſeemed to him, to be pretty intire; and in 1695 printed a kind of plan of it, as we have already mentioned, when he publiſhed our Author's poſthumous works, amongſt which he tells us, this might have appeared, had not the ſame reaſon ſtill continued in force, which he had been told by a learned Biſhop put a ſtop to the firſt attempt for publiſhing it, ſtill ſubſiſted, ſince ſome perſons, ſays he, in the preſent age would be apt to interpret the mention of their Predeceſſors in ſuch a manner, and upon ſuch an occaſion, as an unpardonable reflection upon their families (55). But three years afterwards, in 1698, it happened, that the copy of the manuſcript fell into the hands of (it ſeems) a leſs diſcreet perſon (56), who reſolved to let the world make what uſe of it they pleaſed. And, at the ſame time, to prevent all ſuſpicion of any indirect dealing with Mr Gibſon, does him the juſtice to aver, that he was no way, either by advice or conſent, or ſo much as connivance, privy to the publication of it. The Editor likewiſe pays another office of reſpect due, he ſays, to the aſhes of the author, which is, that his rare talents and pen are not to be meaſured by this one performance; for indeed, ſays he, this Hiſtory of Sacrilege ſeems to be the moſt abortive of all his poſthumous works. This is ſo amply true, and it is ſo very rude a draught, that I cannot forbear thinking it might be one, if not the chief reaſon why Mr Gibſon contented himſelf with giving the general plan of it, by which his Reader might form ſome idea what the ſtructure would have been, had Sir Henry found leiſure to compleat it, or had not Mr Stephens, to whom it was left to perfect and complete, been prevented in the execution of his truſt. As it is now printed, the Author having firſt laid down a general definition of ſacrilege, then reckons up the various kinds of it, as to places, perſons, and things, and thence enumerating at large the many ſignal puniſhments of it in Heathens, Jews, and Chriſtians, in general, proceeds afterwards to the Hiſtory of England in particular, beginning ann. 996, with Egbert, the third King of Kent from Ethelbert, and ſo proceeds through the Saxon, and then the Norman race, ſufficient to incite the curioſity of Perſons of the ſame turn with the Author to peruſe it, without expoſing him to the deriſion of the generality. He gives an account of Edward I's ſeizing the revenues of the Priories aliens, and the riches of the Monaſteries, for the ſupport of his wars, as alſo the ſame of Edward III; and afterwards he relates the attempt, together with the defeat of it, upon the lands of thoſe Priories, made by Henry IV, which, he takes notice, was at the time of Wickliff's attempt to introduce a change in the religion. From thence he deſcends to the actual ſuppreſſion of thoſe Priories by Henry V, and ſo to the general diſſolution under Henry VIII (57), which, in reſpect of the reſt, (ſtiled rivers) he calls the *ocean* of iniquity, and mentioning the calamities that enſued upon that King and his Poſterity, he makes this ſingular remark, that as the Iſſue of Nebuchadnezzar was extinct, and his kingdom given to another nation the Sixty-Sixth year after he had rifled the Temple of Jeruſalem; ſo about the ſame period that King Henry VIII. began to ſack the Monaſteries, with their Churches, was his whole iſſue extinct, male and female, legitimate and illegitimate, and his kingdom transferred to another Nation. However, that ſection is not concluded without declaring, that the extinguiſhment of Henry's iſſue by the immortally renowned Queen Elizabeth, was a golden period. This affinity dwelt much upon our Author's mind. He takes notice of it, both in his *Great work of Tythes*, and in the tract *De non temerandis Eccleſiis* (58), with the ſame application of it to King James, in theſe elegant Latin words; *Neſcio quo fato ut eadem temporis periodo, viz. ann.* 68, *poſt ereptas a Nebuchad. et Hen. VIII, res templorum ſtirps utriſque regia extincta ſit, imperium ſublatum et ad aliam gentem devolutum. Ulterius igitur ſperemus Cyrum noſtrum Jacobum Regem, qui Sceptra diſſidentia compeſcuit, reſtitutionis etiam munus aliquando aggreſſurum* (59). After relating the fate of the King and Royal Family, he extends his remarks to the principal Agents in that affair, and ſo to the new Owners of the lands, and to the Lords who promoted and paſſed the Diſſolution Act (60). Whereupon Mr Gibſon juſtly obſerves, that he is far from affirming that the Perſons being concerned in the affair (either as Promoters of the alienation, or Poſſeſſors of the lands) was directly the occaſion of the calamities that enſued. On the contrary, he declares more than once, that he will not preſume to judge, but only relates plain matters of fact, and leaves every man to make his own application. But though he was wiſe enough not to wade ſo far out of the depth of human reaſon, in attempting to convince the underſtanding by a method liable to unanſwerable difficulties; yet his profeſſed deſign is to incline the will, and govern the actions, by poſſeſſing the mind with a fixt belief and perſuaſion, without ſuch conviction. This is a common weakneſs, and indeed the bulk of mankind in moſt things are, and muſt unavoidably be, governed by theſe kind of reaſonings. In the mean time, it is through this weakneſs, that the corruptions of the Church of Rome crept in, and took ſure hold of the people. And it is owing to the ſame weakneſs (inherent to human nature) that in England we are not yet, and perhaps never ſhall be, purged from a fond belief of the continuance of miracles, even to the third and fourth centuries. An illuſtrious inſtance of this has been lately given by a very celebrated Author, who, though purged from the lump, yet retains ſome crums of the old Leaven. The late Biſhop of London, Dr Gibſon, likewiſe has not omitted to puſh this engine of government, in the caſe now before us. After he had taken notice, that our Author relates *rem geſtam* only, without making particular applications, he proceeds in theſe words. 'Though it muſt be granted, 'that many of the Inſtances, and thoſe too well atteſted, 'are ſo terrible in the event, and in the circumſtances 'ſo ſurprizing, that no conſidering perſon can well paſs 'them over.' The miſchief that has formerly, and may ſtill accrue from this method of leading the people by that mixture of enthuſiaſm, which enters into the compoſition of every Engliſhman, has extorted theſe animadverſions. Otherwiſe it muſt (if ever) be excuſable in the caſe of reſtoring tythes to the Church, the right being aſſerted by ſo many much better, not to ſay convincing, arguments. In the laſt chapter of this Hiſtory of Sacrilege containing an account of ſome Monaſteries in Norfolk, our Author obſerves (61), that having

(55) Mr Stephens made ſeveral additions long after Sir Henry's death, as appears in the printed Copy, p. 48. et ſeqq. p. 129. et 277.

(56) Dr White Kennet, afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough. See in his Article, p. 2823. and Remark [*L*].

(57) Here he gives a particular detail of the ſucceſſion to Shereburn caſtle in Dorſetſhire, obſerving that it was given by King James to Prince Henry, but the King would not ſuffer Prince Charles to have it becauſe of the ill ſucceſs. Received from the Lord Keeper, May 9, 1626, p. 128.

(58) In a note at p. 92, fourth Edit. in 1668.

(59) In the Hiſtory of Sacrilege he takes notice of King James's promiſe to this purpoſe in his letters to the Univerſities, on his firſt coming to the Crown, in 1603.

(60) Among theſe are the Biſhops, notwithſtanding he had elſewhere offered an argument to clear them from any guilt in this matter. See Remark [*Q*].

(61) P. 262, 263.

to proceed, left it ſhould give offence to ſome of the nobility and gentry *(ii)*, the work ſtuck in the preſs till the fire of London, when it was burnt. And the ſecond volume of *The Councils* [*HH*] being put to the preſs about the ſame time, the greateſt part of the impreſſion ſuffered the ſame fate in that dreadful conflagration *(kk)*. The copy had been put into the hands of Sir *William Dugdale* by Archbiſhop *Shelden* and the Lord Chancellor Hyde, after the Reſtoration of K. Charles II. And thoſe Lords at the ſame time enquired of Sir William, what became of the ſecond part of the *Gloſſary* [*II*], or whether it was ever finiſhed. He

(ii) So ſays Mr Gibſon, ſee Rem. [*GG*]. But Mr Wood mentions no ſuch hindrance. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. ed. 342.

(kk) Gibſon's life of our Author.

having gotten his information privately, many things, no doubt, had been miſtaken by his Informers, and therefore he deſires, that wherever it ſo falleth out, his credit may not be ingaged on it. I ſhall therefore take the liberty to mention one notorious miſtake, which however, by the account of it, could not well be wilful, and that is, in the Inſtance of Walſingham Abbey, which, ſays our Author, was Sir Thomas Greſham's, who died (as was ſaid) ſuddenly in his kitchen, without Iſſue male, which is confirmed by Holingſhead (62). But what follows, that his daughter and heireſs was married to Sir William Read, who had this Abbey, wants correction. For this William Read, who was firſt huſband to Sir Thomas Greſham's wife, had by that Lady Iſſue William Read, Eſq; who was knighted in the beginning of King James's reign, and was heir to his mother, Lady Greſham, whence his ſon, Sir Thomas Read, became poſſeſſed of Oſterley-park, and died without Iſſue, having married Mildred, ſecond daughter of Thomas Cecil Lord Burleigh (63), as is related by our Author.

(62) In his Chr. p. 1310.

(63) See Sir Tho. Greſham's Article, at the End.

[*HH*] *The ſecond volume of his Councils.*] This, together with the ſecond part of his Gloſſary, was put, by the direction of Archbiſhop Selden and Lord Chancellor Hyde, into the hands of Sir William Dugdale, who made conſiderable additions to it out of the Archbiſhop's Regiſters, and the Cottonian Library; inſomuch, that he affirms, in a letter to Mr Spelman, Sir Henry's grandſon, that of the two hundred ſheets in that book, not above fifty-ſeven were of his grandfather's collection. And it appears from ſome papers in the Bodleian Library, under the hands of Sir William Dugdale and Sir Henry Spelman, that the latter had left little more towards the ſecond volume, than hints and references, where the Councils were to be met with. In this edition of 1664, there are abundance of faults, occaſioned by the negligence, either of the Copyer, or Corrector, or both. Mr Somner, ſenſible of this, took great pains in collating the printed copy with many of the original records, and corrected the errors in the margin of his own book (64). This book is now in the library of the Church of Canterbury, and will be a good help, as Mr Gibſon obſerves (65), towards a more accurate edition, as well as thoſe collections of Mr Junius, which were in the poſſeſſion of the Reverend Mr Jones, Rector of Sunningwell, not far from Oxford. Accordingly, a complete edition of the Engliſh Councils was publiſhed by Dr David Wilkins, in 1737, in four volumes folio. To which he was further encouraged, doubtleſs, by what Archdeacon Nicholſon obſerves (66) concerning ſuch an undertaking. 'The truth is, ſays he, we much want a 'new edition of that volume [of Sir Henry Spelman,] 'the greateſt part of the impreſſion having been burnt 'in the Fire of London, ſo that the book is hardly 'to be met with, and incorrect as it is, hath ever ſince 'borne an immoderate price. I know no work, that 'would be a greater ſervice to our Church, than an intire 'Hiſtory of all the Councils before the Reformation, '(for the account of them which we have already, is 'far from being intire) with the addition of a Third 'Volume, to contain the public affairs of our reformed 'Church. The great diſcoveries of manuſcripts, the 'many obſervations made by the learned Biſhop of 'Worceſter [Dr Stillingfleet], and others upon the conſtitution of the Britiſh and Saxon Churches, and the 'general approbation that the work muſt needs meet 'with, are all of them very good aſſiſtances, as well as 'encouragements to ſuch an undertaking. It is probable, that toward the laſt part, ſome aſſiſtance may 'be had from that manuſcript of Sir William Dugdale, 'intituled Papers to be made uſe of for a Third Volume 'of Councils, in *Muſæo Aſhmoleano Oxon.* Though 'I fear not ſo much as the title promiſes.'

(64) Life of Mr W. Somner, by White Kennet, D. D. Oxford 1693, p. 39.

(65) In his Life of Sir Henry Spelman.

(66) In his Hiſtorical Library, part 2, p. 36.

[*II*] *The ſecond part of his Gloſſary was publiſhed by the care of Sir William Dugdale.*] The ſhare that Sir William had in the publication of this ſecond part, has been made the ground of a ſuſpicion, that he inſerted many things of his own, which were not in Sir Henry Spelman's copy, and particularly ſome paſſages which tend to the enlargement of the prerogative, in oppoſition to the liberties of the ſubject. The objection was raiſed on occaſion of a controverſy between Mr Petyt and Dr Brady, about the Antiquity of the Commons in Parliament. The authority of Sir Henry being urged to prove, that there was no ſuch thing as a Houſe of Commons till the time of Henry III, it was agreed on both ſides, that this learned Knight was a very competent Judge of that Controverſy; that as he had thoroughly ſtudied our Conſtitution, ſo he always wrote without partiality or prejudice; and that he was not engaged in a party, nor had any other deſign, but to publiſh the truth fairly and honeſtly, as he found it aſſerted by the beſt hiſtorians. Upon theſe grounds his opinion in matters of this nature has ever been thought conſiderable, and his bare judgment will always be valued, when we can be ſure that it is his own. And there can be no doubt but that his aſſertions under the word *Parliamentum*, upon which the controverſy was raiſed, are his own, and not an Interpolation by Sir William Dugdale. For the very copy, from which it was printed, is now in the Bodleian Library, in Sir Henry Spelman's own hand-writing, and agrees exactly with the printed book; particularly in the paſſages under that diſpute, they are the ſame word for word. So far then as that copy goes (for it ends at the word *Riota*) it is a certain teſtimony, that Sir William Dugdale did no more than mark it for the Printer, and tranſcribe here and there a looſe paper. And though the reſt of the Copy was loſt before it came to the Oxford Library, and ſo we have not the ſame authority for the Gloſſary's being genuine after the letter R; yet it is not likely that Sir William had any more ſhare in theſe laſt letters of the alphabet, than he had in any of the reſt; for all the parts of ſuch a work muſt of neceſſity be carried on at the ſame time; and therefore the Author could not but leave nearly equal materials for the whole. But what puts it beyond all doubt is, that Dr Brady, who was concerned to prove the ſecond part all genuine, appealed for the truth of this aſſertion to Sir William Dugdale himſelf, who was then alive. Moreover, Mr Gibſon aſſures us (67), 'that he had 'ſeen a letter from Sir William to Mr Charles Spel- 'man, giving him an account of the great loſſes which 'he had ſuſtained by the Fire of London, and the pains 'he had taken in the publication of the *Councils* and '*Gloſſary:* as to the firſt, he expreſsly lays claim to 'the better half of it, as his own work and collection; 'adding, that if the impreſſion had not periſhed, in 'all right and reaſon he ought to have had a conſide- 'ration for the ſame; *and alſo*, continues he, *for my 'pains in fitting the copy of the Gloſſary for the Printer, 'by marking it for the difference of letter, and introducing 'and tranſcribing thoſe looſe papers, left by your Grand- 'father without fit directions where they ſhould come in.* 'This is all that he claims as to the Gloſſary, and if 'he had had any further ſhare in it, it is likely he 'would have inſiſted upon it on this occaſion, to con- 'vince Mr Spelman more effectually of the good ſer- 'vices he had done him in that affair.'

(67) In the Life of Sir Henry, ubi ſupra.

It was neceſſary to be more particular in this matter, becauſe if it ſhould appear, that Sir William Dugdale had taken the liberty of adding, or altering; every ſingle page would be liable to ſuſpicion, and the whole much weakened: for though he was extremely well verſed in our Engliſh affairs, yet it muſt be owned, that Sir Henry Spelman was a better Judge of our ancient Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions, and conſequently whatever he delivers as his opinion, will always be allowed a proportionable authority. 'Had he put, 'ſays Mr Gibſon, his laſt hand to the ſecond part, the 'Gloſſary, as it is now printed together, would have 'made a much nobler work; but the latter part, in 'compariſon of the other, is jejune and ſcanty, and 'every one muſt ſee, that it is little more than a collection of materials, out of which he intended to compoſe ſuch diſcourſes, as he has all along given us in 'the firſt part, under the words of greateſt import

'and

He told them that it was finiſhed by the Author, and that the copy was in the hands of Mr *Charles Spelman*, Grandſon to Sir Henry. They expreſſed a deſire to have it printed, and that he would prevail upon Mr *Spelman* to do it; but the grandſon excuſing himſelf on account of the expence, the two Lords procured a good number of ſubſcriptions, and referred the management of printing it to Sir *William Dugdale*, and the work was publiſhed in 1607, with a dedication to Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, by Mr *Charles Spelman*. This part, as was likely, met with a much better reception from the public than had been given to the firſt; and in ſome years was become ſo ſcarce *(ll)*, that it was thought worth while to print another edition. Our Author alſo left in manuſcript, *A ſcheme of the abbreviations, and ſuch other obſolete forms of writing, as occur in our ancient manuſcripts, to facilitate the reading of ancient books and records*; and another *Of ancient deeds and charters*; a third alſo *Of the original of teſtaments and wills, and of their probate to whom it anciently belonged*; a fourth, *Of the admiral's juriſdiction and the officers thereof*. There was likewiſe found among his papers, *A diſcourſe of the ancient government of England in general*, and another *of parliaments in particular*; and laſtly, *A catalogue of the places and dwellings of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of this realm, now or of former times, in which their ſeveral owners have ordinary juriſdiction, as of a parcel of their dioceſe, though they be ſituate within the precinct of another Biſhop's dioceſe*. This appeared to be drawn up in the reign of K. James I, for the uſe of the then Archbiſhop of Canterbury-*(mm)*. In 1625 there was publiſhed in folio, by Mr *Edmund Gibſon*, afterwards Biſhop of London, a collection of tracts, intitled *The Engliſh works of Sir* Henry Spelman. This was followed by another collection from the ſame hand, intituled *Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, The Poſthumous works of Sir* Henry Spelman, *Knt. relating to the laws and antiquities of England, publiſhed from the original manuſcripts in* 1698, folio. Theſe two collections were reprinted together in 1723, in one volume folio. In relation to Sir Henry's children, already mentioned, we have only to add, that Mr *Wheloc (nn)* aſſures us, the daughter, who was married to Sir *Ralph Whitfield*, was a Lady of uncommon talents, and every way worthy of her father; of his ſons, the youngeſt, named *Clement*, being bred to the law, was made a puiſne baron of the Exchequer upon the reſtoration of K. Charles II; and Mr *Wood* informs us *(oo)*, that he publiſhed ſome pieces relating to the government, beſides a large preface to his father's book *De non temerandis Eccleſiis* [*KK*]. He died in June, 1679, and was interred in St Dunſtan's Church in Fleetſtreet, London. Our Author's eldeſt ſon, Sir *John Spelman*, was a gentleman of great learning, inſomuch that we are told *(pp)*, if he had lived, he would have excelled his father, who ſeems to have taken extraordinary care of his education, and expreſsly left him the heir of his ſtudies. He was bred at Trinity college in Cambridge, and travelled abroad afterwards for further improvement *(qq)*. It was at his father's requeſt, that he publiſhed Alfred's Saxon Pſalter, under the title of *Pſalterium Davidis Latino-Saxonicum vetus* in 1640 in 4to *(rr)*. He had great encouragement and aſſurance of favour from K. Charles I, who, having ſent for his father, offered him the maſterſhip of Sutton's hoſpital, with ſome other advantages, in conſideration of his good ſervices both in church and ſtate: but, after his humble thanks to his Majeſty, Sir Henry told him, that he was very old, and had one foot in the grave, and that it would be a much higher obligation, if his Majeſty would pleaſe to conſider his ſon. Accordingly, very ſoon after Sir Henry's death, the King ſent for Mr Spelman, and immediately conferred on him the honour of knighthood at Whitehall, December 18, 1641 *(ss)*. After the civil war broke out, his Majeſty, by a letter under his own hand, commanded him from his houſe in Norfolk to give his attendance at Oxford, where he was often called to private council *(tt)*, and employed to write ſeveral pieces in vindication of the proceedings of the court, among which one was *A view of a printed book*, intituled Obſervations upon his Majeſty's late anſwers and epiſtles, printed at Oxford, 1642, in ſix ſheets 4to *(uu)*. He was the author likewiſe of another piece, intituled *The caſe of our affairs in law, religion, and other circumſtances, briefly examined, and preſented to the conſcience*, printed in 1643, in five

(ll) In the preface to the edition in 1637, by J. A. that editor tells us the former impreſſion was quickly bought up, and the book for ſeveral years before grown ſo ſcarce, as not to be had at any rate.

(mm) It was found in Sir Henry's library, and therefore judged by Mr Gibſon to be of his writing. Life of Sir Henry.

(nn) In his preface to Bede, as before.

(oo) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 685.

(pp) In the preface to the Latin tranſlation of the life of Alfred.

(qq) His life of K. Alfred, lib. 3. § 60.

(rr) In a letter to Mr Camden, Sir Henry expreſſes a great ſenſe of that author's favour, with many expreſſions of kindneſs, to his ſon, in a recommendation given him on his travels into France. Camden's letters, No. 226.

(ss) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 32.

(tt) Mr Obad. Walker intimates, that the King had it in his thoughts to make him Secretary of State. Pref. to Ælfred.

(uu) This was given by Mr Spelman to biſhop Barlow, who told Mr Wood of it. Ath. Ox. as before.

'and uſefulneſs. It was my good fortune to find, 'among others of his papers, two of theſe diſſerta-'tions, *De Mareſchallo Angliæ*, et *De Milite*.' Accordingly, he publiſhed them in *Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ*.

[*KK*] *A Preface to De non temerandis Eccleſiis.*] Mr Gibſon rightly obſerves (68), that it contains many things relating to Impropriations, and ſeveral things relating to the Judgments of God upon Sacrilege, which ſeems to be taken from his Father's *Hiſtory and Fate of Sacrilege*; and hence it appears, that Mr Gibſon had peruſed that treatiſe thoroughly, which makes it ſtill more unaccountable, that he ſhould take no notice of that paſſage in it, where Sir Henry mentions his being a boy at Winchelſea (69) School. The ſon, in this Preface, adds another Inſtance to thoſe of the deſtruction of the families of Nebuchadnezzar, and Henry VIII, within the fatal period of ſixty-eight years; obſerving, that what the Author notes of Nebuchadnezzar and Henry VIII, is alſo true of William the Conqueror; for that in the ſixty-eighth year after his deſtroying St Peter's Church at York, which was in his ſecond year, his name is extinct, and his kingdom devolved to another nation, Plantagenet takes his Crown (70).

Mr Spelman lived in great friendſhip, and was much reſpected by Dr John Berwick, who upon the dawn of the Reſtoration, having a correſpondence with Chancellor Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, took an opportunity to mention him in one of his letters to that Miniſter, then in the higheſt favour with King Charles II, and the Chancellor returned the following anſwer, in a letter dated February 20, 1660. 'I do thank you 'with all my heart, for giving me an opportunity of 'ſending my ſervice to Clement Spelman, whom I 'know to be a very worthy perſon, and whoſe affec-'tion the King is obliged to reward, which he re-'ſolves to do. I pray remember my ſervice very kind-'ly to him, and let him know, that I did receive the 'books long ſince, with a very great ſenſe of the obli-'gation, and did return my acknowledgments by the 'laſt three letters to Dr Ryves, which it ſeems he never 'received. I have had froward fortune with reſpect to 'Clement Spelman, to whom I heard, a gentleman 'without any authority from me did very impertinently and abſurdly deliver a compliment in my 'name; and all thoſe ways by which I did, in truth, 'endeavour to let him know how much I am his ſer-'vant, have been diſappointed.

'I pray know of him, whether his father left any 'advance in the Gloſſary (71).

(68) P. 24. Edit. 1688.

(69) Upon enquiry, I am aſſured there is no town in Norfolk of this name; whence it is probably an Error of the preſs for one of thoſe, whoſe firſt ſyllable is Winch, of which there are many in the county. However, this uncertainty may account for Dr Gibſon's ſilence.

(70) Speed's Hiſtory of Great Britain, fol. 46.

(71) Life of Dr John Berwick, &c. p. 457. Edit. 1721, 8vo.

ſheets

(ww) See more of this article in the Supplement, communicated too late for a place here by Edward Spelman, Eſq; a gentleman of an ample fortune, and diſtinguiſhed learning, and great grandſon of Clement, the youngeſt ſon of Sir Henry.

ſheets 4to. But while he was thus attending the affairs of the public, and, when thoſe would give him leave, his own private ſtudies, he was ſeized with the camp-diſeaſe at Brazen-noſe college, where he had reſided while he was at Oxford, which put an end to his life, July 25, 1644. He was interred in St Mary's, the univerſity church, Archbiſhop *Uſher*, an intimate acquaintance both of father and ſon, preaching his funeral ſermon by his Majeſty's eſpecial order *(ww)*. He left a manuſcript of *The life of K. Alfred the great* [*LL*], in Engliſh, which was tranſlated into Latin ſome time after the Reſtoration by Mr *Chriſtopher Waſe*, ſuperior beadle of the civil law at Oxford, which tranſlation, with notes and cuts by Mr *Obadiah Walker*, maſter of Univerſity college, was publiſhed from the theatre preſs in 1679, folio. The original Engliſh was alſo publiſhed from the ſame preſs by Mr *Thomas Hearne* in 1709, 8vo *(xx)*.

(ww) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*LL*] *The Life of King Alfred.*] It is dedicated to the Prince, afterwards King Charles II, and divided into three books. The Author intended to put ſome additions by way of Appendix; as particularly the Preface to Ælfred's tranſlation of Gregory's Paſtoral, directed to Wicefort, then Biſhop of London (72); but as no ſuch thing appeared in the manuſcript, Mr Obadiah Walker put it to the end of his Latin tranſlation, as alſo a pedigree from that King to King Charles II, in two parts; one from Ælfred to Henry II, of the Engliſh line; and the other from Henry II, to King James I, of the Scottiſh line, and thence to King Charles II: of which deſcent Mr Spelman had taken notice, both in his Dedication to the King, then Prince of Wales, and at the end of his Hiſtory. Mr Hearne, ſpeaking of theſe additions by Mr Walker in the Appendix, ſays (73) he had ſeen them quoted by ſome learned men, as being the addition of Sir John Spelman himſelf. This hiſtory occaſioned ſeveral things to be wrote, and one eſpecially by Anthony Wood, in his *Hiſt. et Antiquat. Univ. Oxon.* in defence of the Antiquity of the Univerſity of Oxford, which he will have (as well as Mr Hearne) to have been a Nurſery for Academical Learning before the time of King Alfred, who, they both ſay (74) after Mr Camden, was only the Reſtorer of it: contrary to what is here largely argued by Sir John Spelman (75), who maintains that Ælfred was not the Reſtorer (there being no ſuch thing as an Univerſity before him) but abſolutely the Firſt Founder of it. Our Author ſhuts up his hiſtory with theſe elegant Latin Verſes, well worthy of a place here, as follows.

(72) See lib. ii. §. 66.

(73) At the end of his Edition of this hiſtory.

(74) See Mr Hearne's long note upon this point at § 34.

(75) He ſpends almoſt the greateſt part of the third book upon this Argument, from § 20. to § 64. the whole book containing 122 ſections.

Auctoris ad Ælfredem ſuam.

Dum Te perpetuo Gens barbara Marte fatigat,
Nec vacat (Armipotens Ælfred) ab hoſte manus;
Et dum barbaries (belli comitata furorem)
Corripit heu! Sacri quicquid in Orbe fuit;
Jura, Dei cultus, Mores, bona dulcia pacis,
Muſæ, Artes, Merces, *Te* faciente, vigent.
Magne Pater Patriæ Regum Regnique Britanni
Quantus eras, vetitum jam fore ſcire dolet.
O quam mente capax! O quam virtute coruſcus!
Exſuperant noſtram quam tua facta fidem!
Culmina ſumma tenus diadema Nepotibus auctum
Tradis, permodicum quod fuit ante Tibi.
O qui fit (virtute parem quum vix tulit Orbis)
Te mundo tantum delituiſſe tenus!
Maluit hoc ſiquidem fatum ignorare Nepotes,
Res potius quam non credere poſſe tuas.

SPENCER, [Dr JOHN] a learned Divine in the XVIIth Century, was a native of Boſton under Bleane in Kent, where he was baptized October 31, 1630 *(a)*. While an infant, he loſt his father, who leaving him in very narrow circumſtances, the care and expence of his education was undertaken by an uncle; and being ſent to the free-ſchool at Canterbury, he made a very quick proficiency, became King's ſcholar, and, at the age of fourteen, was recommended by Mr Jackſon, then the only Prebendary of that church, to a ſcholarſhip of Archbiſhop Parker's foundation in Corpus-Chriſti college in Cambridge [*A*], into which he was admitted on the 25th of March, 1645 *(b)*. He applied himſelf diligently to his ſtudies, under his Tutor, Mr Richard Kennet [*B*]; and, having taken both his degrees in

(a) Lewis's Antiquities of Feverſham, &c. p. 17. edit. 1727. 4to; and Jones's ſchool-feaſt ſermon, p. 17. edit. 1728.

(b) Hiſtory of Corpus-Chriſti college in Cambridge, by Rob. Maſters, p. 163. Camb. 1753, 4to.

[*A*] *He was recommended by Mr Jackſon, &c.*] The letter was drawn up in theſe terms.

'To the right worſhipfull my reverend good friend,
'Richard Love, Doctor in Divinitie, and Maſter of
'Benet Collegue in Cambridge. Theſe preſents.

'Reverend Sir,

'This great ſtorme hath ſo ſcattered the members 'of this ſociety, that my poore ſelf hath long been left 'alone, to the great prejudice of the church, both in 'domeſtick and forrein occaſions; among others, we 'have heard, (though not after the wonted legall and 'loving reſpect) that there is a Scholar's place voide in 'your college (to preſent whereunto you have been 'pleaſed to afford the Dean and Prebendaries of this 'Church the honour and reſpect.) If ſo, I cannot but 'humblie commend to your pious and charitable con'ſideration this Bearer, *John Spencer*, a King's Schollar 'in this our Cathedral Schoole; wherein, as he hath 'bene commendably proficient, ſo his Parents and 'Friends are of that worthe and reſpecte, that theyr 'help concurring, may afford him a competencye to 'traine him up for that he moſt deſyreth. And this 'I preſume the reſt of my brethren, if at home, would 'have ſubſcribed.

'Your true Friend and Servant,

C. C. C. Nov. 3, 1644 (1). 'Thomas Jackſon.'

(1) Maſters. Hiſt. of C.C.C.C. as above, in the Append. No. 4.

[*B*] *Under his Tutor, Mr. Richard Kennet.*] Our Author always retained a great regard for this gentleman, and not without good reaſon. In reality his perſonal worth, though an Antiroyaliſt, was ſuch as deſerves ſome memorial of it. He was a native of Kent, and educated at the King's School at Canterbury, was admitted a Sizer of Bennet College, 3 Feb. 1636, and nominated to a ſcholarſhip belonging to that ſchool by Archbiſhop Laud, 7 July, 1640, with the character of *a ſtudious and towardly young man* (2). He took the degree of A. B. ſoon after, and proceeded to A. M. in 1644, being about that time put into a fellowſhip upon the ejectment of one *Tonſtall* by the Aſſembly of Divines, when he commenced Tutor, and had Dr Spencer for one of his Pupils. He was *Taxer* of the Univerſity, and one of their Preachers in 1648, but was removed from his fellowſhip in 1650 for refuſing the engagement, telling the Viſitors *he had always been faithful to the Parliament, and was preferred by them, and is now of the ſame principles he was, but could not ſatisfy himſelf in this particular* (3). However, he was reſtored to his fellowſhip in 1654, by an Ordinance of Parliament (4). He commenced B. D. the following year, and preſented Buxtorf's Hebrew Lexicon and Concordance to the Library of the College, which he probably left upon his inſtitution to the vicarage of *Eaſt-Hatley* in Cambridgſhire; from whence, upon another change of times, he was ejected, by the Bartholomew Act, in 1663. Whereupon his friend Mr Stillingfleet (afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter, but) then Rector of *Sutton* in Bedfordſhire aſſiſted him in taking a large houſe in his pariſh, where having provided a Conformiſt Teacher, he ſet up a private ſchool, and had many Gentlemen's ſons committed to his care. And ſo well was he reſpected by them, that upon his

(2) From the Original, under the Archbiſhop's ſeal. Printed in Grey's Anſwer to Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. III. p. 147.

(3) Calamy's Account of ejected Miniſters, Vol. II. p. 118. and Vol. III. p. 151.

(4) Maſters, as before, p. 151. who obſerves, that Calamy, according to his uſual diſingenuity, takes no notice, either of the manner of his being put in, or of his being reſtored, p. 325.

in Arts at the regular periods (c), he was choſen Fellow of his college about the year 1655. In this ſtation, the ſtraitneſs of his fortune ſtill requiring induſtry to provide a competent ſupport [C], he undertook the inſtruction of pupils; and, entering into holy orders, he ſerved the cures, firſt of St Gyles, and then of St Benedict, in Cambridge. Theſe employs put him upon exerting his talents in the pulpit, and he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much there, that, after ſome time, he was appointed Univerſity Preacher. In 1659 he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity; and, as I do not find that he met with any diſturbance in the poſſeſſion of his Fellowſhip, it is probable that he followed the example of Dr Love, then Maſter of the College (d), who is ſaid to have acquieſced in moſt of the meaſures that were taken during the Uſurpation, without any wiſe approving them [D]. Accordingly, Mr Spencer joined heartily in the general joy at the Reſtoration, and June 28, 1660, being appointed a Day of Thankſgiving for it, he preached the ſermon on that occaſion before the Univerſity, which was printed the ſame year at Cambridge in 4to, under the title of *The Righteous Ruler*. In the ſame ſpirit he drew up a Preſervative againſt the malicious attempts of the Nonconformiſt Fanatics, who, in a periodical paper, entituled *Mirabilis annus*, printed in 1660, and the two following years, with a deſign to overturn the newly reſtored ancient eſtabliſh-

(c) *Viz.* That of A. B. in 1648, and A. M. in 1652. Ibid.

(d) See the account of him in the article of Abp Teniſon.

Aſſiſtant's leaving him, he was connived at in taking the whole charge upon himſelf, with only his Wife's ſon for an Uſher. He was excellently fitted for this employment, and his death, which happened on the 23d of January, 1670, was accordingly lamented. He was buried in the chancel of Sutton Church, and Mr *Stephens*, the Miniſter thereof, preached his funeral ſermon, wherein he gave him the character of a moderate man, both in principles and practice, who was generous in his temper, free and communicative in his converſation, and although he did not chuſe to conform in all things, yet was a conſtant attendant upon the public ſervice of the Church. He bore his laſt ſickneſs, which was a fever, with great patience and ſubmiſſion to the Divine Will; and as his life had been upright, ſo his end was peace. He was nearly related to Mr Baſil Kennet, Vicar of Poſtling in Kent, the Father of White Kennet, Biſhop of Peterborough, and of Baſil Kennet, Preſident of Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford. He left a widow behind him in low circumſtances, to whom Dr Spencer was very kind for his ſake, having frequently viſited him as long as he lived (5).

(5) Ibid. p. 167.

[C] *His narrow fortune required induſtry to provide a ſupport.*] This is not ſaid with any view of detracting from the juſt merit of his induſtry, of which it is certainly no diſparagement to ſuppoſe it to be quickened by the ſpur of neceſſity, ariſing from the extraordinary criſis of his affairs at this juncture. We have already obſerved, that his Father leaving him young, and in very narrow circumſtances, he was brought up at the expence of an Uncle. But this Uncle, who had kept an exact account of all the diſburſements for his education, dying ſoon after he was choſen Fellow, and in a way of getting his own living, without having cancelled this legal demand upon him, it was made by the Uncle's Sons and Executors in ſo rigorous a manner, that not being able to raiſe the money himſelf, he was forced to communicate his diſtreſs to his friends in the Society (among whom was Dr Teniſon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury) who generouſly made a loan, which diſcharged the debt (6).

(6) Ibid. p. 168. note (k).

[D] *He ſubmitted to the Uſurpation, without approving it.*] We have already given one remarkable inſtance of our Author's conduct, which ſhews that no change was made in his firſt friendſhips to deſerving perſons, by their differing from him in the ſubject of Conformity to the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhment. And as this is not the leaſt amiable part of his character, we ſhall here produce another proof of it in the perſon of one Mr Thomas Hill, of whom we have the following account. That he was educated at Repton School in Derbyſhire, his native country; was ſent thence to Bennet College, and admitted a Sizer in September 1645, where after performing the office of Chapel-clerk, and a continuance of four years, he proceeded A. B. But upon the *Engagement*, which he did not approve, being impoſed upon ſcholars, he choſe to leave the Univerſity to avoid it, and became Chaplain to the Counteſs of Cheſterfield at Tamworth-Caſtle. He was ordained by the claſſical preſbytery at Wirkſworth in 1652, commenced a Preacher firſt at Elvaſton in Derbyſhire, from whence he was called to Orton on the Hill in Leiceſterſhire, where he continued (allowing the fifths to the ſequeſtered Miniſter, Mr Porter) till the Reſtoration, when the latter was again put into poſſeſſion by an Order from the Houſe of Lords. But the ſmall Living of *Shathington* in Warwickſhire being vacant about that time, he was preſented to it by the ſon of his Patroneſs abovementioned; which, although the five miles Act and ſome others ſoon rendered him incapable of ſerving perſonally, yet he got it ſupplied by another, of whoſe nonconformity no notice was taken whilſt his Patron continued to him the Corntythes belonging to himſelf, and all other profits. He removed however to a houſe of his own at *Lee-Grange*, near Orton, where he frequently preached to a crowded audience; and by uſing prudence, gained an opportunity of exerciſing his miniſtry, without diſturbance; whilſt ſome others were moleſted, and met with ſuch treatment as diſcouraged both them and their people. His labours of this kind after his ejectment, (which happened when his parts were well ripened and ſtrengthened) were ſuppoſed to haſten his death (although otherwiſe of a firm and healthy conſtitution) which overtook him about the fiftieth year of his age. In his perſon he is deſcribed of ſtature ſomewhat low, with black hair, a graceful countenance and features, ſeeming indications of the capacity and virtues of his mind; wherein he was diſtinguiſhed by a profound judgment, and a general knowledge in literature: at his firſt admiſſion in the College, his ſkill in the learned languages was ſuperior to moſt, and afterwards the errors in philoſophy, ſince inſiſted on by Mr Lock and others, did not eſcape his obſervation. Nor was he unacquainted with the Mathematics, although Metaphyſics was his favourite ſtudy. He was well verſed in Hiſtory in general, and Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity in particular; and ſuch a thorough knowledge had he of the Scriptures, that in his Sermons (wherein was nothing ordinary, but ſomething always new) he had a mighty felicity in unfolding its more recondite parts, to the no ſmall Entertainment as well as Edification of his Auditors. But his Labours were not confined to the pulpit, for being deſirous of doing all the good he could, he alſo inſtructed his people privately and perſonally, which he thought the duty of every Overſeer of a flock. He was much reſpected by his neighbours and many other conſiderable perſons, whether Conformiſts or Nonconformiſts, who all agreed in acknowledging his worth, and always paid the greateſt deference to his opinion. He never indeed printed any thing himſelf, but he frequently gave his ſentiments upon the writings of others; and ſo much was he admired for the maſculine and unaffected eloquence in his diſcourſes, as well as for his clear and pleaſing voice, that he was invited to ſucceed Mr Blake at Tamworth, which however he thought fit to decline: and ſo great a contempt had he for the world and its emoluments, that when he was ſollicited to preach before the *Protector*, and offered to be recommended to his favour, he refuſed it. In ſhort, he was a perſon of true piety, candour, and ſincerity; who to an indefatigable induſtry in his Studies and the buſineſs of his Calling, added an univerſal charity (7).

(7) Calamy, as before, Vol. II. P. 745. and Continuation, Vol. IV. p. 845. Kennet's Hiſtor. Reg. 896, 917.

With this gentleman, who was admitted of Bennet College about the ſame time with himſelf, Dr Spencer contracted an early and intimate acquaintance, which, notwithſtanding their differing notions about Conformity, continued to the end of *Hill*'s life; as appears by a correſpondence of Letters referred to by *Calamy*, wherein the Doctor expreſſes a high regard and affection for him; and made him ſome kind and generous offers, whenever he ſhould have a ſon fit to ſend to the Univerſity. His charity indeed to Nonconformiſt miniſters, if good and pious men, was, it ſeems, ſo extenſive, that he, with the learned Dr *Henry More*, made one of them [Mr *Robert Wilſon*] their Almoner, in this branch of it (8).

(8) Maſters Hiſt. &c. p. 168.

ment of the church and ſtate, as a ſcheme which was bringing down God's judgments on the Nation. Dr Spencer's preſervative was publiſhed under the title of, *A diſcourſe concerning prodigies: wherein the vanity of preſages by them is reprehended, and their true and proper uſe aſſerted and vindicated* [*E*], in 1663, 8vo; and, to complete this view, he added a further

[*E*] *A Diſcourſe concerning Prodiges, &c.*] However mouldy with age this vulgar error may be grown at preſent, ſo as to have loſt every inducement to handle it; yet that was far from being the caſe, when it was expoſed in this piece, by our Author. He declares, that his thoughts were engaged upon the argument by a conſideration of the ſeaſonableneſs thereof. 'We
(9) In the Pref. towards the concluſion, ſecond Edition.
'have of late, ſays he (9), been perſuaded by three 'or four ſeveral impreſſions of books (more than were 'ever vented in any ethnick or Chriſtian Common-'wealth, in a much longer period of time) that Eng-'land is grown Africa, and preſents us every year, 'ſince the return of his Majeſty, with a new ſcene of 'monſtrous and ſtrange ſights; and all held forth to 'the people, like black clouds before a ſtorm, the 'harbingers of ſome ſtrange and unuſual plagues, ap-'proaching to the ſtate. And this by Perſons (for the 'Prefaces ſpeak in the plural) pretending an intimacy 'with Scripture, Fathers, Greek and Latin, Ancient 'and Modern Writers; an example more juſtly me-'riting the public wonder, than any thoſe books con-'tain; but that the nation (like the womb of Rebeckah) 'carries ſuch ſtriving and conteſting parties therein. 'The Poets (proceeds he) feign the Giants, the Sons 'of Earth, to have bidden battle to the Gods, and to 'have periſhed by a thunderbolt, in the confidence of 'that attempt; and the Earth, their mother, to re-'venge the death of her ſons, to have brought forth 'their laſt ſiſter, Fame. A fable expounded by the 'excellent Verulam, of unquiet and ſeditious perſons '(a kind of *Filii Terræ*, the creatures of the people, 'uſually envious againſt their Rulers, and ſoon weary 'of the preſent ſtate of things) who when cruſhed and 'ruined in their attempts againſt the Gods on earth, 'their rightful Governors, their fall is avenged by a '*Fama querula et ſeditioſa* (a feminine ſedition), popular 'clamours, libels, odious repreſentations of them to 'derive upon them the common envy; with which 'may be numbered the report of ſtrange prodigies or 'prophecies, giving hopes of ſome approaching change 'of affairs: an obſervation which I am ſure will offend 'none that are ſtudious of that ſacred character, *Perſons* '*which are quiet in the land.*' Here we ſee the treatiſes, mentioned above, plainly intimated; but they are expreſsly named in the body of the work, which he opens with a diviſion of prodigies in general, into *ſignal* and *penal*; after which, entering into particulars, he begins with Comets, as generally thought the moſt plauſible pretenders to the honour of prophetic ſymbols, eſpecially with regard to public calamities, as the deaths of ſovereign Princes, &c. And having ſhewn this to be a very unſafe pretence, he proceeds to maintain, that it is alſo a very falſe one. 'For, ſays he, there ſure have 'happened many deaths of Princes never honoured 'with the ſolemnity of any precedent Comet, or other 'objects of wonder, and many Comets which never 'ſeemed to blaſt the affairs of the world by any envious 'and malignant aſpect thereupon: *Almoſt four years* '*and a half, continues he, are paſſed from us ſince the* '*Nation was firſt alarmed with the dreadful news of* '*ſtrange ſights in heaven and earth, and yet (with all* '*due thankfulneſs to God be it ſpoken) never did theſe three* '*national felicities*, PEACE, HEALTH, PLENTY, *more* '*bleſs our habitations in any much longer period of time:* '*ſo that we have almoſt ſeen the* ANNUS MIRABILIS
(10) P. 102.
'*happily refuted by a* SECULUM MIRABILE (10).'

In purſuing the ſubject, alluding to the ſtory of Samſon, he obſerves, that it was much more difficult to find out the lock in which the ſtrength of this error
(11) Chap. V. Sect. 1. p. 505.
lay, than it was, when found, to cut it off (11). To make this diſcovery is therefore his firſt and principal taſk; and, in that inquiry, having, with no ordinary ſagacity and inſight into human nature, laid open the ſeveral weakneſſes and foibles therein, which give root to this pernicious weed, he proceeds to ſhew how abundantly it is watered from the ſpring of Authority. In which reſpect he obſerves, that it may be called the error of the world, having been juſtified by the united ſuffrages of Jews, Gentiles, Chriſtians, ancient, modern, learned, and ſimple. 'As for the Jews, ſays he, if a 'good law be any indication of bad manners, we may 'conclude them not free from the infection of this error. 'God enjoyned that *there ſhould not be found among* '*them any that uſed divination, or an obſerver of times* (12), 'מְעוֹנֵן, which the LXX renders by τηρητὴν καιρῶν, 'a regarder of prodigies and ſtrange accidents. And 'we find them, upon the appearance of armed troops 'in the air, a little before the approach of Antiochus, 'praying *that the omen might be turned to good* (13).' However the Heathens were leavened with this fond notion, the very names and titles, *Monſtra, Oſtenta, Prodigia, Portenta*, whereby they uſed to expreſs any anomalous inſtances of nature, are but too pregnant a demonſtration, all of them carrying in their original a promiſe of foreſhewing ſomewhat future (14). Among thoſe he expreſsly cites Herodotus (15), Livy (16), Valerius Maximus (17), Plutarch in his Lives (18), Dio Caſſius (19), Pliny (20), Tacitus (21), Ammian. Marcell. (22), and affirms it of all the other Hiſtorians, Polybius only excepted; and he too, upon the expectations of an encounter with Hannibal, tells us (a matter not uſual with him) that every temple was full of ſigns and prodigies (23): as alſo of Virgil (24), Lucan (25), Ovid (26), among the Poets. Of the Chriſtians he produces Tertullian, who calls a Vulcano *teſtimonium igni æterno*; and St *Auſtin* (27), though, to do him right, ſays he, I find none ſo expreſs as Origen, who, ſpeaking concerning Comets, tells us, *it hath been obſerved*, Ἐπὶ μεγάλοις τεθνήξεσι παράλημασι, &c. *that ſo often as any eminent changes happen in the earth, ſuch ſtars have been known to ariſe; foreſhewing the tranſlation of kingdoms, or wars, or whatever may happen of force ſufficient for any great commotions here below* (28). Among learned, modern Authors, to paſs over ſome of our firſt Reformers, as Luther, Melanchthon, and others, he finds Grotius himſelf ſpeaking of Comets, Vulcanoes, and the like, as ſigns which uſually precede great changes of affairs (29). Nay even Machiavel and Pomponatius (the latter an avowed Atheiſt, and the former generally thought a more faſt retainer to Atheiſm than Superſtition) both abetted the obſervance of prodigies (30). Laſtly, as to the ſimple and common ſort of people, Prodigy hath always appeared to them as a word clothed about with Death, and a Comet creates them more ſolemn thoughts than Hell. With theſe may be ranked the Compilers of the Sibylline Oracles, whoſe heads are for the moſt part ſo full crammed and ſtuffed with reading, as to leave no room for common judgment (31); but are occaſionally mentioned by our Author, without, as not worthy of, any further notice: of the ſame ſtamp are alſo the Authors cited in the margin (32). But being apprehenſive that the authority of a Divine of our own Church, Dr Jackſon, on account of his ſignal piety and great learning, might have a greater influence, than all the reſt put together, upon the people, whom he was endeavouring to undeceive, he taſks himſelf to diſcuſs the reaſoning at large of that worthy Author, who ſo far received prodiges ὡς Θεῖα κηρύγματα, as God's viſible Sermons of Repentance, that we are informed he wrote a juſt treatiſe (loſt in his life-time) concerning *Prodigies, or Divine Forewarnings betokening Blood* (33).
'As to which, ſays Dr Spencer, I profeſs myſelf not 'greatly tempted to follow its caſual loſs with any 'deep ſighs, and that not only becauſe men's under-'ſtandings have been too much undervalued by books 'of that nature, already extant, to a number ſufficient 'to a cure of the moſt troubleſome curioſity in ſuch 'inquiries. But becauſe the few prodigies and ſigns 'of the times, commended with great ſeriouſneſs to 'our notice in his Sermons on Luke (34) (taken for the 'moſt part out of Herodotus, Livy, Valerius Maximus, 'and Machiavel) will appear to any man that does not 'uſe to ſtart at ſhadows, too thin and weak to bear 'up any ſuch weighty and ſerious concluſions, as he 'teacheth his Reader to build upon them (the know-'ledge whereof I had rather ſhould be owing to the 'Reader's curioſity, than to my rehearſal.) Now, I 'think, we may make ſome judgment of the value of 'the whole piece, by the coarſeneſs of a remnant 'thereof (35). Becauſe it deſigned an *Errorum Apo-'teoſis*, a kind of conſecration of the greateſt part of 'the errors and follies of the Gentile Superſtition, as 'appear, in a high degree of probability, from thoſe 'words which fall from him in the forecited papers; 'where (ſpeaking of ſuch kind of portenta and ſigns of 'heaven, at which the Heathens uſed to be diſmayed)
'he

(12) Deut. xviii. 10, 11.
(13) 2 Maccab. v. 4.
(14) Monſtra a monſtrando quod aliquod ſignificando demonſtrent, Oſtenta ab oſtendendo, Portenta a portendendo id eſt præoſtendendo, et Prodigia quod futura prædicant. S. Auguſt. De Civit. Dei lib. 28. c. 8. and Cicero, de Divin. lib. 1.
(15) L. 6. c. 27. & l. 7. c. 57.
(16) Ubique.
(17) De prodigiis.
(18) Frequenter.
(19) Lib. 3. p. 262.
(20) Nat. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 84.
(21) Hiſt. l. 5.
(22) Lib. 21.
(23) Hiſt. l. 3.
(24) Georg. l. 1. ſub fine.
(25) Pharſ. l. 1. c. 12.
(26) Metam. l. 15.
(27) De Civit. Dei, l. 3. c. 23.
(28) Origen in Celſum, l. 1. p. 45.
(29) Notes in Prophet Joel. c. ii. 30.
(30) Machiav. Diſp. l. 1. c. 56. Pompon. de Incant. c. 12. Alſo the French Hiſtorian relates ſeveral ſtrange events in nature precedaneous to the aſſaſſination of Henry IV. of France. Hiſt. de Henry le Grand, p. 51c. 8vo.
(31) See Remarks on Eccleſ. Hiſtory, by Mr Jortin, p. 283, 328. Vol. I.
(32) Kircher's Muſurgia. Cornelius Gemma de natura charact. Gaſpar Schottus Phyſic. curioſ. Pagianus de penitentia et confeſſ. Nehuſius's Fatidica Sacra. Joh. Polycarp. tract. tragic. Camerarius de Oſſentis. Penet's Teratoſcop. Nuncius Prophet. Crollius in præf. ad Baſilic. chym. Lavater de Spectris. Cornelius a Lapide Comment in Maccab. l. 2. Gaffarell's Unheard of Curioſities, paſſim. Chriſtoph. a Caſtro de Vatic. Naturali. Cabeus Meteor. Johnſton Thaumatol. Syneſius περὶ ἐνυπνίων.
(33) Vid. Preface to his book of the Eternal Truth of Scripture, Edit. 1653.
(34) Ch. xiii. 5. and c. xxi. 25.
(35) P. 26.

a further reproof of their pretended Prophets in *A ſhort treatiſe concerning Vulgar Prophecies* [*F*], which was ſubjoined to the ſecond edition of the former piece in 1665, 8vo. He

' he thus delivers himſelf. *Though to believe as much concerning the ſigns of the times as the Heathens did; though to make as good, or better uſe of them than they did, be not ſufficient to acquit us from ruin and deſtruction foreſignified; yet not to believe as much as they did, not to make ſo good uſe as they did, not to be ſo much affected as they were, is enough, and more than enough, to condemn us, enough to bring that ruin and calamity, which they portend or foreſignify, inevitably and in full meaſure upon us.* A ſtrange ſpeech! What is this at beſt, but to ſet Chriſtians *aurum colligere ex ſtercore* (36), to gather the gold of devout fears, and chriſtian foreſights from the dung and droſs of all the ethnic *Oſtenta*, and auſpicious obſervations, wherever occurring? In proceeding, our Author enumerates the many bad uſes, inſtead of any good ones, which the Heathens made of theſe things, and then aſks, Where did we ever find that theſe pretended alarms from heaven did waken them out of that profound ſleep, into which in the darker times of Gentiliſm they were fallen, and perſuade them, or any others into a correction of their lives and manners? Upon theſe accounts, continues our Author, were I inclined to an obſervation of Omens and Prodigies, I ſhould (as Prodigies uſed to be differently interpreted) make an inverted uſe of the Reverend Publiſher of the Doctor's Work, [*Reader, write this Prodigy, That this treatiſe alone concerning Prodigies ſhould be loſt, and that in the Author's life-time* (37),] and conclude, that God in favour to the underſtandings of men, provided that, like the dead body of Moſes, it ſhould lie buried, none knowing where, that ſo it might not be made an Idol of, which perhaps the reverence of ſo great a name, might have inclined ſome unto. For the prevention of which miſchief, having declared further, that the Doctor's Error might be eaſily pardoned to his ſingular piety and learning, the light and luſtre of which, like that of the ſun, may eaſily hide any of his ſpots and blemiſhes from the ſeverer eyes and notices of the world; he obſerves, that great minds, like the heavenly bodies, though they are moved, for the main, with the force of the *primum mobile*, the weight and evidence of truth; yet they appear ſometimes to have their *declinationes proprias*, ſome private motions and declinations of their own, to which their peculiar genius, impreſſions from the age, or their education, may very fatally betray them. This opinion of Prodigies and Signs of Events future, which the general ſtrain of his writings ſpeaks his mind hugely poſſeſſed and dyed withal, I am ready to reckon among thoſe *Idola ſpecus*, falſe notions, which the black and melancholy manſion his excellent ſoul appears to have dwelt in, did abuſe his mind withal. Any Events extraordinary in the world, ſeem all along to have had a great impreſſion upon his ſoul, and ſeem expounded ſometimes with a little more ſolemnity, than their juſt value and moment will well warrant and allow. Melancholy is of a very impreſſive temper, and poetick nature, and is apt, like a dark room, to receive in the images of objects without, in very monſtrous and antick figures, and repreſentations. The Greek Phyſician (38) hath noted of perſons acted by it, that εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν τρέπονται, they are eaſily turned to ſuperſtition.' Our Author concludes theſe animadverſions with the following Apology. ' I ſhould not have here ſpoken ſo much, not to his, but my own prejudice, of ſo reverend a Perſon, but that I am deſirous to cut off all the locks, wherein I can but conceive the ſtrength of this ſuperſtitious perſuaſion may lie, which (as weeds do by good grounds) tends but to eat out the heart and ſtrength of that devout fear, from which it ſeems to ſpring (39).' In like manner, this extract of it, long as it is, may, it is hoped, not be thought tedious or impertinent, as it ſupplies an omiſſion in Dr Jackſon's Article, where this weakneſs or defect in that great and good man's Judgment being paſſed over in a dead ſilence, might ſerve to impeach our work of want of impartiality in reſpect to his character. At the ſame time, to avoid the like imputation with regard to the ſubject of this Article, let it be obſerved, that Dr Spencer himſelf, while he is labouring to ſhame this ſpecies of ſuperſtition, will ſeem, to ſome perſons at leaſt, not to have purged his mind wholly from the leaven of every tincture of it, whilſt he is found, for inſtance, in ſpeaking of the Appearances of Good Angels (40), which he maintains to be rarely given; ' I ſay, continues he, rarely, not never, leſt I ſhould ſpeak without book. To omit ſome very probable relations of this nature, that apparition is uſually thought an Herald from heaven, which amidſt a great attendance came and adviſed *James* the Fourth of *Scotland*, in whoſe Councils at that time the concerns of a nation were wrapt, to forbear ſome evil practices, but eſpecially the fighting of his intended battle with the Engliſh, in theſe words, *Rex ego ad te miſſus ſum, ut te admoneam ne quo inſtituiſti progrediaris; quam admonitionem ſi neglexeris, non erit e Re Tua nec Eorum qui te comitabuntur*, which council he neglecting, himſelf with moſt of his Nobles and Army fell in that fatal battle (41).' Neither will that opinion, although eſpouſed and defended painfully by a late learned and ingenious writer (42), paſs altogether without the cenſure of a too eaſy credulity from ſome, where he aſſerts, that when the Jews, in the aſſiſtance of Julian the Emperor, aſſayed the reſtoring of their ruined Temple, and ſo to oppoſe Moſes to Chriſt, God *miraculouſly* determined the controverſy. It is ſupported too by the ſame argument, which is chiefly inſiſted on by his Follower in anſwer to ſome other alledged inſtances of a like Divine Interpoſition, viz. ' that none of theſe (to uſe our Author's own words) reach this ſingular one in any points and angles of ſimilitude, and that the diſpute at Jeruſalem was not (as in thoſe) between Paul and Cephas, but between God and Belial; and thirdly, that Judaiſm and Gentiliſm were cauſes evidently devoted in Scripture, and the Judgments following them, were but the accompliſhments of its predictions, and the executions of a Scripture Sentence upon them (43).' To the like charge of credulity in our Author is liable his aſſertion, that the Earthquake, Thunder and Lightning, by which the Heathen Temple was deſtroyed, were produced by a miraculous Divine Interpoſition, as alſo that terrible fire, as he juſtly calls it, which iſſued out of the ground in the ſecond year, not long after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and the Jewiſh Temple, and laid in aſhes the Temples of *Jupiter Capitolinus, Neptune, Iſis, Serapis, the Pantheon*, and their other devoted places; ' ſo ſtrange an inſtance, ſays he, that the Ethnick Hiſtorian makes this Judgment thereupon *Malum id Divinum potius quum humanum videtur fuiſſe* (44).' However, theſe ſlips, if they are ſuch, may be eaſily pardoned upon ſo arduous a ſubject as that of tracing the various ſteps of Providence in the moral government of the world. Whilſt we ſee the general, the pernicious error, ſo incident to human nature, of preſaging by Prodigies, completely hunted through all its many windings, and ferretted out of every cover, which either a perverſe wit, or an abuſed learning, could ſuggeſt to ſkreen it. To do this effectually (as it is done by our Author) required a larger ſtock of Learning, directed by a more ſolid Judgment, and pointed with a brighter Wit. And in doing this, he has alſo occaſionally interſperſed the work with ſeveral collateral remarks, and dropt ſuch excellent hints, as have proved highly ſerviceable to the reputation of thoſe who have proſecuted them. For inſtance, in ſpeaking of the ſeveral ſtrange alterations conſequent to the murder of Cæſar, and precedent to the battle at Philippi, recorded with the moſt ſolemn regards of the Heathen Poet (45); he obſerves, that theſe Prodigies as much commanded the ſerious fears, and ſolemn obſervations of many Chriſtians, at the time of his writing this book, as they did of the Heathens heretofore; and having aſcribed this to the great power and authority of a traditional ſuperſtition, as the moſt eaſy and natural account of it, he proceeds thus: ' *But that which might poſſibly much aſſiſt this tradition, was the ſucceeding of Rome Chriſtian as into the place, ſo into very many of the rites and uſages of Rome Pagan, as might be eaſily made appear at large, were that our buſineſs* (46).' I doubt not but the Reader's eye is already caſt upon Dr Conyers Middleton's *Letter from* Rome, *ſhewing an exact conformity between Popery and Paganiſm, &c.* which is eſteemed the beſt performance of his upon the ſubject of Religion (47).

[*F*] *A Diſcourſe concerning Vulgar Prophecies, &c.*] The whole title runs thus, *A Diſcourſe concerning Vulgar Prophecies, wherein the Vanity of receiving them as the certain Indications of any future Event, is diſcovered, and ſome Characters of diſtinction between true and pretended Prophets, are laid down.* In the Preface he obſerves, ' that among the many giddy fancies and errors of the ' late

(36) As Virgil ſaid he did when reading Ennius.

(37) In the Preface before-cited.

(38) Aretæus Cappadox, c. De Melanch. which, by the bye, is generally reputed the beſt chapter in the book.

(39) Diſcourſe concerning prodigies, Chap. II. Sect. IV.

(40) Chap. III. Sect. IV. 230, 231.

(41) See the ſtory more fully related by Dr Jackſon in his Sermon on Luke, from the Hiſtorian.

(42) In Julian: or A Diſcourſe concerning the Earthquake and fiery Eruption which defeated that Emperor's attempt to rebuild the Temple of Jeruſalem, &c. by William Warburton, Preacher to the Hon. Society of Lincoln's-Inn, Lond. 1750, and again in 1752, 8vo. In the concluſion however, it is confeſſed, that ſome friends to Religion had privately intimated their diſbelief of it: and it may be added, that ſome ſtill continue incredulous.

(43) Chap. VII. Sect. IX.

(44) Dec. Caſſius lib. 66.

(45) Virgil. Georg. lib. 1.

(46) Chap. II. Sect. III. p. 63, 64.

(47) It will ſcarcely admit of a queſtion that he had read this, as well as the other pieces of Dr Spencer, ſince he cites his grand work, De leg. Heb. in the Pref. to this very Let. as well as in ſeveral other of his Works, as he does alſo the Diſcourſe of the Vanity of Vulgar Prophecies at the end of the Diſcourſe upon Prodigies of near affinity to it.

He proceeded Doctor of Divinity the ſame year, and was preſented by his College to the rectory of Landbeach All-ſaints in Cambridgſhire, July 23, 1667. In this preſentation he ſucceeded Dr Wilford, then Maſter of the College, who, dying on the 18th of July this year, was alſo ſucceeded in that poſt by Dr Spencer, after a long ſucceſſion by Royal Mandamus, who was unanimouſly elected by the Society to preſide over them on the 3d of Auguſt following, as he did with great prudence and reputation for twenty-ſix years. In September the ſame year he was preferred by the King to the Archdeaconry of Sudbury in Suffolk, upon the promotion of Dr Sparrow to the Biſhopric of Exeter, as he was in like manner to a Prebend in the church of Ely, upon that of Dr Pearſon to the ſee of Cheſter in 1672, and to the Deanery thereof about five years after, upon the death of Dr Mapletoft, into which he was inſtalled on the 29th of September, 1677 *(e)*. He publiſhed a Latin diſſertation concerning *Urim* and *Thummim* the following year. In the interim he had been choſen Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity in 1673 *(f)*; and being in that office when the Duke of Monmouth was elected their Chancellor, his Grace was received, upon his inſtalment at Worceſter-houſe, September 3, 1674, with a ſpeech by Dr Spencer, which is inſerted below [G]. In September, 1683, the Doctor reſigned the rectory of Landbeach in favour of

(e) Maſters, as before.

(f) It is ſomething remarkable, that, whilſt he was in this office, he was ſuſpended by Dr Burde, Surrogate to the Official, for not appearing at the Archdeacon's viſitation; but how it ended is unknown. Ib.

'late times, bred like the worms in the *manna*, out 'of the body of our government and diſcipline, this 'was the *πρῶτον ψεῦδος*, leading impoſture, that the 'true *ſeculum ſpiritus ſancti* was now coming upon 'the world, wherein the immediate Teachings of 'God ſhould antiquate the more dead and obſcure 'Teachings of the Goſpel, as thoſe did the more 'weak and cloudy Inſtructions of the Law; that the 'minds of Holy Men ſhould conceive, like the Virgin 'Mary, by the ſole *overſhadowing of the Holy Ghoſt*, 'without any aſſiſtances from Man, or human Litera-'ture. That men ſhould be authorized and aſſiſted 'to the due performance of the duties of publick 'preaching and praying by the incitements of God up-'on the place. That God was about no new work, 'but his ſecrets were ſtill made known to the *Faithful*. 'That the mighty impreſſions and propenſions upon 'the ſpirits of the Faithful, was an interpretative voice 'from Heaven, a kind of *Bath-Col* to ſupply the de-'fect of Scripture-Prophecy, in diſpenſations more 'dark and enigmatical. Whence it came to paſs, 'that every morbid heat of paſſion, and blind zeal, was 'chriſtened by the name of *Ignis Sacer*, the ſacred im-'preſs and diſcovery of the Holy Ghoſt, and every 'crazy fancy and dream, dubbed a Prophetick Viſion.' In the concluſion he intimates, 'that his deſign in this 'piece was to further and facilitate a dutiful obedience 'to the penal ſtatutes, enacted to prevent the ſpreading 'of ſeditious prophecies. Since while good laws are the 'beſt ſecurity of the peace, ſober principles laid down 'in the minds of the people, are the beſt ſecurity of the 'laws.' This profeſſed loyal motive for the undertaking, is ſpecified as being another inſtance, added to that of the preceding diſcourſe, of that particular merit, which drew upon him the regards of his Majeſty, who rewarded it ſhortly after with the preferments mentioned in the Text. In general, the ſeaſonableneſs of both theſe diſcourſes at the time of publiſhing them, is manifeſt; and there is one remark, at leaſt, that may be thought not unſeaſonable in the preſent time, in this latter piece, only by taking the word Prophecy in its larger ſenſe, as it denotes teaching and inſtructing the people in ſacred matters, our Author's Obſervations may be truly applied to the Methodiſt Teachers and their Followers, where he obſerves, that Prophecy had been wiſely reſerved to the cognizance of Perſons of more exerciſed minds; 'becauſe human nature un-'diſciplined, is ſo extremely prone to meet things 'pompous and vehement with very ſacred and ſolemn 'thoughts, and to think (as the Frogs in the Fable by 'the block which fell upon them) if the Perſon make 'a great noiſe and buſtle, come attended with flaming 'expreſſions, pathetical devotions, ſingularities of 'geſture and phraſe, affected ſilences and ſeverities, 'that he is *Διοπετὴς*, ſent from God extraordinary to 'rule their minds and lives (48).' To the ſame purpoſe is the remark he makes in his former diſcourſe, that 'it had been the great error of moſt times, that be-'cauſe men ſaw the people to be weak and eaſy; there-'fore they choſe to inſtruct them to piety, either by pic-'tures and rites, or elſe by fantaſtical fears, legends, pa-'thetical orations, odious or faſhionable phraſes, tones 'and geſtures, all which made them worſe fools than 'they found them, giving them furious zeal, ungover-'nable ſpirits, flatulent religions, talkative tempers, 'giddy and unſettled heads (49):' which the Methodiſts and their Followers would do well to conſider.

(48) Ch. VIII. The Concluſion, P. 134.

(49) Chap. VI. P. 342.

[G] *His Speech to the Duke of Monmouth, &c.*] We are obliged for this to Mr Hearne, who has given a tranſcript of it (50), as follows.

(50) In the Appendix to his Vindiciæ Thomæ Cali, No. X. p. 86.

'May it pleaſe your Grace,

'We come not hither in confidence of ſo vain a 'thought, that all our addreſs and ceremony can de-'rive any honour upon your Grace's perſon; your own 'great actions have put ſuch a glory about your head 'abroad, and your excellent virtue and temper have 'given your Grace ſo great a place in the hearts of 'men at home, that we can have as little deſign, as 'we have power, to add luſtre to ſo great a name; nor 'do we approach this preſence to give any aſſurances 'to your Grace's fortune, that in the credit of our nu-'merous and united ſuffrages, your Grace might bear 'yourſelf the better againſt the zeal and envy of a mi-'ſtaken multitude. It is your Grace's happineſs, that 'your fortune is ſolid as your virtue, and that, like the 'ſun, though moving in ſo high an orb, you have no 'angry creatures to open their mouths againſt you; 'but numbers that rejoice in your riſing, and pay you 'a hearty worſhip and obſervance; nor do we come to 'barter our praiſes, or that by the arts and enchant-'ments of a little oratory, we might poſſeſs your 'Grace with a good opinion of us; for we need no 'charms to provoke a flaming and an eaſy love, and 'it is our happineſs, that we have a Chancellor now, 'whoſe mind is great as his place, as liberal and inge-'nuous as the arts and ſciences he is pleaſed to pa-'tronize; and in this aſſurance, we approach your 'Grace's houſe as we do a temple, not to crouch and 'flatter, but to pay a Debt, and expreſs our Joy; and 'becauſe we have nothing better, we preſent ourſelves 'to your Grace in a great and juſt reſentment of your 'goodneſs in receiving us to the honour of your care 'and patronage, and pawning your virtue and intereſt 'for our future happineſs, which toucheth us already 'with the better and more affecting pleaſure, becauſe we 'have the freſh remembrance of an Iliad of evils to en-'dear it to us. Thoſe unhappy days are not far removed 'from our thoughts, in which as the other eye of the 'nation was blood-ſhot, ſo this, which your Grace 'ſecures, was clouded, and in danger of being put out. 'We can eaſily remember, when our gowns were anti-'chriſtian, our charters and privileges the eaſy triumph 'of our envious neighbours, when to profeſs igno-'rance was not only a piece of philoſophy (as of old) 'but of religion, and when to ſpeak reaſon, was ſuſ-'pected; but to defend it, was heretical. But your 'Grace's particular affection and concernment have 'placed us above the fear of a returning cloud, and 'aſſured our Mother, the Univerſity of Cambridge, 'that it ſhall be difficult now for her Adverſaries to 'foreſee her end, as it is for her friends to diſ-'cover when ſhe did begin. Nor can we have cauſe to 'doubt but we ſhall hold theſe privileges in effect and 'truth, which we have often held before but in parch-'ment and imagination; and we can as little doubt, 'but knowledge ſhall thrive and flouriſh, while your 'Grace (like Pallas) is the great Patron of Arts as well 'as Arms. The advancement of learning and inge-'nuity, is the moſt noble and humane work, and uſe-'ful ſtudy and buſineſs of all civil nations in a time of 'a peace; and your Grace's charter makes us eaſily 'believe, you'll acquit yourſelf as a great maſter of 'the arts of Peace, as you have of War, and as fit to 'deſign and conduct the conqueſt of the intellectual 'world, as you are of the ſenſible and material. In

of his kinſman, Mr William Spencer, A. M. and Fellow of the college *; and in 1685 he publiſhed at Cambridge, in two Tomes Folio, his famous Work, intituled *De legibus Hebræorum ritualibus, & earum rationibus libri tres* (g) [H], which met with ſuch general approbation, that it was reprinted, *cum Indice rerum et verborum*, at the Hague, 1686, 4to, and again in 1705 at Leipſic [I]. That, after a life ſpent in the cloſeſt application to his ſtudies [K], the aſthma, to which he had been moſtly ſubject, put a period to it, at his

(g) Dr Middleton obſerves, that it was greatly and juſtly admired in all Chriſtian countries. Works, Vol. II. p. 260.

* Ibid. in the appendix, No [illegible], p. 23.

'an eaſy proſpect of ſuch great felicities, we could not 'reſt aſſured of your Grace's pardon, nor of our own, 'if we ſhould not bow our heads, and kiſs the hands 'which conveyed them to us; we think it a leſs treſpaſs againſt good manners to trouble your Grace a 'little further, than to ſay nothing of the fountain of 'our and your Joys, though we can never ſay enough.

'His Majeſty's letter is the charter whereby we hold 'our preſent happineſs, and have an honour equal to 'the biggeſt ambition we could conceive: it is his 'royal favour, to which we muſt intitle the advantages 'we can promiſe ourſelves from your Grace's power and 'goodneſs; by which eminent and ſurprizing favour, 'his Majeſty hath made a great and wiſe proviſion for 'the advantage of learning and knowledge in his 'kingdoms, and hath given us a full aſſurance, that he 'hath no deſign to ſerve upon an ignorant and unde'ſerving people; that he deſires to be King of Men, 'and to appear the Defender of Reaſon, as well as 'Faith, and profeſſes a religion that dares come, not 'only where men can believe, but where they can diſ'cern, and judge. For ourſelves, we can return ſo 'great a grace and favour only with our thankfulneſs, 'and moſt hearty wiſhes, that your Grace may long 'enjoy this office amongſt us, with a ſatisfaction (if it 'were poſſible) equal to that with which you were elected 'to it; and that your Grace's government may have 'ſo kind an influence upon our minds and ſtudies, 'that his Majeſty's reign may be bleſſed like that of 'Solomon's, with a general peace, and men of wiſdom 'and learning, eminent beyond all the examples of 'foregoing times.'

[H] *De legibus Hebræorum.*] His deſign, in this elaborate work, is to prove, by a detail of the particulars, that all the rights and ceremonies of the Jewiſh religion were inſtituted in oppoſition to the practices of the idolatrous nations round about them. The ſubject had been long upon his mind, as appears from ſeveral paſſages in his diſcourſe concerning prodigies; in one of which he expreſsly declares, 'that many of the critical 'rites and uſages appointed the Jewiſh nation will be 'found to reſolve into the Divine purpoſe to croſs and 'thwart, by his commands, the rites of the *Zabii*, the '*Egyptians*, and other neighbouring nations, which had 'the Devil for the great maſter of their religious cere'monies (51).' The opinion is entirely ſpeculative, in which the eſſentials of the religion being no way concerned, it has been argued pro and con by various learned writers, particularly Huetius (52), Sir John Marſham (53), Calmet (54), as alſo incidentally by Dr Conyers Middleton (55) on the ſame ſide with our Author, and Mr Samuel Shuckford (56) on the other ſide, as beſt ſuited their preſent deſign. However, it is agreed, I think, on all hands, that Dr Spencer has examined the queſtion with more diligence, and treated it with more learning and judgment than any author whatſoever.

(51) Chap. XI. Sect. x. p. 23.

(52) Demonſtr. Evang. Ch. XI.

(53) In his Canon. Chron. paſſim.

(54) Comment. Præfat. in Geneſis vi. and x.

(55) In his Works, Vol. III. paſſim.

(56) In his ſacred and profane Hiſtory of the world connected, Vol. I. p. 216. Lond. Edit. 17. Fol. 33.

[I] *An edition publiſhed at Leipſic in* 1705.] Our Author continued all his life-time to make improvements to this capital work, and by will left ſuch of his papers and writings, as were indifferently perfect, to be added in their proper places, if ever there ſhould be occaſion to reprint it; with the full right and property therein to his executor, Biſhop Teniſon, afterwards Archbiſhop, who bequeathed them to the univerſity of Cambridge, after having cauſed them to be prepared for the preſs, with fifty pounds for the advancement of printing there. Theſe the ſenate by grace gave leave to the learned Mr Chappelow to publiſh; and, for his encouragement therein, beſtowed upon him the Archbiſhop's benefaction likewiſe. Accordingly the work was executed, and publiſhed in four books, wherein Edita et manuſcripta cum teſtimoniis auctorum laudatis recenſuit et indices adjecit Leonardus Chappelow, S. T. B. coll. S. Johan. ſoc. et Arab. Profeſſor acad. Cant. in 2 Tom. fol. Cant. 1727. To which Bennet College was at the expence of prefixing an elegant copper-plate of the Author, as a ſmall teſtimony of gratitude to their magnificent benefactor (57).

(57) Maſters, Hiſt. &c. p. 170.

[K] *A life ſpent in the cloſeſt application to his ſtudies.*] In a letter from Cambridge, dated Feb. 25, 1738, we have the following account of the Doctor's way of life, as related by one Mrs Trevor, who had been a ſervant to him: That he uſed to riſe by five or ſix at fartheſt in a morning, and go to bed at ten; that his chief time for ſtudy was in the forenoon. He had not much acquaintance; but the chief that ſhe remembered were Biſhop Teniſon, Biſhop Moore, and Biſhop Greene. That he was a plentiful eater himſelf, and lived in a very hoſpitable and charitable manner. The only exerciſe he uſed was the dumb bell. He bought a horſe ſome time before he died, but never uſed him. That he died of the aſthma, to which diſtemper he was chiefly ſubject. This letter was ſent to Dr *Alured Clerke*, who had been bred at Bennet College, and apparently had made the inquiry, ſince he had ſome connection with our Author's familiar friends, as will be ſeen in the account we have of him, which, becauſe he was a Divine of merit, cannot be deemed unworthy of a place here; as follows: He was the ſon of Alured Clerke, Gent. of Godmancheſter in Huntingtonſhire, by Anne, the fourth daughter of Charles Trimnell, Rector of Abbots-Ripton in Hampſhire, and a ſiſter of Charles Trimnell, Biſhop of Wincheſter; and having gone through St Paul's ſchool (58), under Mr *John Poſſlethwayte*, he was admitted Penſioner at Bennet College, April 1, 1713, where, after taking the degree of A. B. he was made Fellow in 1718, and proceeded A. M. two years after, when he became a candidate for the Rhetoric Profeſſor's place at Greſham College, with Mr Ward, who carried the election. In May, 1723, he was collated to the rectory of Chilbolton in Hampſhire, and inſtalled Prebendary of Wincheſter on the 23d of the ſame month (59). He was appointed one of the chaplains to K. George I, and ſo continued to the late King, who, upon his viſit to the Univerſity in April, 1728, honoured him with the degree of D. D. and promoted him to a Prebend in the church of Weſtminſter, in which he was inſtalled May 8, 1731, being then one of the Deputy Clerks of his Majeſty's cloſet. He was alſo further advanced to the Deanery of Exeter, May 12, 1740. But, being always of a very weak and infirm conſtitution, after a ſhort enjoyment of it, he quitted this life for a better, before he had completed the forty-ſixth year of his age, upon May 31, 1742, and was interred, without any monument, in Weſtminſter-abbey. His benevolent and generous diſpoſition was ſuch as rendered him truly worthy of theſe and much greater preferments, which he ſeemed even not to deſire with the mean view of heaping up wealth to raiſe a family (for this he held in utter contempt) but only for the ſake of enlarging his ſphere of doing good: which he had ſo much at heart, that he ſpared neither labour nor expence in getting a county-hoſpital for ſick and lame perſons, erected at Wincheſter in 1736 (60), the firſt of the kind that was ſet up any where out of London; and he afterwards began the like upon his removal to Exeter (61) (where he had expended a large ſum of money upon the repair of his deanery-houſe) but lived not long enough to ſee his laudable deſign fully executed. So little value had he for money, that he ſpent the whole ſurplus of his annual income in works of charity or hoſpitality; and determined with himſelf never to have in reſerve (how great ſoever his revenue might be) more than a ſum ſufficient to defray the expences of his funeral. Beſides, the ſermons mentioned in the margin, we are aſſured, that in 1738 he publiſhed, in 8vo, (though without his name, and by ſome aſcribed to Lord Hervey) *An eſſay towards a character of Queen* CAROLINE, whom he highly reverenced, and with whom he had long been a conſiderable favourite. The Dean had a brother, who was admitted at the ſame college under his care in 1719, and, applying himſelf to the Law in Lincoln's-Inn, became an eminent Counſellor, and was enabled by his practice to enlarge his paternal inheritance, and rebuild the houſe at Godmancheſter in an elegant manner. He was choſen Recorder of Huntington in 1731, and member of parliament for that borough in 1740. The following year he was elected for Whitchurch in Hampſhire, upon the recommendation of his patron, the Earl of Portſmouth, and

(58) The firſt ſermon he printed was preached before the Gentlemen educated at St Paul's ſchool, in that cathedral, Jan. 25, 1725, 4to.

(59) He printed another ſermon, preached before the Houſe of Commons at St Margaret's, Weſtminſter, Jan. 31, 1733, in 4to.

(60) He printed a third ſermon, preached at Wincheſter cathedral on St Luke's day, 1736, before the Governors of the County-hoſpital, to which is added a collection of papers relating to the hoſpital, with rules, orders, &c.

(61) He printed a fourth ſermon, preached at Exeter cathedral, before the Truſtees of the Charity-ſchools, Oct. 13, 1741.

his lodge in the college, on the 27th of May, 1695, in his grand climacteric. As to his funeral, his expreſs orders were, that it ſhould be only decent, and not pompous, and that the whole expence ſhould not exceed two hundred pounds. Accordingly, the reſpects ſhewn thereby to his memory were nothing more than what became his character and ſtation in life. The chief rooms of his lodge, with the hall and chapel, were hung with mourning; and his corpſe was attended to the grave by the Biſhops of Ely and Lincoln, by fourteen Heads of Houſes, by ten Doctors of Divinity, by four Doctors of Law, two Phyſicians, two Profeſſors, by the Maſter elect, and Fellows of the College, and by the Officers of the Univerſity, with many others, who had all of them rings, ſcarves, and gloves. The whole ſolemnity ended with a funeral Oration by the learned Dr *Joſeph Beaumont*, Maſter of Peter-houſe, and Regius Profeſſor of Divinity. He was alſo, according to his own directions, interred in the College-chapel, near his immediate predeceſſor, Dr Wilford, by the aſcent to the altar *(h)*, under a plain ſtone of black marble, with a Latin inſcription upon it, which may be ſeen in remark [*L*]. He married *Hannah*, the daughter of *Iſaac Puller*, of Hertford, who, dying in 1674, left him only one daughter, named Elizabeth, and one ſon, John; the former of whom lived till the year 1688, when ſhe was buried by her mother, in the chancel of the church of St Benedict in Cambridge. But the latter, his ſon, probably died before. The Atchievement, wherein his arms are impaled, with thoſe of the church of Ely, the college, and his wife, *viz. Azure a chevron or, between three eagles diſplayed argent*, is ſtill remaining in the antichapel of this college. But he ſtood not in need of ſuch means as theſe to preſerve his memory, ſince the many Acts of benevolence, performed both in his life-time and by his laſt will [*M*], will be ſo many laſting

(h) In the Appendix, No. IX. p. 168, 169.

and was nominated a Baron of the Exchequer in 1742, in the execution of which office, ſitting as one of the Judges, upon the trials of the priſoners in Newgate, at the Old-Baily in 1750, he and the Lord-Mayor, Sir Samuel Pennant, Sir Daniel Lambert, Sir Thomas Abney, Mr Cox the Underſheriff, with ſome others, are ſuppoſed to have caught an infectious diſtemper, which put a period to their lives. He died in May, and was buried at Godmancheſter, where his father, after having lived with his ſecond wife upwards of fifty years, had been interred not long before. He married Anne, a daughter of Biſhop Green, by whom he had one ſon, Thomas, who was a ſtudent in Bennet College, but quitted it for the army in the time of the rebellion in 1745, and has now a commiſſion in the guards (*). The Baron's ſecond wife was Jane, a daughter of Major Mullins, of Winchester, who, with four of her ſons, and two daughters, ſurvived him. He raiſed a laſting monument to his memory in the cauſeway leading from his native town to Newmarket, whereof he was not only the firſt deſigner, but the principal agent in putting it in execution, to the no ſmall emolument both of that and the neighbouring counties (62).

(*) This was written in 1753.

(62) Maſters. Hiſt. &c. p. 267, to 269.

[*L*] *An inſcription upon his grave-ſtone.*] It is in theſe terms:

Hic Jacet
Qui magnum adeo ſui
Apud Bonos & Rempub. Literarium Reliquit Deſiderium,
Vir Rariſſimæ Munificentiæ
Pariter ac Eruditionis,
JOHANNES SPENCER, S. T. P.
Eccleſiæ Elienſis Decanus,
Archidiaconus Sudburienſis,
Et hujus Collegii Præfectus,
Qui obiit 27° die Maii
Anno { *Dom.* 1693 / *Ætat.* 63 / *Præfecturæ* 26

[*M*] *Acts of Benevolence and Charity in his life-time, and by his laſt Will.*] Mr Maſters obſerves, that in the point of liberality to the Colleges, he far exceeded all former Benefactors; for in 1687 he purchaſed an eſtate at Elmington, a Hamlet belonging to the pariſh of Oundle in Northamptonſhire, which coſt him 3600 l. in yearly value being upwards of 200 l. This he ſettled upon the College by a deed of gift, dated 1693. In which he appropriated, firſt 20 l. per ann. to the Maſter, and 6 l. more for keeping the Accounts, and viſiting the Eſtate at leaſt twice in three years, with the nomination of a ſcholar, to be called the Maſter's Scholar, and to have 10 l. per ann. paid him quarterly, ſo long as his behaviour ſhall be approved by the Maſter. Dr Spencer alſo doubled the ſtipends of the three ſcholars of Archbiſhop Parker's foundation, to be named by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury; and gave beſides, 5 l. per ann. to the *Pincerna* (one of the Bible Clerks) with 40 s. to the *Puer Cubiculi*. The yearly payment of 10 l. is moreover ordered to his Niece, Mrs Elizabeth Spencer, during her life, with 10 l. each to two of his ſervants; after whoſe deceaſe, the whole 40 l. to be equally divided every year upon All-Saints day among ſo many of the Fellows as ſhould have been ſtatutably reſident in the College the foregoing year, and who have not diſcontinued from the College, except in caſe of ſickneſs, above ſixty-three days in that year. And at the Audit, which is to be diſtinct from that of the College, within ten days before or after the firſt of March, every Fellow preſent is to receive 10 s. for his attendance, at which time 10 s. per meſs is to be ſpent in exceedings.

2. The Butler, Pincerna, Cook, and Porter, 5 l. per ann. each (63). And the Overplus of the rents and profits to be put into a ſtrong cheſt, with three locks and keys, and afterwards to be diſpoſed of at the diſcretion of the major part of the Maſter and Fellows (whereof the Maſter to be one) in ſome pious or charitable Acts in relieving the ſick and indigent ſcholars, in repairing the houſes, in buying books for the College-Library, &c. with this reſtriction only, that there ſhall be never leſs than 40 l. remaining in the cheſt. He ordered, that upon any doubts or diſputes which might ariſe, the determination of the Vice-Chancellor, and the two ſenior Doctors of Divinity, ſhould be final, and that each of them ſhould have 13 s. 4 d. for his labour therein.— The Eſtate was veſted in the hands of five Truſtees, two of which, after the death of the others, were to convey the premiſes to three other perſons, being Doctors of Divinity in the Univerſity of Cambridge, and two of them at leaſt Maſters of Colleges (64). Beſides this Deed, the Doctor made a Will, dated the 20th of April, 1693 (65), wherein he appointed his old Friend, Dr Teniſon, then Biſhop of Lincoln, his ſole Executor: and in this he bequeathed 50 l. to ten of the moſt indigent and induſtrious Lads of the College, with the like ſum toward repairs (66), above what he had given in his life-time, and ſuch books as his Executor ſhould think proper for the Library, with the furniture of the parlour and lobby (before the little Eaſt-chamber abutting upon the School-lane) to the lodge, if his Succeſſor would accept of them, and 20 l. to each of the Fellows for a funeral ring. He left likewiſe 100 l. to the Univerſity, to be laid out in books for their uſe; for which he has been ſince enrolled among their Benefactors. And indeed every place, to which he had borne any relation, had ſome ſhare of his bounty. For he gave 200 l. to the Church of Ely, half of which he ordered to be laid out upon a Font, which was accordingly executed in fine marble, curiouſly wrought, with this inſcription round it, *Legatum Johannis Spencer, S. T. P. Decani hujus Eccleſiæ.* Alſo 50 l. and the furniture of his Deanery-houſe to the petty Canons and ſinging Men, with ſome ſmall legacies to the Vergers, Choriſters, &c. He gave moreover to the poor of the pariſhes of St Mary and Trinity, in Ely, 20 l. and to each of thoſe where he had been a preacher, viz. Landbeach, St Benedict's, and St Gyles's, Cambridge, 5 l. To manifeſt his kindneſs and tenderneſs toward his ſervants, he left them all handſome Legacies, and to ſome Annuities for life. And for his Relations and Friends, he likewiſe made ſuch proviſion, as either their circumſtances or deſerts called upon him to do (67). And

(63) The liveries which uſed to be given to them, were diſcontinued from the year 1720, on account of this augmentation of their Salaries. Ib. p. 181.

(64) Ib. in the Appendix, No. LIII. p. 79, 80.

(65) Proved before the Vice-Chancellor, July 13, 1693, and afterwards in the Prerogative Office, where it is depoſited. *Sel.* Box XX. 1664.

(66) This was laid out the year following in new paving the Chapel by the conſent of his Executor. Maſters, p. 167, note *(l)*.

(67) He left only fifty guineas to his own Couſin, William Spencer of Boughton in Kent, Eſq; and Barriſter at Law, which is traditionally accounted for by this gentleman's behaviour, mentioned in Remark [*C*].

laſting teſtimonies of his charitable and munificent diſpoſition, whilſt his writings will ever beſpeak him one of the greateſt ſcholars and divines of the age in which he lived. He ſucceeded in his Fellowſhip by Mr Daniel Scargill, and in the maſterſhip by Dr William Stanley, of whom ſome account is given below [*N*], for the reaſon therein contained.

And directed further, that if there were any ſurplus of his perſonal Eſtate, after diſcharging his funeral expences, debts, and legacies, it ſhould be diſtributed among his legatees: or diſpoſed of in other Acts of Charity at the ſole direction of his friend and executor, to whom he bequeaths a hundred guineas, with his ſmall repeating-watch, for his trouble.

[*N*] *Some Account of Scargill and Stanley.*] To begin with Scargill, who ſucceeded our Author in his Fellowſhip in 1667. He was ſuſpended the year following from his degree of A. B. and expelled both the College and Univerſity for *Hobbiſm* and *Atheiſm*, although afterwards reſtored by the latter, upon his public Recantation, which being ſomewhat ſcarce, we ſhall inſert as follows.

'*December* 7, 1668. Dr Boldero, Vice-Chancellor, 'with eight Heads preſent. Scargill is permitted to 'make a publick Recantation in the Batchelors Schools, 'on Friday next, and to bring a true Copy thereof to 'the Vice-Chancellor, and his Suſpenſion is continued 'till after the Commencement next. *But I imagine, 'upon his refuſal to comply with this, they proceeded to ex- 'pell him.*

'*March* 12, 1668. Whereas Daniel Scargill, late 'B. A. of this Univerſity, and of Corp. Chriſti Coll. 'hath been convented, and legally convicted in the 'Conſiſtory, before the Vice-Chancellor and the major 'part of the Heads, to have aſſerted ſeveral Impious 'and Atheiſtical Tenets, to the great Diſhonour of 'God, the Scandal of the Chriſtian Religion and of 'the Univerſity, it is unanimouſly aſſented to by the 'Vice-Chancellor and Heads, that he be forthwith 'expelled the Univerſity—*He was actually expelled at 'the ſame time—However upon his ſhewing a Diſpoſition 'to retract his Errors, he was commanded to draw up a 'Recantation, which after being peruſed by the Vice- 'Chancellor and Heads, and ſome Alterations made therein, 'was ſpoke as follows, and afterwards printed at the 'Univerſity Preſs.*

'*The Recantation of Daniel Scargill, publickly made before 'the Univerſity of Cambridge, in Great St Marie's 'July* 25, 1669.

'Whereas I Daniel Scargill, late Batchelour of Arts, 'and Fellow of Corpus Chriſti Colledge, in the 'Univerſitie of Cambridge, being, through the inſti- 'gation of the Devil, poſſeſſed with a fooliſh proud 'conceit of my own wit, and not having the fear of 'God before my eyes: Have lately vented, and pub- 'lickly aſſerted in the ſaid Univerſitie, divers Wicked, 'Blaſphemous, and Atheiſtical poſitions, (particu- 'larly, That all right of Dominion is founded onely 'in Power; That if the Devil were omnipotent, he 'ought to be obeyed; That all moral Righteouſneſs is 'founded onely in the poſitive Law of the Civil Ma- 'giſtrate; That the Scriptures of God are not Law 'further than they are enjoyned by the Civil Magi- 'ſtrate; That the Civil Magiſtrate is to be obeyed, 'though he ſhould forbid the worſhip of God, or 'command Theft, Murder and Adultery, profeſſing, 'that I gloryed to be an Hobbiſt and an Atheiſt; and 'vaunting, that Hobbs ſhould be maintained by Da- 'niel, that is, by me: Agreeably unto which prin- 'ciples and poſitions, I have lived in great licentiouſ- 'neſs; ſwearing raſhly; drinking intemperately; boaſt- 'ing my ſelf inſolently; corrupting others by my per- 'nicious principles and example: To the high diſho- 'nour of God; the Reproach of the Univerſitie; 'the Scandal of Chriſtianitie; and the juſt offence of 'mankinde. And whereas, the Vice-Chancellour 'and Heads of the ſaid Univerſitie, upon notice of 'theſe my foul enormities, upon a full examination 'and clear conviction of theſe premiſed offences, after 'ſuſpenſion from my degree, did expel me out of the 'ſaid Univerſitie: Now I the ſaid Daniel Scargill, 'after frequent conſideration, ſtrict examination, and 'ſerious review of the ſaid Poſitions, do finde, by the 'grace of that God, whom I had denyed, that they are 'not onely of dangerous and miſchievous conſequence, 'inconſiſtent with the being of God, and deſtructive 'to humane ſociety; but that they are utterly falſe, 'the ſuggeſtions of a lying ſpirit, wholly againſt my 'own judgement, reſolved upon better conſideration, 'as well as againſt the common ſenſe of mankinde: 'And I do freely acknowledge the proceedings and 'ſentence of my Governours, the Vice-Chancellour 'and Heads of the Univerſitie, to be juſt and equal, 'agreeable to the Duty of their place, and the Truſt 'repoſed in them; That they could not have done 'leſs to vindicate the Divine honour, and ſuppreſs that 'miſchief growing up in this age, which no former 'hath known.

'And now I Adore and Bleſs the higheſt Majeſty of 'God in his infinite mercy to me, that he hath not 'ſuffered me to go on unreclaimed in my enormous 'principles and practices; but hath made my face to 'be aſhamed, that I may ſeek his name. *Righteouſneſs 'belongeth unto thee O Lord, but unto me,* and to thoſe 'who have ſeduced me, and to thoſe who have been 'ſeduced by me, *ſhame and confuſion of face.* Oh what 'height of wickedneſs had I arrived unto! For I 'muſt confeſs my ſelf guilty of impleading the Divine 'Majeſty at the Tribunal of humane wit, making man 'judge whether God ſhould be God or no. Nay, where- 'as the Devil, my tempter, to whom I had harkned, 'doth beleeve and tremble, I, vile wretch, have been 'void of the Faith and Fear of God in the manifold 'manifeſtations of him. Wherefore I humbly aſk 'pardon of God above all, whom I have blaſphemed; 'of my Governours in the Univerſitie, whom I have 'diſturbed; of all Chriſtians, and all men, for the 'great offence I have given unto all; more eſpecially 'of ſo many as have been miſled into any errour or 'vice by me. And I do alſo humbly and earneſtly 'beſeech all men, eſpecially ſo many of the younger 'Scholars as have been ſeduced by me (who now abhor 'what I formerly boaſted to aſſert) that they beware 'by my example of the moſt ſubtile inſinuations of the 'Devil, in the vain oſtentation of their own wit. *That 'they lean not to their own underſtanding,* but conſult the 'Holy Scriptures, the lively Oracles of God; that 'from thence they may learn φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν, *to 'be wiſe unto ſobriety,* as the holy Apoſtle with great 'wiſdom requires. And now I humbly hope and truſt 'in the infinite mercy of that God, againſt whom I had 'audaciouſly opened my unhallowed mouth, that He 'who hath promiſed that all ſin and blaſphemy ſhall 'be forgiven unto men (excepting onely that reſolved 'malicious blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt) will be 'graciouſly pleaſed to glorifie his mercy in the forgive- 'neſs of my moſt deteſtable errours, and abominable 'ſins. And I thank God that he hath awakened me 'in good meaſure to a juſt deteſtation of the accurſed 'Poſitions aſſerted by me, and of all other like wicked 'principles.

'Wherefore, I do here in the preſence of God, An- 'gels and Men, caſt my ſelf down in a deep dread of 'the juſt judgements and Vengeance of God upon the 'accurſed Atheiſm of this age, acknowledging my ſelf 'to be highly guilty of the growth and ſpreading 'thereof, having contributed what my profane wit 'could deviſe, or my foul mouth expreſs, to inſtill it 'into others, or confirm them therein. And I do 'profeſs, I beleeve (and judge it moſt reaſonable ſo to 'beleeve) that the openly profeſſed Atheiſm of ſome, 'and the ſecret Atheiſm of others, is the accurſed root 'of all that abounding wickedneſs, perjury, ſacriledge, 'debauchery and uncleanneſs in this preſent age: That 'in a deep ſenſe of that wretched part I have acted in 'the propagating thereof, I do now abhor my ſelf in 'duſt and aſhes, and that from the bottom of my heart, 'I do diſclaim, renounce, deteſt and abhor thoſe exe- 'crable Poſitions aſſerted by me or any other: par- 'ticularly,

'1. *That all right of Dominion is founded onely in power.*

'2. *That all moral Righteouſneſs is founded only in the 'Law of the Civil Magiſtrate.*

'3. *That the Holy Scriptures are made Law onely by 'Civil Authority.*

'4. *That whatſoever the Civil Magiſtrate commands, is 'to be obeyed, notwithſtanding contrary to Divine moral 'Laws.*

'5. *That there is a deſirable glory in being and being re- 'puted an Atheiſt*; which I implied when I expreſsly 'affirmed, that I gloried to be an Hobbiſt and an 'Atheiſt.

'For theſe unhallowed aſſertions and expreſſions, I 'now find ſuch inward contrition and remorſe, that I 'pray God his mercy may withhold me from Relapſe, 'or his judgements prevent it. But do I think that a 'bare Recantation can ſatisfie for my prodigious offen-'ces? No, Let me do penance all my days, ſubmitting 'my ſelf to God's will, and the charity of pious minds: 'And whatſoever my portion may be in this world, let 'me live and die in the fear of God, and the faith of 'Chriſt. *Amen.*

'Now leſt any one ſhould miſtake, or ſuſpect this con-'feſſion and unfeigned renunciation of my ſinful and 'accurſed errours, for an act of civil obedience or ſub-'miſſion in me, performed according to my former 'principles, at the command of my Superiours, in 'outward expreſſion of words, though contrary to my 'judgement and inward thoughts of my heart; or that 'I have not now expreſſed the moſt ſincere and ſecret 'ſenſe of my ſoul; I call the Searcher of all hearts to 'witneſs, that I loath and abhor ſuch practices as the 'baſeſt and moſt damnable hypocriſie: That from my 'heart and ſoul I deteſt ſuch principles in all perſons, 'as worſe than the baſeſt villanies and reſervations, 'which the Jeſuites are ſaid to practice or allow. And 'I openly avow, that I do acknowledge, that all per-'ſons ſo principled, ought to be held by all mankinde 'as the moſt dangerous and declared enemies of the 'common faith amongſt men. That they are not to 'be truſted upon any obligation of their faith, or 'pretenſions to piety, loyalty, or common honeſty, 'in any Corporation, Colledge, Univerſitie, City, 'Common-wealth or Kingdom: but, that by thoſe 'principles, deſtructive to all ſociety and commerce 'amongſt men, they may and do delude and defeat all 'Oaths and Proteſtations, all faith given to God or 'man: They may and will comply, if their own In-'tereſt or Advantage prompt them to it, with any In-'vader or Uſurper; with any Faction or growing Sect, 'however deſtructive to all order and the very being of 'humane ſociety in the world. I beleeve alſo, and 'openly avouch, That no power upon earth; no per-'ſwaſion or imagination about natural Right; no opi-'nion in pretended Philoſophie concerning ſelf-pre-'ſervation, can free me from the obligation that is now 'upon me, in this my open profeſſion of Repentance 'for my accurſed errours and grievous ſins, to ſpeak 'the truth in ſincerity before God and man.

'This Recantation and ſincere Profeſſion I make 'willingly and freely, of my own minde and choice: 'not in compliance with the command or will of any 'other; not upon deſign to gain a better opinion 'amongſt men in the world; nor for any worldly ad-'vantage, profit, or ſelf-end of my own: but out of a 'hearty deteſtation of my ſoul errours and ſins; and I 'am glad of this opportunity to diſburden my ſoul, op-'preſſed with the weight of the ſame.

'*So help me God.*

'DANIEL SCARGILL.

'*After the Performance of this Recantation, he was to 'be abſolved by the Vice-Chancellor, when and where he 'pleaſed, and was accordingly abſolved, as the following 'Certificate teſtifies.*

'Theſe are to certify whom it may concern, that 'whereas D. S. B. A. late Fellow of C. C. C. C. 'was ſuſpended of his Degree, and expelled the Uni-'verſity, for aſſerting erroneous Tenets, tending to 'Atheiſme, and the ſaid D. S. was abſolved from his 'Suſpenſion, and reſtored to the Univerſity upon his 'Recantation in Great St Marie's Church, July 25, '1669, by Dr Edm. Boldero, Vice-Chancellor.

Sept. 1, 1671. 'Ita teſtor *Matt. Whinn*, Reg^r.

'He was a native of Cambridge, and after leaving 'the Univerſity, preſented by Edwin Rich to the 'Rectory of Mulbarton in Norfolk, where he married 'Sarah, the daughter of Thomas le Neve of Aſlacton, 'Gent. a woman, as he tells us in her Epitaph, re-'markable for her Piety and Devotion. His Arms 'impaling her's, upon the Monument erected to her 'memory, are *Erm. a Saltire Gul.* (68). In 1690 'Dudley Scargill, Gent. preſented him to the Vi-'carage of Swerdeſton, which he held by union with 'Mulbarton: but how long he continued poſſeſſed of 'theſe, or what afterwards became of him, I could 'never learn (69).'

(68) Blomefield's Hiſt. of Norfolk, P. 34, 54.

(69) Maſters, in the Appendix, No. LI.

Dr Stanley, who ſucceeded our Author in the Maſterſhip of Bennet College, was the ſon of William Stanley, Gent. of Hinkley, in the county of Leiceſter; but his father dying while he was very young, he was left to the ſole care of his mother, who put him to ſchool at Aſhley in Lancaſhire, and afterwards ſent him, in 1663, at the age of ſixteen (70), to St John's College in Cambridge, where he ſtaid till he was choſen into a Fellowſhip of Bennet College, upon the expulſion of Scargill, upon the joint recommendation of his tutor and Biſhop Gunning, then Maſter of St John's, where his County was at that time full. His firſt ſtep out of the Univerſity, and that a very fortunate one, was to the curacy of *Much-Hadham* in Hertfordſhire, as it placed him not only under the eye and direction of that excellent Divine, Dr Goodman (71), but as it gave him an opportunity of being known to the Earl of Eſſex (whoſe ſeat was there) who made him his Chaplain, and then preſented him, October 29, 1681, to the Rectory of *Raine-parva* in Eſſex (72); but this he voided ſoon after, viz. October 30, 1682, by ceſſion, for St Mary-Magdalen in Old Fiſh-Street, London, which he quitted in like manner for that of Much-Hadham, beforementioned; being collated thereto, Auguſt 30, 1690, by Biſhop Compton, upon the death of his friend Dr *Goodman*. Theſe were the only parochial benefices he ever had. But on the 18th of September, 1684, he was preferred to the Prebend of Colington-Major, in the Cathedral of St Paul London, whereof he became a Reſidentiary in 1689, as alſo Archdeacon of London March 5, 169$\frac{1}{2}$, upon the promotion of Dr Teniſon to the See of Lincoln; and he was made Dean of St Aſaph December 7, 1706, which he rather accepted to ſet his Uncle, Biſhop Beveridge, at liberty from the powerful ſollicitations of others, than that he either ſought for, or deſired it. He went over, about 1687, to be Chaplain to the Princeſs of Orange, upon the Diſmiſſion of Dr Covel, when a Clergyman of an unexceptionable Character in every repect, was to be provided by expreſs orders from Holland. Accordingly the Biſhop of London had it in Charge to recommend two ſuch perſons to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was to have the final approbation of one. The two thus recommended, were Dr Burnet, Maſter of the Charterhouſe, and Mr Stanley; to the latter of whom his Grace gave the preference, for this pleaſant reaſon, that although the former was a deſerving man, an ingenious divine, and a good Scholar; yet as Moſes and the Doctor could not agree about making worlds, he thought it was better to chuſe Mr Stanley; who after being further favoured by his Grace about this time, probably with his faculty for a Doctor of Divinity's degree, was forthwith ſent over, and ſoon became a favourite both at Court and with her Highneſs. He likewiſe contracted there a particular acquaintance with the two Huygens, as well as with other perſons of learning and character; being without doubt recommended and ſupported herein by his old friend and fellow-collegian, Mr *Villiers*, who had attended the Princeſs, upon her marriage, into Holland, and continued there till the Prince's coming over to England in 1688. As ſoon as his royal miſtreſs was ſeated upon the throne, ſhe advanced him to be Clerk of the Cloſet, with a Salary of 200l. per ann. ſettled upon him for life, and always had him in ſuch credit and eſteem, that moſt of her charities paſſed through his hands. She moreover offered him one or two Biſhoprics, which he then declined, as he did alſo the See of Lincoln, which was offered him upon Dr Teniſon's promotion to that of Canterbury; being content with the preferment he had, and his own private fortunes. He found a ſtation of leſs dignity and eclat, more agreeable to his inclinations, and ſuitable to his ſcheme of happineſs in life. However, the death of his old friend, Dr Spencer, brought him (though much againſt his will) into a more public ſcene of it in this Univerſity, being elected thereupon (but without his knowledge) into the Maſterſhip of Bennet College, which yet, upon the firſt notice of his choice, he poſitively refuſed to accept, and perſevered in it till the whole Society, for the ſake of preventing an irreconcileable diviſion among them, as they ſhould not be unanimous in their votes for any other perſon beſides himſelf. This motive had its deſired effect, even though he foreſaw the trouble that would follow, in being elected Vice-Chancellor the ſame year by the Univerſity, who paſſed an extraordinary grace for admitting him to the degree of D. D. with all its privileges, among them, to which an Archbiſhop's faculty could not intitle him. Conſidering upon what motive, and with what reluctance he took the Maſterſhip, it might be expected he would

(70) Biſhop Beveridge, who married his Aunt, was of that College, and which was perhaps a ſtronger motive, Mr Villiers, afterwards Earl of Jerſey (of a Leiceſterſhire family in his neighbourhood) went thither about the ſame time under the tuition of Dr Gower, who is ſaid never to have had any other pupils but theſe two.

(71) The celebrated Author of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and the Winter Evening Conference, and ſome other excellent pieces.

(72) He had been ordained Prieſt by Biſhop Compton in 1672, became an Univerſity Preacher in 1676, and commenced B. D. in 1678.

would resign it, as he did in 1698, because he could not be more constantly resident. However, while he held it, he made that valuable catalogue (73) of their manuscript library, which he afterwards printed at his own expence. The college, during his Mastership, being robbed of their communion-plate, he presented them with a set of silver gilt; which are still in use, with the Arms of the Orange family upon it, having belonged to the private chapel of Queen Mary, when Princess, who on her coming to the English Crown, gave it to him as a memorial of her favour and esteem. It pleased God to give him a very healthful, happy, and long life; for he did not die till October 9, 1731, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. When, according to his own directions, he was buried in the Vaulting of St Paul's Cathedral, under the south wing of the choir, among his old Friends, *Bishop Beveridge*, *Dean Sherlock*, *Dean Younger*, *Dr Holder*, and *Sir Christopher Wren*, who have none of them, except the last, any monument-stone, or even inscription over them. He married Mary, second daughter of Sir Francis Pemberton, Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, who was living in 1753, by whom he had three sons, all educated at Bennet College. Thomas, the youngest, is dead; William, the eldest, is LL. B. and Official of the Archdeaconry of London, and is settled at Warwick; Francis, the second, was Fellow of Bennet College, and afterwards Vicar of St Leonard, Shoreditch, till his father resigned in his favour the Rectory of Hadham, September 30, 1723. Dr Stanley was engaged in many good and useful designs. Among which, was that of printing an Edition of the Councils, in 1692, with Protestant Annotations, by an annual subscription. Several sums were accordingly subscribed, by the two Archbishops 10 l. per ann. each, and by twelve Bishops 5 l. each; Dr Stanley not only did the same, but also, by his interest then at Court, was chiefly instrumental in obtaining a grant to import what papers should be wanting, custom free. Dr *Allix* undertook the care and management of this edition, and had great quantities of paper imported for it, which, when the design was laid aside, was sold to the Stationers for private gain, to the offence of the public, and regret of the learned world. The Doctor, before he went abroad, was concerned with several others in the scheme of printing an English Bible, with a plain and practical commentary, but more especially levelled against the errors and corruptions of Popery. His own province was to write that upon the Minor Prophets; a scheme that was superseded by the happy establishment of our Church and Nation at the Revolution. The Doctor, when Dean of St Asaph, was at the sole expence (74) of that Act of Parliament, ann. XII. of Queen Anne, which annexed Prebends and Sinecures to the Bishoprics of Bangor, Landaff, St David, and St Asaph, in order to relieve the widows and fatherless of the Welsh Clergy from the sore distress of paying Mortuaries to the Bishops, upon the death of every incumbent, within their respective Dioceses and jurisdictions, 'which Mortuaries (as the preamble to that Act sets forth) consisting of several of the best goods of the 'deceased, did oftentimes amount to a very considera- 'ble part of his estate, and the payment thereof did 'very much lessen that small provision, which generally 'the Clergy of those Dioceses were able to make for 'the support of their families, and tended to the great 'impoverishing of the same.' He likewise rebuilt what is now the best part of his Deanery-house, and made the whole of it habitable, convenient, and decent; where he often resided, and lived hospitably, so long as he was able to take such a journey. He settled a leasehold estate on a Charity-school in that town, and joined with Mr Carter in augmenting the perpetual Curacy of St George, in its neighbourhood. But his gifts towards the Augmentation of small livings by one or two hundred pounds at a time, with the aid of Queen Anne's bounty, were not confined to one County, but extended into different parts of the kingdom, as may be seen in *Ecton*'s List, &c. He was not only a Contributer to the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, and a zealous Promoter of it; but was also the first Mover in the business of their charter (75). To his own church at Hadham he gave a clock, and to the building of the Regent-house at Cambridge, 100 l. Such gifts and benefactions as these could not be hid, though he was as secret, upon Christian principles, as he could be in doing his Alms. What charities therefore he distributed with his own hand, cannot be discovered, as he left no account of them. But so far is known of him, that it was his constant rule, all his life long, to bestow in good works a clear tenth part of his whole Income, whether from spirituals or temporals. Considered as an Author (76), though he published but few things, yet he entered early to take a share in the Popish Controversy, in an Anonymous Discourse concerning *The Devotions of the Church of Rome, wherein they are compared with those of the Church of England. London*, 1685, 4to. He published also another Anonymous Discourse, intituled *The Faith and Practice of a Church of England-man. London*, 1706, 12mo. Besides the following Sermons with his Name: 1. *A Sermon preached at Lambeth-Chapel, on the Consecration of Dr Tenison, Bishop of Lincoln, January* 10, 1691; 2. Another, *preached at St Mary le Bow, before the Society for propagating the Gospel, February* 20, 1707; and a third, to recommend *A Public Collection for the Redemption of Captives*. Such was the Character and History of Dean Stanley, which we were the rather inclined to insert here, in order to take off any prejudice that will be apt to arise in reading a paper in the Tatler, where that ingenious writer takes occasion, from the remarkably loud natural tone of the Doctor's voice, to exercise his wit upon him, under the name and character of *Stentor*.

(73) The title is Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca Coll. Corp. Christi in Cantabrigia, quos legavit Matthæus Parkerus, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis. Fol. Lond. MDCCXII. This being the first attempt, is not without defects, which Mr Masters gives us reason to hope will be supplied in a second edition.

(74) Willis's Survey of the Cathedral of St Asaph, p. 107, and of Bangor, p. 345.

(75) Humfrey's Hist. Account, &c. p. 12.

(76) The Editors of the Bodleian Catalogue have placed among his writings The Romish Horse-Leach, &c. But probably by mistake, since his friends know nothing of this piece, and it came out so early in his life as 1674.

SPENSER [EDMUND], frequently stiled the Father of the English Heroic poem, was descended from the ancient family of the Spencers in Northamptonshire [*A*], but born in London (*a*), probably about the year 1553 [*B*]. It is not known where he had the first part of his education;

(*a*) From Spenser himself in his Prothalamion.

[*A*] *The family of the Spencers in Northamptonshire.*] The present Duke of Marlborough is at the head of this family, which was first raised to the peerage in the first year of Jacob. I. in the person of Sir Robert Spencer, by the title of Baron Spencer of Wormleighton in the county of Northampton, who was then reputed to be the richest moneyed man in England (1). It is three of the daughters of his grandfather, Sir John Spencer, Knight, of whom our Poet sings in the following lines.

No lesse praise-worthy are the Sisters three,
The honour of the noble family,
Of which I meanest boast my self to be,
And most that unto them I boast my self so nere,
Phyllis, Charillis, and sweet Amaryllis (2).

(1) Collins's Peerage of Eng. under Spencer Duke of Marlborough.

(2) Colin Clout come again.

Their real names were Elizabeth, Anne, and Alice. *Elizabeth* is the Lady to whom our Poet wrote that Sonnet, which appears before the *Fairy Queen*, addressed *To the most vertuous and beautiful Lady, The* Lady Carew. To the same Lady he also dedicated his *Muiopotamos*. She was married to George Lord Hunsdon. *Anne* was first the wife of Henry Lord Monteagle, next of Henry Lord Compton, and thirdly of Robert Sackville, Esq; son and heir of Thomas Lord Buckhurst, High Treasurer of England, from whom descended the present Duke of Dorset. She was a widow when Spenser printed his *Colin Clout* and his *Fairy Queen*; in both which, by *Amintas*, is probably meant Henry Lord Compton, her second husband (3). And the verses addressed to the Author of the *Fairy Queen*, signed R. S. seem to be written by her third Consort, Robert Sackville. Lastly, *Alice* is the Lady to whom Spenser dedicates *The Tears of the Muses*. She was first married to Ferdinando Earl of Derby, Ancestor to the present Earl, and afterwards to Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal of England, from whom is descended the present Duke of Bridgewater (4). Hence it appears, that our Poet was related to many that were then, or are become since, some of the greatest families of the Nation. Not to mention his alliances by the three other Sisters. Margaret married first to Giles Allington, Esq; of Herseheath in Cambridgshire, of the family of Lord Allington, whose estate descended to Charles late Duke of Somerset, as heir at law (5). Katharine married to Sir Thomas Leigh of Stonely, in the county of Warwick, Knt. from whom is descended the present Lord Leigh (6). And Mary married to Sir Edward Aston, of Tixall in Staffordshire (7).

(3) Upton's Notes to Stanza 45. c. 1. B. II. of the Fairy Queen.

(4) Peerage of Eng. as before.

(5) MS penes me.

(6) Peerage, under Lord Leigh.

(7) I do not find that our Poet takes any particular notice in his works of these Ladies, probably because they made no figure at court.

[*B*] *He was born probably about* 1553.] This is fixt for the epocha of our Poet's birth by Mr Fenton (8), who, from the most general time of youths going to the University,

(8) In his Observations upon Waller's Poems, p. LI. edit. 1744. 12mo.

education; but after that we find him at Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, where, his Parents being in low circumſtances, he was admitted a Sizer, and matriculated in 1569 *(b)*. Without neglecting the neceſſary branches of Academical learning, he particularly followed the bent of his poetical genius, and became acquainted with Mr *Gabriel Harvey*, of Trinity-hall, a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed wit and good ſenſe, as well as a Brother Poet [*C*], with whom he cultivated an intimate friendſhip, which proved very ſerviceable to him afterwards. However, having continued in the Univerſity till he had taken both his degrees in Arts, he left it unwillingly, ſoon after completing that of A. M. in 1576 *(c)*, not having a competency to ſupport himſelf there any longer, without ſome aſſiſtance from the College, which he had in vain expected [*D*]. In theſe unhappy circumſtances, it is ſaid, he retired for relief to ſome relations in the North of England *(d)*. But, whatever was the occaſion of his journey, it is certain he had not been long there, before the tenderneſs of his nature drew him into a freſh misfortune; having the ill luck to fix his love upon a miſtreſs, who, though a country laſs *(e)*, did not want the art of leading him into the Lover's paradiſe, in order to make an offering of him as a victim to a more favourite paſſion for his rival *(f)*. For this cruel diſtreſs, finding no other remedy, he ſought a reſource in his Muſe, which naturally ſuggeſted to him the thoughts of venting his grief in paſtoral poetry, and thereby proved an occaſion of immortalizing both his miſtreſs and himſelf, under the appoſite names of *Colin* and *Roſalinde* [*E*]. In the mean time he continued ſtill happy in the friendſhip of Mr

(b) Mr Fenton's notes to Waller's poems, p. LI. edit. 1744. 8vo. from the information of the late learned Antiquary, the Rev. Mr Thomas Baker, of St John's college, Cambridge.

(c) He proceeded A. B. in 1572. Id. ibid.

(d) His life, prefixed to the edition of his works in 1679. folio.

(e) He calls her the widow's daughter of the glen, *i. e.* hamlet or borough. Eclogue April, and Gloſſary by E. K.

(f) This rival is ſatirized by him under the name of *Menalcas* in his ſixth eclogue.

Univerſity, ſuppoſes his admittance at Cambridge, in 1579, to have been at the age of ſixteen. The opinion has been followed by all Authors ſince, and indeed is ſufficiently grounded for a matter of no great moment. It is well known, that we owe moſt of the circumſtances of Spenſer's life to himſelf, and this point would be aſcertained from his Sixtieth Sonnet, where he ſpeaks of himſelf as forty years old, if the time of his writing that Sonnet were certainly known, but this is at leaſt equally uncertain with the time of his admittance at Cambridge. Dr Birch tells us (9), that the Sonnets were written about 1692, and Mr Ball (10) ſays, they were printed that year. It is true, Mr Church's (11) friend obſerves, that in either caſe, Spenſer muſt be born in 1550, that is, if the whole of them was either written or printed in 1692. But then, he ſuppoſes this to be a miſtake, ſince he agrees with Mr Fenton in the date of our Poet's birth in 1553.

(9) In Spenſer's Life prefixed to Kent's Edition of the Fairy Queen, 1751, 3 vol. 4to. with cuts.

(10) In his edit. of Spenſer's Calendar, 1732, 8vo.

(11) See Spenſer's Life prefixed to Church's Edit. of the Fairy Queen Queen, in 1758, in 4 vol. 8vo.

[*C*] *He became acquainted with Mr Harvey.*] This gentleman, who was one of the prime Wits of his time (12), was born at Saffron-Walden in Eſſex, of mean parentage, but great alliances, like his friend Spenſer; his Father being a Ropemaker, and himſelf nearly related to Sir Thomas Smith, the great Stateſman. Mr Wood ſays (13), his firſt academical breeding was at Chriſt-Church in Cambridge (14), where in a ſhort time he made ſuch a proficiency, as aſtoniſhed his Tutor: taking both his degrees in Arts, he became Proctor of the Univerſity, and grew to be an excellent and learned Poet and Orator. In which way he wrote the following pieces. 1. *Rhetor; ſive duorum dierum oratio de natura arte et exercitatione rhetorica*; *Lond.* 1577, 4*to.* 2. *Ciceronianus, vel Oratio poſt reditum habita Cantabrigiæ ad ſuos Auditores*; *ibid.* 4*to.* 3. *XAIPE vel gratulationem Valdenenſium libri* iv. *ad Eliz. Reginam*; *Lond.* 1578. in Latin Verſe, preſented to Queen Elizabeth in her progreſs at Audley-End in Eſſex. 4. *Smithus*; *vel Muſarum Lachrymæ pro obitu honoratiſſ. viri Thomæ Smith.* 5. *Tyranomaſtic.* 6. *Ode Natalitia.* 7. *Rameidos.* 8. *Philomuſos.* 9. *Anticoſmopolita.* 10. A copy of Engliſh Verſes, ſigned *Hobbinol*, and prefixed to Spenſer's *Fairy Queen*, which Mr Upton declares are enough, if he had written nothing elſe, to render his name immortal; and Spenſer particularly takes notice how highly he was eſteemed, both by Sir Philip Sidney, and his Friend Mr Dyer. Several pieces of Oratory and Poetry were alſo dedicated to him. After ſome time he was elected a Fellow of Trinity-hall in Cambridge, and applying himſelf to the ſtudy of the Civil Law, he obtained his Grace for a degree in that faculty, and was admitted LL. D. at Oxford, October 13, 1585, to complete which, he ſtood in the Act, July 11, the following year, and practiſed as an advocate in the Prerogative-Court of Canterbury, at London. However, in his elder years, it ſeems, he turned his mind to Aſtrology, in which alſo he became eminent, and wrote Almanacs that were much eſteemed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But in this way he had the ill luck to fall under the laſh of that noted and wreſtleſs Buffoon, Thomas Naſh, in his *Apologie of Pierce Pennileſs*, and *Have with You to Saffron-Walden*, which occaſioned Dr Harvey to publiſh *A new Letter of notable Contents: with a ſtrange Sonnet, intituled Gorgon*; *Lond.* 1593, 4*to.* 2. *Pierce's Superexogations; or a New Praiſe of the Old Aſſe. A Preparative to certain large Diſcourſes, intituled* Naſhes S. Fame; *Lond.* 1593, 4*to*; with ſeveral letters and ſonnets by the Poets of that time in praiſe of the Author. 3. *An Advertiſement for Pap Hatchet, and Martin Marprelate*, printed with the former with other things, wherein he tramples much (15) upon *Robert Green*, who had reflected upon him, and was a Poet, and maker of Ballads, much valued for their mirthful and jocund turn, the titles of which may be ſeen in Mr Wood; who informs us, that Green died about 1592, of a ſurfeit taken by eating pickled herrings, and drinking Rheniſh wine with them: at which fatal banquet Thomas Naſh was preſent, who, in his *Apologie of Pierce Pennileſs*, makes excellent ſport with him (16). Dr Gabriel Harvey had a brother Richard, who was alſo of Trinity-hall, and became a Divine of note (17); but giving into Aſtrology, ſuffered likewiſe the ſcourge of Naſh who called them both Falſe Prophets, Weather-Wizards, Fortune-Tellers, Mountebanks, Ballad-Makers, &c. Dr Gabriel lived to a great age, dying in the year 1630 (18).

(12) See his Muſarum Lachrymæ, &c.

(13) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 128.

(14) Others ſay at Pembroke Hall. See Tanner's Biblioth. Britannico-Hybernica, under his Article.

(15) And inhumanely, after Green's death, as Mr Wood tells us in Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 136.

(16) Ibid.

(17) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 217. where may be ſeen a liſt of his works in Aſtrology and Divinity.

(18) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 128. as before.

[*D*] *He expected aſſiſtance from the College in vain.*] The ſtory of his ſtanding for a Fellowſhip againſt Mr (afterwards Biſhop) Andrews, and loſing the election, related in one account of (19) his life, has been long univerſally rejected (20); and perhaps he left Cambridge, as ſome think, before that election happened (21): however, it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that in his circumſtances, he did not puſh for ſome aſſiſtance, as an exhibition or the like, either in his own or ſome other College, unleſs he was overruled by his Tutor, or the Maſter of the College, which perhaps will not be thought incredible, if that Governor is meant in the following paſſage of a Letter from his Friend Mr Harvey (22). 'And will you, ſays this ſevere Wit, 'needs have my Teſtimonial of your old Controller's 'new behaviour. A buſy and dizzy head, a leaden 'brain, a wooden wit, a copper face, a ſattin breaſt, 'a factious and elviſh heart, a founder of novelties, a 'confounder of his own and his friends good gifts, a 'morning book-worm, an afternoon malt-worm, a right 'Juggler, as full of ſleights, wiles, fetches, caſtes of 'legerdemain, toyes to mock apes with, odd ſhifts and 'knaviſh practices, as his ſkin can hold.' But

——Vivendum eſt recte
Tum propter plurima, tum his præcipue cauſis,
Ut lingua mancipiorum contemnas.

Whatever may be thought of this conjecture, our Poet ſeems to have left Cambridge without any bitter ſpirit of diſappointment. See with what filial piety he remembers his *Alma Mater* (though to him ſhe proved a Stepmother) where he celebrates the river that runs by her.

There doth by Huntingdon and Cambridge flit,
My mother Cambridge, whom as with a crown,
She doth adorn, and is adorn'd by it,
With many a gentle Muſe, and many a gentle Wit (23).

Yet it is not impoſſible, as Mr Upton (24) conjectures, that this diſappointment might prevent Spenſer's taking holy orders, as was the caſe of Milton; and it is obſervable, that they both afterwards inveighed bitterly againſt the Pride and Luxury of the Clergy.

(19) Viz. That prefixed to the edition of his works in 1679, fol.

(20) See the Art. of Biſhop Andrews, Remark [*B*], adding to it, that Mr Dove, the Biſhop's opponent, was an excellent Preacher, and became afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough.

(21) Fenton's Notes upon Waller, ubi ſupra.

(22) Prefixed to the laſt mentioned edition of Spenſer's works.

(23) Fairy Queen, B. IV. Canto II. St. 34.

(24) In his Life of Spenſer, ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *He fixed his Love upon his Roſalinde.*] This Lady's real name is ſtill a ſecret, as well as her family. Spenſer,

Mr Harvey, who, having a true ſenſe of his admirable genius, prevailed upon him to quit an indolent and hopeleſs life in the country, and remove to London (g), where they firſt introduced him to Mr (afterwards Sir) Philip Sidney [F]. This fortunate ſtep anſwered his fondeſt wiſhes: that generous patron of real merit of every kind, and of poeſy in particular, preſently took him into his favour and protection, and introduced him to Queen Elizabeth, who made him Poet Laureat [G]. After this, he was frequently invited to Penſehurſt, where, in company with Sir Philip, he ſtudied poetry and philoſophy, eſpecially the Platonic, which he made good uſe of in his writings. During this interval he finiſhed his

(g) Mr Ball, in vita Spenſeri, &c. prefixed to his edition of the Calendar in 1732. 8vo. dates this removal in 1578.

ſer, it ſeems, kept it ſo from every body, except his two intimate friends, Mr Kerke and Harvey, who kept their truſt with inviolable fidelity. We are informed indeed by the former, that ſhe was a gentlewoman of no mean houſe, nor endued with any vulgar or common gifts, both of nature and manners, but ſuch as needed neither Colin [Spenſer] be aſhamed to have her made known by his verſes, nor Hobbinol [Harvey] be grieved, that ſo ſhe ſhould be commended to immortality for her rare and ſingular virtues: eſpecially deſerving it no leſs than either *Myrto*, the moſt excellent poet, Theocritus's darling; or *Lauretto*, Petrarchi's goddeſs; or *Himera*, the worthy Poet Stenchorus's Idol (25). We ſee it is here hinted that her name was known to Mr Harvey, which indeed is evident from a Letter of Spenſer to him (26), where having aſſured this friend, that by his advice, he had conſented to addreſs his Paſtorals to Sir Philip Sidney, he mentions the reaſons, which had till then hindered him from doing it, one of which is as follows. 'Then al-'ſo becometh the work too baſe for his excellent Lord-'ſhip, being made in honour of a private perſon un-'known, which by ſome well-willers might be up-'braided not to be worthy, as you know ſhe is.' Mr Kerke (27) goes ſo far as to tell *us*, that Roſalinde is a feigned name, which, if *well ordered*, will betray the very true name of his love and misfortunes; and Mr Upton thinks (28), that by *well ordered* is meant the replacing the letters in their true order, by reſolving the Anagram of which, according to the frequent practice of our Poet, the name of Roſalinde is fabricated. The conjecture is ingenious, and indeed naturally ſuggeſted by Mr Kerke's words. The worſt of it is, that it leaves us as much in the dark as ever. The knot is ſtill inextricable, it is true ſome of Spenſer's Anagrams, as *Algrind* for *Grindal* (29) the Archbiſhop, are obvious enough, where he did not aim at a poetical name: but who could have unlocked *Hobbinol* into *Gabriel Harvey*, except Spenſer himſelf, who made the Anagram, or his Friends Kerke and Harvey, to whom he revealed it, as he did this of Roſalinde, which, like that of Hobbinol too, was probably not made by a ſimple derangement of the letters of her true name, without the variation and addition of ſome others, as were neceſſary to reduce it to the true poetical name of Roſalinde, under which he wiſhed and intended his Miſtreſs's true name ſhould be concealed. In ſo forlorn a ſtate, Mr Church's friend ventures a conjecture, with a modeſty and diffidence ſuitable to it. He thinks it not impoſſible, that the true name of Roſalinde, which was invented in Kent, might after all be meerly *Roſe Lynde*, *Roſe* being a common Chriſtian name; and among the country names in *Fuller's Worthies*, under Henry VII, there appears at Canterbury the name of *John Lynde*.

(25) Notes on Eclogue.

(26) Letter the third, prefixed to the edition of his works, in 1629, fol.

(27) In his notes upon Calendar Eclogue.

(28) Spenſer's Life prefixed to his edition of the Fairy Queen.

(29) See the Fifth Eclogue.

(30) Spenſer's Life prefixed to that edition of the Fairy Queen.

[F] *Mr Harvey introduced him to Sir Philip Sidney.*] Mr Fenton ſuppoſes his introduction to be made by dedicating his *Shepheard's Calendar* to Sir Philip, and the ſame opinion is eſpouſed by Dr Birch, notwithſtanding the notorious inconſiſtency of it with ſeveral paſſages in the Calendar itſelf, explained in the notes upon them by Mr Kerke. For inſtance, in the Fourth Eclogue, Hobbinol ſays,

Colin, thou ken'ſt the ſouthern Shepheard's boy,
Him love hath wounded with a deadly dart.

To which lines E. Kerke hath the following note. 'It 'ſeemeth that Colin appertaineth to ſome ſouthern 'nobleman, and perhaps in Surrey or Kent, the rather, 'becauſe he often mentions the Kentiſh Downs.' Again, in the Sixth Eclogue, Hobinol thus ſpeaks of Colin,

Then if by me thou liſt adviſed be,
Forſake the ſoil that ſo doth thee bewitch,
And to the dales reſort, where Shepheards rich,
And fruitful vales been every where to ſee.

'This is no poetical fiction, ſays E. Kerke, but unfeignedly ſpoken of the Poet's ſelf, who for eſpecial 'occaſion of private affairs (as I have partly of himſelf 'been informed) and for his more preferment, re-'moved out of the partes, and came into the South, as 'Hobbinol indeed adviſed him privately.' The point is ſtill more evident from Spenſer's Letter, before cited (31), to Mr Harvey, where, beſides the reaſon there mentioned, he ſets forth the following. 'My 'principal doubts were, firſt, I was minded for a 'while to have intermitted the addreſs of my writing, 'left by overmuch cloying their noble ears, I ſhould 'get a contempt of my ſelf, or elſe ſeem rather for gain 'and commodity, to do it for ſome ſweetneſſe that 'I had already received——Your deſire to hear of 'my laſt being with her Majeſty, muſt die of itſelf. 'As for the two gentlemen, Mr Sidney and Mr Dyer, 'they have me, I thank them, in ſome uſe and fa-'miliarity.' However, Mr Fenton's conjecture is much more tolerable, than the ſtory that Spenſer was a ſtranger to Sir Philip when he had begun to write his *Fairy Queen*, and that he took occaſion to go to Leiceſter-houſe, and to introduce himſelf by ſending into Sir Philip a copy of the ninth Canto of the firſt Book of that poem. Sir Philip was much ſurprized with the deſcription of deſpair in that Canto, and after reading ſome Stanzas, turned to his Steward and bid him give the perſon who brought thoſe verſes, 50l.; but upon reading the next Stanza, he ordered the ſum to be doubled. The Steward was no leſs ſurprized than his maſter, and thought it his duty to make ſome delay in executing ſo ſudden and laviſh a bounty; but upon reading one Stanza more, Sir Philip raiſed his gratuity to 200l. and commanded the Steward to give it immediately, leſt as he read further he might be tempted to give away his whole eſtate. To ſhame this idle tale (32), we need only obſerve, that the *Fairy Queen* may be ſaid even to owe its birth to Sir Philip Sidney, who quickly after his acquaintance with our Poet, diſcovered his genius to be formed for higher ſubjects, than thoſe leſſer pieces which he had then wrote, and perſuaded him

For Trumpets ſterne to change the oaten reed.

To the ſame purpoſe alſo we find him in the verſes to the Counteſs of Pembroke, ſent with a copy of the firſt edition of the *Fairy Queen*, acknowledging that it was her Brother, Sir Philip Sidney,

Who firſt did liſt his Muſe out of the floor.

And in the ſame ſtrain ſings another Poet more expreſsly (33), who ſpeaking of the early part of Spenſer's life, has theſe lines:

To ſeem a Shepheard then he made his choice;
But Sidney heard him ſing, and knew his voice (34).
And as Ulyſſes brought fair Thetis' ſon
From his retired life to menage Arms;
So Spenſer was by Sidney's ſpeeches won
To bleſs her Fame, not fearing after harms.

(31) In Remark preceding.

(32) It ſeems to be firſt retailed by the writer of his Life prefixed to the edition of his work in 1679.

(33) In the verſes ſigned W. L. prefixed to the firſt edit. of the Fairy Queen.

(34) That is, found out the ſtrength of voice.

[G] *Queen Elizabeth made him Poet Laureat.*] This laurel however is ſaid to have proved a barren one to him, at leaſt for ſome time, through the ill humour and oppoſition of the Treaſurer Burleigh, who not only with-held the penſion, but intercepted ſome other fruits of the Queen's bounty to him. We are told, that her Majeſty, upon Spenſer's preſenting ſome Poems to her, ordered him a gratuity of a hundred pounds. But that Burleigh objecting to it ſaid, with ſome ſcorn of the Poet, *What! all this for a Song.* The Queen replied, *Then give him what is Reaſon.* Spenſer waited for ſome time, but had the mortification to find himſelf diſappointed of the Queen's intended bounty. Upon this, he took a proper opportunity to preſent a paper to her Majeſty, in the manner of a petition, wherein he reminded her of the orders ſhe had given, in the following lines.

I was

(b) Mr Ball says they were firſt printed in 1577, but this ſeems to be a miſtake.

his Shepheard's Calendar [*H*], and printed it in 1579 (*b*), with a dedication in verſe to this patron, who had recommended him to the Earl of Leiceſter, and procured him to be appointed Agent for that Miniſter in France and other foreign parts. And though this deſign, by ſome means or other not known, happened to prove abortive [*I*], yet he attended

I was promiſed on a time
To have Reaſon for my rhime,
From that time unto this ſeaſon,
I received nor Rhime nor Reaſon.

This paper produced the deſired effect, and the Queen, not without ſome reproof of the Treaſurer, immediately directed the payment of the hundred pounds, which ſhe at firſt ordered (35). Our Poet however ſent the three firſt books of his *Fairy Queen*, when printed, to Burleigh, with a ſonnet complimenting him as the Atlas of the State (36), yet at the ſame time ſhewing ſome diffidence of his Lordſhip's regard for Poetry, in excuſing his unfitly preſenting thoſe dull rhimes

(35) Fuller's Worthies in London.

(36) It is prefixed to that edition.

The labours of loſt time and wit unſtaid,
Yet if their deeper ſenſe be duly weigh'd,
And the dim veil, with which from common view
Their fairer parts are hid, aſide be laid,
Perhaps not vain they may appear to you.
Such as they be vouchſafe them to receave,
And wipe their faults out of your cenſure grave.

And it ſhould ſeem, that the preſent was not received in an agreeable manner to our Author, ſince in the Introduction to the fourth book, he reflects upon that Stateſman's diſlike of his Poem as follows.

The rugged forehead that with grave foreſight
Weild's kingdom's, cauſes, and affairs of ſtate,
My lower rhimes, I wot, doth ſharply wite,
For praiſing love.——

He alſo plainly alludes to this misfortune at the end of the ſixth book, where ſpeaking of detraction deſcribed as a monſter, he concludes with the following Stanza.

Ne may this homely verſe of many meaneſt
Hope to eſcape his venemous deſpite,
More than my former writs, all were they cleaneſt
From blameful blot, and free from all that wite,
With which ſome wicked tongues did it backbite,
And bring into a mighty Peer's diſpleaſure,
That never ſo deſerved to indite.
Therefore do you my rhimes keep better meaſure
And ſeek to pleaſe, that now is counted wiſe men's treaſure.

Among his other writings here mentioned, the moſt remarkable perhaps is his Poem intituled *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, where he has painted the misfortune of dependance on Court favour in the moſt lively colours, particularly in the following lines.

Full little knoweſt thou who haſt not try'd
What hell it is in ſuing long to bide,
To loſe good days that might be better ſpent,
To waſte long nights in penſive diſcontent;
To ſpeed to day, to be put back to morrow;
To feed on hope, to pine with fear and ſorrow;
To have thy Prince's Grace, yet want her Peers;
To have thy aſking, yet wait many years;
To fret thy ſoul with croſſes and with cares;
To eat thy heart thr' comfortleſs deſpaire;
To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run;
To ſpend, to give, to want, to be undone.

This, and the other reflections in the ſame *Tale*, are ſaid to be reſented by the Treaſurer, in the apprehenſion that he was ſtruck at in them. However that be, it is certain there are other parts of our Poet's works, where this diſcouragement by the Treaſurer is as ſtrongly marked. For inſtance, in the *Ruins of Time*, written ſome time after Sir Philip Sidney's death, he pours forth his complaints in the full bitterneſs of his ſoul.

O grief of griefs! O gall of all good hearts!
To ſee that Vertue ſhould deſpiſed be
Of ſuch as firſt were raiſed for Vertue's parts,
And now broadſpreading like an aged Tree,
Let none ſhoot up that nigh them planted be.
O let not thoſe of whom the Muſe is ſcorned,
Alive or dead be by the Muſe adorned.

Mr Church's friend obſerves (37), that in what Spenſer wrote after 1590 he ſeems never to have ſpared Burleigh. On the other hand, it has been urged in behalf of that Miniſter, that his uſage of our Poet might not proceed, either from a perſonal prejudice in particular, or a contempt of Poetry in general; but from the influence of party, Spenſer being attached firſt to the Earl of Leiceſter, and then to the Earl of Eſſex, both ſucceſſively heads of a party oppoſite to the Treaſurer (38). And indeed, after the Iriſh Grant, Spenſer's complaints were ſure ſomewhat unſeaſonable, and might have been huſhed by her Majeſty's bounty to him. In reſpect to Lord Burleigh, may it not be retorted upon him, That they were then *Rhimes without Reaſon*; and as ſuch, ſtood in need of the excuſe which has been made for them (39), that 'The moſt elegant minds have the quickeſt ſenſe 'of repulſes from the great and powerful, who ſhould 'countenance and protect them, and that therefore it 'is no wonder that the misfortune ſunk deep into his 'ſpirit, and even dwelt upon him for a great ſpace of 'his life.'

(37) In the Life of Spenſer, prefixed to his edition of the Fairy Queen, edit. 1758. 8vo.

(38) Birch's Life of Spenſer, prefixed to the edit. of the Fairy Queen, publiſhed in 1751. 4to.

(39) Hughes in his Remarks upon Spenſer's Writings prefixed to his edition of his Works.

[*H*] *He printed the Shepheard's Calendar in* 1579.] Spenſer is univerſally allowed to be the Father of the true Paſtoral Poem in England. The true reaſon of his ſucceeding ſo well was unqueſtionably, that he felt and ſaw what he deſcribed *Love and the Country*, as is obſerved by Mr Hughes (40); though that Critic has made a ſlip in remarking, that in this work our Author was not miſled by the Italians, notwithſtanding Taſſo's *Aminta* might have been as good an Authority to him in the Paſtoral, as Arioſto in the greater kind of Poetry (41). Whereas, the *Aminta*, though compoſed in 1674, was not publiſhed till 1581, as we are informed from Niceron by Dr Birch (42), who likewiſe takes notice, that ſome faults in this Calendar were ſhewn by Mr Pope in his Diſcourſe of Paſtoral Poetry, which was written at ſixteen years of age. That excellent Bard, however unparalleled as he is in ſome other ſpecies of Poetry, it is certain did not excel in this. It is true, he aimed, after Virgil, at the more elevated kind of Paſtoral, which would exhibit the charming ſcenes of rural ſimplicity and innocence, without ſinking into the ruſtic. But in the attempt he carried it to exceſs: he was made ſenſible of his miſtake, and conſcious, as it ſhould ſeem, that the bent of his nature and genius did not lead him to ſtretch with equal wings after Spenſer in the ruſtical way, he gave a proof at once, both of his good ſenſe and diſcernment, in putting upon that taſk his friend *Gay*, who thereby became Spenſer's ſecond; *et Primo vix, aut ne vix quidem, Impar* (43).

(40) Ibid.

(41) Remarks on the Shepheard's Calendar, p. 98.

(42) Niceron's Memoires des Hommes illuſtres, vol. 25, p. 71. quoted in Birch's Life of Spenſer, ubi ſupra.

(43) See Gay's Article.

[*I*] *The deſign proved abortive.*] The writer of his Life, prefixed to Mr Church's Edition of the *Fairy Queen*, thinks it probable, that the ſcheme never took place; in ſupport of which opinion he obſerves, that Spenſer in his Letter to his Friend Mr Harvey, dated at Leiceſter-houſe, October 5, 1579, having complained, that whereas he had hitherto lived in a manner agreeable, and not profitable to himſelf, he had now obtained a ſtation, which was profitable, but not agreeable; but that he was now grown weary of waſting any longer his youthful years in fruitleſs expectation, or mean complaints; and therefore had ſubmitted to the ſeeking of his fortune, by leaving his country for long and tedious journeys in foreign parts. He adds in the poſtſcript, that he expected to ſet out the week following, 'If I can, ſays he, be diſpatched of my Lord. I go 'thither as ſent by him, and maintained moſtwhat of 'him; and there am to employ my time, my body, 'my mind, in his Honour's ſervice.' And yet, in the concluſion of another Letter to the ſame Friend, dated October 16, which, from many circumſtances, muſt be the ſame year, he writes as follows. 'Thus much 'was written at Weſtminſter yeſternight; but coming 'this morning, being the 16th of October, to Mrs 'Kerkes (44) to have it delivered to the Carrier, I 'received your Letter ſent me the laſt week, whereby 'I perceive you continue your old exerciſe of verſifying Engliſh, which glory I had now thought ſhould 'have been ours at London, and at the Court.' It is true, this is not deciſive. However, it is certain, that

(44) Hence it is conjectured, that Kerke is the name of Spenſer's friend, marked by the initial letters E. K. in his Notes on the Shepheard's Calendar, and elſewhere.

attended the Lord Grey of Wilton, appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland *(i)*, in the quality of his Secretary, the following year [K]. Spenſer diſcharged the duties of this poſt with great abilities

(i) His Lordſhip was appointed Aug. 12, 1580, and ſworn into it Sept. 7. Ware's Hiſt. of Ireland.

that if he did go abroad at all, his ſtay was ſo ſhort, that the main deſign muſt have proved in a great meaſure abortive, ſince another Letter ſhews him to be in London when the Earthquake happened there, in the beginning of April, 1580; and in July or Auguſt the Lord Grey ſet out for Ireland. Perhaps this traverſe might be owing to that unlucky miſtake, which threw him for a while under Leiceſter's diſpleaſure, though it was committed unwillingly; and to ſhew emblematically, that with honeſt intention, he erred like Virgil's harmleſs gnat, he ſent his Lordſhip a haſty tranſlation of that Poem, with a ſonnet prefixed, by way of dedication, in which he expreſſes himſelf thus.

Wronged, yet not daring to expreſs my pain,
To you, great Lord, the Cauſer of my care,
In cloudy tears my caſe I thus complain,
Unto your ſelf that only privy are.

(44) See his Life of Spenſer, ubi ſupra.

Mr Upton (44) thought this Lord's diſpleaſure was owing to ſome kind of officious ſedulity in Spenſer, who much deſired to ſee his Patron married to the Queen of England. Whatever it were, it ſeems to have been blown over before the writing of the *Fairy Queen*, if, as Mr Upton conjectures, the Earl is meant by Prince Arthur in that Poem. It is certain, that our Poet had early framed ſome ſcheme of an heroic Poem, of which his Lordſhip was to have been the Hero, as appears from the following lines.

Abandon then thy baſe and vile clowne;
Lift up thy ſelf out of the lowlie duſt,
And ſing of bloodie Mars, of Wars, or Gifts:
Turn thee to thoſe that wield the awful Crown,
To doughty Knights whoſe woundleſs armour ruſts,
And helms unbruiſed waxen daily brown.
There may thy Muſe diſplay her fluttering wing,
And ſtretch her ſelf at large from Eaſt to Weſt.
Whether thou liſt on fair Eliza, reſt;
Or if thou pleaſe in bigger notes to ſing,
Advance to Worthy (45). *Him ſhe loveth beſt;*
That firſt the white bear to the ſtake did bring.

(45) So he often ſtiles that Lord.

(46) See Spenſer's Lat. Verſes to Harvey, dated Octob. 5, 1579, which verſes, as Mr Upton obſerves, were certainly written in haſte, and not intended to be publiſhed, having ſeveral faults in them.

This our Poet writes in his tenth Eclogue, which therefore is another convincing proof, that it was not the Dedication of the *Shepheard's Calendar* that firſt introduced him to Sir Philip Sidney. Though, at the ſame time, it is more than probable, that ſo much of the Poem as was (and it is evident that ſome of it was) (46) written before the Author left the North, might be ſhewn on his Introduction by Mr Harvey to that gentleman.

[K] *He was made Secretary to Lord Grey.*] Among Sidney's papers, there is a Letter of Sir Henry Sidney to the Lord Grey, on his appointment to Ireland, dated September 17, 1580, where he particularly mentions, that his ſon Philip had preſſed him much to ſend him a letter of advice as to that government, which he had adminiſtered himſelf about eleven years either as Lord Juſtice, or Lord Deputy. And ſince Sir Henry married Lord Leiceſter's ſiſter, and Lord Grey was allied to Sir Henry, it is eaſy to conceive how cordially Spenſer might be recommended to him, and accepted by him. And our Poet omitted no fitting opportunity of teſtifying his gratitude. For inſtance, he ſent his Lordſhip a copy of the firſt edition of the *Fairy Queen* (47), with the following Sonnet.

(47) They are prefixed to that Poem.

Moſt noble Lord, the pillar of my life,
And Patron of my Muſes pupillage;
Through whoſe large bounty poured on me rife,
In the firſt ſeaſon of my feeble age,
I now do live, bound your's by vaſſalage,
Sith nothing ever may redeem nor reave
Out of your endleſs debt ſo ſure a gage.
Vouchſafe in worth this ſmall gift to receave,
Which in your noble hands for pledge I leave
Of all the reſt that I am ty'd t'account;
Rude rymes, the which a ruſtic Muſe did weave
In ſavadge ſoile, far from Parnaſſe Mount,
And roughly wrought in an unlearned loome,
The which vouchſafe dear Lord your favourable doom.

But he raiſed afterwards a much larger monument of his gratitude, in his *Review of the State of Ireland*, where he undertakes to defend his Lordſhip's Government there, with the warmeſt zeal. The Queen was diſpleaſed with ſome parts of his conduct, which occaſioned his recall in the ſhort ſpace of two years. Particularly he had been repreſented to her Majeſty, as exerciſing ſo much cruelty, as drove the Rebels to deſperation; and to prevent the ill conſequences ariſing from ſuch a diſtemperature, a general pardon was granted ſoon after the death of the Earl of Deſmond. Our Author's piece is drawn up in the way of a dialogue, between Eudoxus and Irenæus. And Eudoxus having mentioned theſe reports of Lord Grey's miſconduct, Irenæus anſwers:

'Too true, Eudoxus, the more the pity; for I may 'not forget ſo memorable a thing, neither can I be ig-'norant of that perilous advice, and of the whole 'means by which it was compaſſed, and very cunning-'ly contrived, by ſowing diſſention between him and 'another noble perſonage, wherein they both at length 'found how notably they had been abuſed, and how 'thereby underhand, this univerſal alteration of things 'was brought about; but then too late to ſtay the 'ſame. For in the mean time, all that was formerly 'done with long labour and great toil, was, you ſee, in 'a moment undone; and that good Lord blotted with 'the name of a bloody man, whom we that well 'knew, knew to be moſt gentle, affable, loving, and 'temperate: but that the neceſſity of that preſent ſtate 'of things inforced him to that violence, and almoſt 'changed his natural diſpoſition. But otherwiſe he 'was ſo far from delighting in blood, that oft times 'he ſuffered not juſt vengeance to fall where it was de-'ſerved; and even ſome of them, which were after-'wards his Accuſers, had taſted too much of his mercy, 'and were from the gallows brought to be his Accu-'ſers. But his courſe indeed was this, that he ſpared 'not the heads and principals of any miſchievous prac-'tices, or rebellion; but ſhewed ſharp judgment on 'them chiefly for example's ſake, that all the meaner 'ſort, which alſo were generally infeſted with that evil, 'might by fear thereof be reclaimed and ſaved, if it 'were poſſible. For in the laſt conſpiracy of ſome of 'the Engliſh Pale, think you that there were not 'many more guilty than thoſe that felt the puniſhment: 'yet he touched only a few of eſpecial note, and in 'the trial of them alſo, to prevent the blame of cruelty 'and partial proceedings, and ſeeking their blood, 'which he, as in his great wiſdom it ſeemeth, did 'foreſee would be objected againſt him, for the 'avoiding thereof uſe a ſingular diſcretion and re-'gard; for the Jury that went upon their trial, he 'made to be choſen out of their own neareſt kinſmen, 'and their Judges he made of ſome of their own Fa-'thers, others of their Uncles and deareſt Friends, 'who when they could not but juſtly condemn them, 'yet he uttered their judgment in abundance of tears; 'and yet he even herein was called bloody and cruel.

'*Eudoxus.* In that ſharp execution of the Spaniards 'at the fort of Smerwick, I heard it eſpecially noted, 'and if it were true, ſurely it was a great touch to him 'in point of honour, if he promiſed them life, or put 'them in hopes thereof.

'*Iren.* Both the one and the other is moſt untrue. 'For this I can aſſure you myſelf, being as near them 'as any, that he was ſo far, either from promiſing, or 'putting them in hopes, that when their Secretary, 'called, as I remember, Signor Jeffery, an Italian, be-'ing ſent to treat with the Lord Deputy for grace, he 'was flatly refuſed; and afterwards their Colonel, 'named Don Sebaſtion, came forth to intreat, that 'they might part with their arms like ſoldiers, at 'leaſt with their lives according to the cuſtom of war, 'and law of nations; it was ſtrongly denied them, 'and told to him by the Lord Deputy himſelf, that 'they could not juſtly plead either cuſtom of war, or 'law of nations; for that they were not any lawful 'enemies, and if they were, he willed them to ſhew 'by what commiſſion they came thither into ano-'ther Prince's dominions to war, whether from the 'Pope, or the King of Spain, or any other; to which, 'when they ſaid they had not, but were only Adven-'turers, that came to ſeek foreign bread, and to ſerve 'in the wars among the Irith, who deſired to entertain 'them, it was told him, that the Iriſh themſelves, as

'the

abilities and integrity, equally reſpectful of and reſpected by his Lordſhip, who being recalled in 1682 (k), our Secretary returned with his Maſter to England, where he ſeems to have continued till the much lamented death of his patron, Sir Philip Sidney, in 1586, a loſs which he felt and grieved for all his life afterwards (l), and which would perhaps have ſunk him beyond the hopes of a recovery, had it not been very much alleviated a few months before (m), by receiving, as a reward for his ſervices, and in honour of his excellent talents, a grant from the Queen of upwards of three thouſand acres of land (n) in the county of Cork in Ireland. This royal bounty carried him again, in 1587, to that kingdom, where he entered upon his eſtate, and paſſed his days in a happy tranquillity, having for his houſe the caſtle of Kilcolman, a ſeat of the Earl of Deſmond, whoſe rebellion had been lately quelled (o), and the pleaſant river Mulla running through his ground [L]. In this ſweet leiſure he reſumed his great work, the poem of the *Fairy Queen* [M], and was thus happily employed in 1580, when Sir Walter Raleigh, with whom he had been ſeveral years acquainted (p), touching, in his return from the Portugal expedition, upon Ireland, in order to take a view of his much larger grant (q) from the Crown, made a trip to Kilcolman to ſee his old friend and brother poet. Spenſer had then finiſhed the three firſt books of his laſt mentioned work, and,

(k) He was ſucceeded by Archbiſhop Loftus and Sir Henry Wallop, who were ſworn into the office September 6, 1582. Ibid.

(l) See ſeveral of his poems, and particularly his Aſtrophel, a paſtoral elegy on that occaſion.

(m) Sir Philip died Oct. 17, and Spenſer's grant is dated June 27, 1586.

(n) The whole was 3028 acres; rent 17l. 7s. 6d. Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland. They were called Undertakers, being obliged by the patent to cultivate the lands granted to them.

(o) The Earl of Deſmond and his accomplices had forfeited 574628 acres, partly in Cork.

(p) From the time of Sir Walter's ſerving in the poſt of a captain of foot under Lord Grey. See his article.

(q) His grant was no leſs than 30000 acres.

'the Earl and John of Deſmond, with the reſt, were 'no lawful enemies, but Rebels and Traitors, and 'therefore they that came to ſuccour them, no better 'than rogues and runnagates, eſpecially coming with 'no licence nor commiſſion from their own King. 'So as it would be diſhonourable for him, in the name 'of his Queen, to condeſcend to make any terms with 'ſuch Rebels; but left them to their choice, to yield and 'ſubmit themſelves, or no. Whereupon the ſaid Colonel 'did abſolutely yield himſelf and the fort, with all 'therein, and craved only mercy; which it being not 'thought good to ſhew them, for danger of them, if 'being ſaved, they ſhould afterwards join with the 'Iriſh; and alſo for fear of the Iriſh, who are much 'emboldened by theſe foreign ſuccours, and alſo put 'in hopes of more e'er long; there was no other way, 'but to make that ſhort end as was made. Therefore 'moſt untruly and maliciouſly do theſe evil tongues 'backbite and ſlander the ſacred aſhes of that moſt juſt 'and honourable perſonage, whoſe leaſt vertue, of 'many moſt excellent that abounded in his heroic 'ſpirit, they were never able to aſpire unto (47).' We have given this defence at length, as well worthy of it in that light: but there are two other remarks, which may perhaps be thought not leſs worth notice. Firſt, hereby ſome light is thrown into the occaſion of the quarrel between Lord Grey and Sir Walter Raleigh, which is left ſo dark by his hiſtorian (48), and which we ſee here, was occaſioned by the malicious and injurious miſreports of ſome informers, the not unfrequent bane of the beſt friendſhips. The other uſe to be made of this paſſage of Spenſer, regards himſelf. For to this faithful attachment to Lord Grey, after he was in diſgrace, may fairly be aſcribed, in ſome meaſure, the ſmall favour he met with at Court by his *Fairy Queen*, though the original of every Knight was then living in the Court, and he attributed to each of them that virtue which he thought was moſt conſpicuous in them; an ingenious piece of flattery, which turned not much to his account (49).

(47) View of the State of Ireland, p. 156—159.

(48) Oldy's Life of Sir W. Raleigh.

(49) Dryden's Dedication to Juvenal.

[L] *A pleaſant Seat in Ireland.*] A late Author (50) has given us the following deſcription of Kilcolman. 'It is, ſays he, two miles north-weſt of Doneraile. 'It was a caſtle of the Earls of Deſmond, now almoſt 'level with the ground. It was ſituated in the north 'ſide of a fine lake, in the midſt of a vaſt plain, ter'minated to the Eaſt by the mountains of the county 'of Waterford; Bally-howra hills, or, as Spenſer terms 'them, the mountains of Mola, to the North; Nagle 'mountains to the South; and thoſe of Kerry to the 'Weſt. It commands a view of above half the breadth 'of Ireland, and muſt have been, when the adjacent 'uplands were cloathed with woods, a moſt pleaſant and 'romantic ſituation.'

(50) Ch. Smith, in an Account of the Ancient and Preſent State of the County and City of Cork, Vol. II. p. 60—63. See alſo Fiennes Moriſon's Itinerary, Part II. p. 4.

[M] *The Fairy Queen.*] Notwithſtanding the many groſs faults that have been found both in the original plan, and in the execution of this Poem; yet Mr Hughes rightly obſerves (51), Spenſer has by it become the Father of more Poets, than any other of our writers in that way; and I believe it will not be diſputed, that the ſame Gentleman has given the true reaſon for it, which is our Poet's peculiar talent in the embelliſhments of deſcription, rich and laviſh in him beyond compariſon. As this is the moſt ſtriking part of Poetry, eſpecially in young minds, being firſt engendered in the imagination, and youth moſt ſuſceptible of theſe impreſſions, it will not ſeem very ſtrange therefore, that Cowley, as himſelf tells us, firſt caught this flame by reading Spenſer; that the great Milton owned him for his original, as Dryden aſſures us; and that Dryden ſtudied him, and has beſtowed more frequent commendations on him, than on any other Engliſh Poet. However, theſe three were all born with ſuch poetical talents, as would have made a figure in the Art, had Spenſer never been. The force of whoſe power, as a Father in begetting poetical children, will perhaps be thought more conſpicuouſly diſplayed in the inſtance of Dr Henry More (52), who informs us, that he owed all his Poetry to hearing his Father read the *Fairy Queen* to his children, in the winter evenings. In this taſte a young Critic writes, that 'though the *Fairy Queen* 'does not exhibit the œconomy of plan, and exact 'arrangement of parts, which Epic ſeverity requires; 'yet we ſcarcely regret the loſs of theſe, while their 'place is ſo amply ſupplied by ſomething which more 'powerfully attracts us, as it engages the affection of 'the heart, rather than the applauſe of the head; and 'if there be any Poem whoſe graces pleaſe, becauſe 'they are ſituated beyond the reach of art, and where 'the faculties of creative imagination delight us, be'cauſe they are unaſſiſted, and unreſtrained by thoſe 'of deliberate judgment, it is this, of which we are 'now ſpeaking (53). To ſum up all in a few words; 'Though in the *Fairy Queen* we are not ſatisfied as 'Critics, yet we are tranſported as Readers.'

(51) In his Life of Spenſer, ubi ſupra.

(52) In the Dedication of his Poem to his Father Alexander More, Eſq.

(53) Warton's Obſervations on the Fairy Queen of Spenſer, Sect. I. at the *concluſion*, p. 12, 13. edit. 1754. 8vo.

But if Spenſer may be ſtiled the Father of our Poets, he has aſſuredly an equal claim to be the Father of the Critics. The ſubſtance of all thoſe who flouriſhed before Mr Hughes, is collected and thrown by him into ſome continued diſcourſes, prefixed to his edition of Spenſer's Works, in 1715. Since that Mr Jortin publiſhed *Remarks on Spenſer's Poems, in* 1734. 8vo. which have been well received. Mr Spence, in his *Polymetis* (54), hath alſo entered into our Poet's manner of allegorizing, and the conduct of his Allegories, which, as the book is not in very many hands, we ſhall lay before the Reader. The general plan of the *Polymetis* is the ſame with Lord Bacon's *Wiſdom of the Ancients*, being to recommend their ſimplicity and clearneſs in ſymbolical repreſentations. He aſſures us he had read the *Fairy Queen* with the particular view of informing himſelf from the beſt Allegoriſts among all the modern Poets, how far they have deviated from the Ancients. He reduces Spenſer's faults, in relation to his Machinery or Allegories, under three general heads. 1. Mixing the fables of Heatheniſm with the truths of Chriſtianity. 2. Miſrepreſenting the Allegories of the Ancients. 3. From ſomething that is wrong in the Allegories of his own invention. 'Under the firſt, he inſtances in 'that ſhort view which our Poet gives of the infernal 'regions (55), where he ſpeaks of Jupiter and Tanta'lus, and of Pontius Pilate and our Saviour, almoſt in 'the ſame breath. With regard to the ſecond fault, 'he ſpeaks of Eſculapius as being in hell torments (56), 'in the view of Hell. Under the third fault is ranged, 'Spenſer's introducing a company of Satyrs, as ſaving 'a Lady from a Rape (57); and makes Sylvanus, the 'God or Governor of Satyrs (58), a Dignity which 'the Ancients never provided for him any more than 'the Jews girdle, which he gives him round his 'waiſte (59). He deſcribes the day, or morning, with 'purple hair (60). The Syrens as half Fiſh (61). 'The figures of the Syrens are not uncommon in An'tiques, and are never repreſented there with a fiſh's 'tail, that I know of, but with the upper part human, 'and the lower like birds: the Poets deſcribe them in 'the

(54) Dialogue XIX. edition 1755. folio.

(55) In B. II. Canto VII. Stanza 62.

(56) B. I. C. V. St. 43.

(57) B. I. C. VI. St. 29.

(58) Ib. St. 25. ver. 4.

(59) Ib. St. 24. ver. 9.

(60) B. I. C. X. St. 10.

(61) B. II. C. XII. St. 31.

and, resolving to publish them, he gladly accepted his friend's proposal to accompany him to England. On his arrival there, the Earl of Leicester being dead (r), he was introduced to

(r) His Lordship died in 1588. General History of England.

the same manner (61). Spenser describes Bacchus to be fat (62), a misrepresentation very common among the modern Artists. He makes Clio to be Apollo's Wife (63), and Cupid the Mother of the Graces (64). He represents in one place Orion as flying from a snake into Heaven (65); and in another, as a watry God, and one of the Attendants upon Neptune. Among the faults of this kind noted, the alterations in Spenser's account of the marriage of the Thames and the Medway, in which he has greatly increased Neptune's court, and added several Deities as Attendants upon that God, which were never regarded as such by any of the Ancients (66). These instances may be sufficient to shew, that where Spenser does introduce the Allegories of the ancient Poets, he does not always follow them so exactly as he might; and in the Allegories, which are merely of his own invention (and *his invention* is one of the richest and most beautiful that perhaps ever was) I am sorry to say, that he does not only fall very short of that simplicity and propriety, which is so remarkable in the works of the Ancients, but runs now and then into thoughts that are quite unworthy of so great a genius. I shall mark out some of these faults to you, which indeed thus separated from the work, and laid together by themselves, will appear very gross; but if they should prejudice you against so fine a writer, read almost any one of his entire Cantoes, and it will reconcile you to him again. The reason of my producing these instances, is only to shew what faults the greatest Allegorists may commit. He then proceeds to observe, that the first sort of faults in the Allegories of Spenser's own invention, is their being sometimes too complicated or overdone; such, for example, are his representations of scandal, discord, and pride. Scandal is what he calls the *Blatant Beast*, and he has made a very strange beast of him. His mouth was as wide as a peck (67), and he had 4000 tongues in it of dogs, cats, bears, tygers, men, and serpents (68). Again, the Dragon killed by the Knight of the red Cross, in the last Canto of Book I, is described with a tail that wanted very little of three furlongs in length, the blood that gushes from his wounds is enough to drive a water-mill, and his roar like a hundred hungry lions. Another fault is in fixing such filthy ideas to some of his personages, as is enough to turn any stomach to read it, as in that of error (69); to which we may very well retort the Poet's own words on the like occasion, *Such loathsome matter were small lust to speak or think*. III. His Allegories are sometimes so far stretched, that they appear rather extravagant than great, and sometimes so minute in pointing out every particular, that the object is in danger of becoming ridiculous, instead of being admirable. IV. They are not well invented in some particulars; first, In personifying such things as are not fit to be represented as a person, as in his description of the *Cave of Care* (70); and in making Gifts or munera a Woman (71). 2. In representing things under a human personage, with somewhat inconsistent with that form and nature. The greatest instance of this kind in him, is that where he turns the human body into a Castle, the Tongue into the Porter that keeps the Gate, and the Teeth into *thirty two* Warders dressed in white, Appetite the Marshal of the Hall, Digestion the Clerk of the Kitchen, Concoction the Master-Cook, the Stomach the Caldron, the Lungs the Bellows, and the Sink Port-Esquiline (72). 3. In making the Person perform such things and actions as no man in his senses would do. Thus he describes Desire, as holding coals of fire in his hands, and blowing them up into a flame, which last particular is something worse than Ariosto's bringing in Discord with a flint and steel to strike fire in the face of Pride (73). V. His allegorical personages, though well invented, are not well marked out, of which there are many instances. Thus in one Canto, Doubt is represented walking with a staff that shrinks under him (74). Hope with an Aspergeoire (75), the utensil used by the Papists to sprinkle sinners with holy water. Dissimulation as twisting two clues of silk (76). Grief with a pair of panniers (77); and Pleasure with a humble bee in a phial (78). And in another, in the procession of the months and seasons, February is introduced in a waggon drawn by two fishes (79). May as riding on Castor and Pollux (80). June is mounted on a crab (81). October on a scorpion (82). And November comes on a centaur all in a sweat, because, as the Poet observes, he had just been fattening his hogs (83). Others may be well ranked under ridiculous imaginations. Such, I think, is that idea of Ignorance, moving with the back part of his head foremost (84); and that of Danger with Hatred, Murder, Treason, &c. on his back (85), as also the sorrowful Lady with a bottle for her tears, and a bag for her repentance, which are running out almost as fast as she puts them in (86). A huge fat Giant swelling into an empty form, like a bladder (87). The horses of the Sun foaming tar (88). Sir Guyon's putting a padlock upon the tongue of Occasion (89). And Remorse nipping St George's heart (90). There is so much of the ridiculous in the representations of the manners, that I can't help thinking this excellent Poet might possibly have formed some of his ideas in it, even from so low a thing as the old Pageants, which were in great vogue about the time he lived (91). Had Spenser formed his Allegories on the plan of the ancient Poets, and reformed such as he had from Ariosto, and the Italian Allegorists, he might have followed nature much more closely, and would not have wandered so often into such strange and inconsistent images. I am apt to believe, that Spenser considered Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* as a Poem wholly serious, though the Author certainly wrote it partly in jest. It is a work of a mixed nature, between the gravity of *Tasso*, and the broad laugh of *Berni*. Perhaps Spenser taking some things serious, which Ariosto meant for ridiculous, may have led him now and then to have said things that are ridiculous, when he meant to be very serious. However that be, we may reasonably conclude, from so great faults as I have mentioned to you, from so great a man (whether they arise from his too much indulging the excellence of his own fancy, or from his copying after so singular a pattern) that it would be extremely useful for our Poets in general to follow the plan of Allegories so far as it is settled to their hands by the Ancients. At least till some Modern may have invented and established some better plan for them to go upon.'

(61) Ovid's Met. B. V. ver. 55.
(62) B. III. C. I. St. 51.
(63) B. I. C. II. St. 5.
(64) B. II. C. VIII. St. 6.
(65) B. II. C. II. St. 46.
(66) B. IV. C. II. St. 15.
(67) B. VI. C. XII.
(68) Ib. St. 28.
(69) Canto I.
(70) B. IV. C. V. St. 38.
(71) B. V. C. II. St. 9, 10.
(72) Ibid. St. 25, 26.
(73) Orland. Fur. lib. 18. St. 34.
(74) B. III. C. II. St. 10.
(75) Ib. St. 13.
(76) Ib. St. 14.
(77) B. III. C. XII. St. 16.
(78) Ib. St. 18.
(79) C. 11. or Mutability, St. 43.
(80) Ib. St. 34.
(81) Ib. St. 35.
(82) Ib. St. 39.
(83) Ib. St. 40.
(84) B. I. C. VIII. St. 31.
(85) B. IV. C. IV. St. 16, 17, and 20.
(86) B. VI. C. LXVIII. St. 24.
(87) B. I. C. VIII. St. 24.
(88) B. I. C. V. St. 28.
(89) B. II. C. IV. St. 22.
(90) B. I. C. X. St. 27.

A little before Mr Spence, there appeared a piece, intituled *Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser*, by Thomas Warton, A. M. Fellow of Trinity-College, Oxford, wherein that Critic speaks more largely than is seen in some of his Brother Oxonian's Remarks (92). Among other things, he takes notice, that though the *Fairy Queen* was formed upon *Ariosto*; yet the adventures of his Knights are a more exact and immediate copy of those which we meet with in old romances and books of chivalry. They are particularly engaged in revenging injuries, and doing justice to the distressed. That his first book is a regular and precise imitation of such a series of action as we frequently meet with in those books: for instance, a King's daughter applies to a Knight, that he would relieve her father and mother, who are closely confined to their castle upon account of a vast and terrible dragon, that had ravaged their country, and perpetually laid in wait to destroy them. The Knight sets forward with the Lady, encounters a monster in the way, is plotted against by an Enchanter, and after surmounting a variety of difficulties and obstacles, arrives at the country which is the scene of the dragon's devastations, kills him, and is presented to the King and Queen, whom he has just delivered; marries their daughter, but is soon obliged to leave her on account of fulfilling a former vow. He then observes, that the circumstance of each of Spenser's twelve Knights setting out from one place, by a different way, to perform a different adventure, exactly resembles that of the seven Knights proceeding forwards to their several expeditions in the well known Romance, intituled *The Seven Champions of Christendom*. That in fact, these miraculous books were highly fashionable, and the chivalry in them was still practised in the age of Queen Elizabeth (93). Another Romance particularly made use of by Spenser, is that intuled *Morte Arthur. The Lyf of King Arthur, of his noble Knightes, of the round Table, and in th'ende the dolorous Death of them all.* Of this he gives many instances in his second Section, particularly in regard to the names, especially that of Sir Tristram,

(91) Mr Warton gives many instances of the truth of this remark. In his Observations on the Fairy Queen, Sect. X.
(92) For instance, to Spence's three general heads of our Author's faults in allegorizing, he has added a fourth, that he frequently introduces an Allegory under which no meaning is couched, as in B. II. C. IX. St. 21. Observations &c. p. 222, 223, in the note †.
(93) See Holinshead's Chr. Vol. III. P. 2325.

to her Majesty by Sir Walter, who was at that time in high favour at court. The sense of this kindness made a lasting impression upon Spenser's mind; and he took the first opportunity of testifying his gratitude by such ways as he knew would be best accepted by his friend. In this spirit he addressed an explanation of the fable of the Fairy Queen to Sir Walter, in the form of a letter, which appeared at the head of the first edition in 1590; and the compliment was accordingly returned by Sir Walter in two copies of verses (s), which usher in several others of the like strain, that are prefixed to that edition. Spenser, we may imagine, was much pleased with so interesting a respect to his fame; and, returning to Ireland the following year, 1591, he gave a fresh testimony that year of his gratitude (t), in a way that must needs have been most sensibly felt by this worthy Friend [N]. In the interim, notwith-

(s) They are intituled, A Vision upon the concert of the Fairy Queen, and are marked W. R.

(t) In his letter, prefixed to Colin Clout's come home again, Dec. 27, 1591.

Tristram, the circumstances of whose birth and education he has copied with much exactness from this book. Spenser informs us, that Sir Tristram was born in Cornwall, and was Heir of Meliograss, King of that County, &c. And it may be observed, that this name Tristram is given to the Hero of a Romance, just now published (*). The story of the Mantle made of the Beards of Knights, and Locks of Ladies (94), which he apprehends to be drawn from that Romance, and not, as might be supposed, from Geoffry of Monmouth (95), of whom the same story is borrowed by Drayton, in his *Polyolbion*, Song 4; Spenser's circumstances tallying more exactly with those in the Romance. Another Romance which Spenser borrows from, is *Bevis of Southampton*: as in Prince Arthur's combat with the Dragon (96), in which encounter he follows the incidents made use of by the Romance Writers, with all the punctuality of a close copyist. In the same Section, we find that Spenser was Father of several Poets nearer his own age, than those beforementioned (97). In the third Section Mr Warton has added several examples of Spenser's copying from the Classics and ancient Mythology to those which had been collected before by Mr Jortin, and declares his opinion, that in the comparison of the Peacock and the Rainbow (as they occur together B. III. C. XII. St. 23.) Spenser imitated Tasso's *Gierus. Lib.* B. XVI. St. 24. He had before (98) apologized for our Poet's following Ariosto, as being, with all his extravagancies, preferred to Tasso at that time, insomuch that the superiority of the *Orlando Furioso* to the *Gierusaleme Liberata* was at length established by a formal decree of the *Academicians della Crusca*, who held a solemn court of enquiry concerning the merit of both Poems. In the midst of this bad taste, Spenser began to write his *Fairy Queen*. In what sense these last words are true, will be seen by the following Remarks. Spenser in his Letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, explaining the plan of the *Fairy Queen*, says, ' In the person of Prince Arthur, ' I set forth *Magnificence*.' This *Magnificence*, it is highly probable, was frequently alluded to in the Cambridge Correspondance. In the few letters that remain of it, we find Mr Harvey, in 1580, using this expression, ' I fear your *Magnificence* will hold us ' in suspence so long for your Nine Comedies, &c.' meaning apparently, that Spenser being employed about Arthur, would hinder other things. Again, in Spenser's Latin Verses to Harvey, dated October 5, 1579, he says, ' You banter me, so great is your *Magnificence* ' *Tu tamen illudis* (*tua Magnificentia tanta est*;') a good deal of that Letter alludes to this scheme. Lastly, in April 1580, Spenser says, ' I will now in hand forth- ' with with my *Faerie Queen*, which I pray you send me ' with all expedition, and your friendly Letter and ' long expected Judgment withal;' so that probably what he had now done of it was in Harvey's hands. Our Poet went to Ireland as Secretary to Lord Grey, in a few months after this; we need not wonder therefore that in the Dedication-Verses, both to that Lord and the Earl of Ormond, he speaks of writing this Poem in Ireland, since he probably wrote most of it there. But from what has been said, it is evident that the plan of the *Fairy Queen* was not only laid, but some part of it executed, before the *Gierusaleme Liberata* made its appearance in public, that Poem not being printed till the year 1583; which shews the impertinence of all the Apologies that have been offered in behalf of Spenser for not following Tasso.

(*) Viz. The Life of Tristram Shandy.

(94) B. VI. C. I. St. 13. and B. VI. C. III. St. 15.

(95) Orig. & Gest. Reg. Brit. B. X. XIII.

(96) B. I. C. II. St. 29.

(97) See Marston's Satires, intituled The Scourge of Villanie, Edit. 1598. and a Romance, intituled The Red-Rose Knt.

(98) Sect. I.

Besides the three Critics upon the *Fairy Queen*, already mentioned, we have met with three others, Mr Hughes, Mr Upton, and Mr Church, each of whom have been consulted, and are quoted, as the Reader will observe in the course of this memoir. But one ought not to be surprized that so many gentlemen should have turned their thoughts upon the *Fairy Queen*, after reading the conclusion of Mr Warton's Observations. ' I cannot, says this Critic, take my final leave ' of the Reader, without acknowledging that this task ' has been peculiarly delightful to me; though the ' business of criticism is generally laborious and dry, ' yet it has here more frequently amused, than fatigued ' my attention in its exercises upon an Author, who ' makes such perpetual and powerful appeals to the fan- ' cy. The pleasure which Spenser received in com- ' posing the FAIRY QUEEN must necessarily be shared ' by its Commentator, and the Critic, on this occasion, ' may venture to exclaim with the Poet,

' The waies thro' which my weary steps I guide,
' In this *delightful Land of Faerie*,
' Are so exceeding spacious and wide,
' And sprinkled with such sweet varietie
' Of all that pleasant is to ear or eye,
' That I nigh ravish'd with rare thoughts delight
' My tedious travel do forget thereby,
' And when I 'gin to feel decay of might,
' It strength to me supplies, and chears my dulled
[' spright (99).'

(99) B. VII. C. VI. St. 1.

[N] *He expressed his gratitude to Sir Walter Raleigh, &c.*] We need not say, that *Colin Clout's come home again* is here meant; and it would be more than needless to enter into the display of the excellencies of a Poem so well known. But that is not the case with respect to the æra of its first appearance in public. A late writer (100) has shewn, that the date put to it of 1591 must be a mistake, as the Poem now stands, for the following reasons: first, Amarillis, that is Alice, daughter of Sir John Spencer, is there mentioned as a widow; but her first husband was Lord Strange, afterwards Earl of Derby, who died in 1595:

But Amaryllis, whether fortunate,
Or else unfortunate, may I read,
That freed is from Cupid's yoke by fate;
Since which she doth new bonds adventure dread.

(100) The Author of Spenser's life, prefixed to Church's edition of the Fairy Queen.

Another unanswerable reason is, that Sir Walter Raleigh, the shepherd of the ocean, is introduced as singing a song, the substance of which is thus represented:

His song was all a lamentable lay
Of great unkindness, and of usage hard,
Of Cynthia the lady of the sea,
Which from her presence faultless him debarr'd.

We have before given a particular account of this disgrace of Sir Walter (101), wherein some of the dates differing a little from those of this writer, the present opportunity is gladly embraced of inserting his account, in which he proceeds to observe, ' that, in the Sydney papers, ' Vol. I. p. 377. we find Rowland White writing thus: ' *There is great means made for Sir Walter Raleigh's coming* ' *to the Court. He lives at London very gallant. His voyage* ' *goes forward; and my Lord Treasurer ventures* 500l. *in* ' *money; Sir Robert Cecil ventures a new ship, perfectly* ' *finished, the very hull stands in* 800l.

' *At Court this Saturday, Decemb.* 13, 1595. (102) Sir Walter certainly failed on this voyage, which was to Guaiana, Feb. 6, 1595-6; and he returned time enough to sail with the fleet the same year on the expedition to Cadiz, where he had a noble share in the action. We imagine therefore, that, as Astrophel was printed in 1595, Spenser was in London in the beginning of that year, when Sir Walter was in high favour, and was introduced by him to the Queen, or that the favours he speaks of were in a former journey to London. The fact must be true of Colin Clout's being printed after his disgrace; and had the disgrace been over, it is likely it had never been mentioned here by

(101) Under his article.

(102) Camden, in his preface, professes to begin each year on the first of January, and has inserted this expedition in 1595.

notwithſtanding the cruelty and ill uſage of his firſt miſtreſs, he preſently gave way, upon her death, a ſecond time to the tender paſſion (*u*); in which however he prov'd more ſucceſsful than he had been with *Roſalinde*; and he celebrated the happy progreſs of this laſt amour in a ſpecies of poetry which was then, and long after, eſteemed by the greateſt maſters to be the moſt conſummate in its kind [*O*]. He was probably married about the year 1592, or the following year (*w*), upon which occaſion he wrote an excellent *Epithalamium* (*x*), which no one indeed was ſo capable of doing as himſelf. Some time after this new engagement, he made another viſit to England, where he printed his *Aſtrophel, and Colin Clout's come home again*, in 1595. During that interval he wrote ſeveral other ſmall poems, which are printed in his works. The affairs of Ireland were then embroiled again by the Earl of Tyrone, who, after the death of the Earl of Deſmond in 1593, broke out into a freſh rebellion, which probably was one, if not the chief, cauſe of our Poet's coming to England. He muſt needs have been not a little anxious about the ſafety of his own ſettlement at Kilcolman, which, being involved in that of the kingdom, put him upon exerting his political abilities, by laying down a complete plan for reducing that kingdom in the ſpace of two winters at fartheſt. This too he finiſhed the following year, 1596, under the title of *A View of the State of Ireland* [*P*]. The deſign was undeniably well concerted (*y*), and is a noble monument, not only of the Author's gratitude, but an illuſtrious proof, that it is not out of the compaſs of nature to unite the man of buſineſs with the moſt fanciful poet in the ſame perſon. But, feaſible as this propoſal was, yet it was never carried into execution; and what was the conſequence of that neglect will be ſeen preſently. In the mean time, our Poet and Politician was forced to return to his reſidence at Kilcolman, dubious as ever of his fate. He reſolved however to make uſe of the preſent moments of quiet; and in that ſpirit he continued to proſecute his grand work with vigour and ſpirit; and accordingly we find him in England once more in the year 1596, when the ſecond part of *The Fairy Queen*, containing the fourth, fifth, and ſixth books, was printed at London in 4to, together with the four *Hymns of Beauty*, dedicated to the Counteſs of Cumberland. In 1597 he went back to Kilcolman; but had not been there above twelve months, when, after many treacherous ſubmiſſions, the Earl of Tyrone broke out into open rebellion (*z*), and, having diſperſed the forces which were ſent againſt him by the Earl of Ormond, he ravaged and ſpoiled the whole county of Cork; ſo that Spenſer was forced to ſeek his ſafety, together with his wife, in his native country, leaving his eſtate in Ireland to be plundered by the rebels [*Q*], who, it is ſaid (*aa*), having carried off his goods, burnt his houſe, and a little child in it. However that be, it is certain he did not long ſurvive this irretrievably ruinous calamity, which, reducing him to a ſtate of abſolute dependance, with the additional weight of a family, entirely broke his heart, and he languiſhed under it

(*u*) Colin Clout's come home again. It is ſuppoſed Roſalinde was dead; and Mr Upton even thinks, that Spenſer had begun his addreſſes to his ſecond miſtreſs in 1589.

(*w*) This is the moſt generally received opinion; though Mr Church's friend imagines it not to be before 1596. Spenſer's Life, before Church's edition of the Fairy Queen.

(*x*) He calls this bride a country laſs of mean birth, and tells us her name was Elizabeth, a name which was endeared to him by being both that of his mother and of Queen.

(*y*) His ſcheme was to place proper garriſons on the borders of thoſe parts where the rebels herded the together.

(*z*) Camden's Eliz. whoſe words are, A rebellibus e laribus ejectus et bonis ſpoliatus in Angliam Inops reverſus.

(*aa*) By Ben. Jonſon the Poet. See his article in Vol. IV. note (*w*). It may be obſerved, that Jonſon had then juſt publiſhed his firſt play, and was of an age to enquire into theſe particulars concerning Spenſer.

by Spenſer. Upon the whole, this writer conjectures that the Poem was printed in 1595-6. After all, this difficulty is not unconquerable, without charging any miſtake in the date of Spenſer's letter in 1591. We need only ſuppoſe, that either *Colin Clout* was firſt written, if not printed, without the particular lines here mentioned; or elſe, that they were added after the firſt finiſhing of the Poem, and before it was printed with Aſtrophel in 1595.

[*O*] *To be the moſt conſummate in its kind.*] This is the *Sonnet*. It is of Italian invention, and conſiſts generally of one thought, always turned in a ſingle ſtanza of fourteen lines, of the length of our heroics, the rhime being interchanged alternately, in which it differs from the *Canzone*, which is not confined to any number of lines or ſtanzas. The origin of it is derived from Petrarch, who filled a whole book with it in honour of his Laura, with whom he was in love, as himſelf tells us, for twenty-one years, and whoſe death he lamented with the ſame zeal for ten years afterwards. The uncommon ardour of his paſſion, as well as the fineneſs of his wit and language, eſtabliſhed him the maſter of love-verſes among the moderns. We find him copied by the wits of Spain, France, and England: and the ſonnet grew ſo much into faſhion, that Sir Philip Sidney himſelf, who had written a great number on his beloved Stella, has pleaſantly rallied his contemporaries in one, which is a perfect pattern of this kind. It conſiſts in a natural tenderneſs, ſimplicity, and correctneſs, beauties which are to be found in moſt of Spenſer's ſonnets. Milton is the laſt who has given, in our own language, any examples of the ſonnet, which is not much in vogue at preſent (103).

(103) This was written in the year 1761.

[*P*] *His view of the ſtate of Ireland.*] It was firſt printed, 1633, in folio, from a manuſcript in Archbiſhop Uſher's library, by Sir James Ware, who, in the dedication to Lord Wentworth, remarks, that the calamities of that kingdom were fully ſet forth, and to the life, by the Author, with a diſcovery of their cauſes and remedies, being, for the moſt part, excellent grounds of reformation. In the preface he obſerves, 'that this diſcourſe ſufficiently teſtifies Spenſer's learning 'and deep judgment; but it were to be wiſhed, that 'ſome paſſages had been tempered with more moderation; though the troubles and miſeries of the time 'when he wrote may partly excuſe him. That his proofs '(though moſt of them conjectural) concerning the original of the language and cuſtoms of the nation, and 'the firſt peopling of the ſeveral parts of the iſland, are 'full of good reading, and ſhew a ſound judgment. And 'that with reſpect to the general ſcope intended by him 'for the reformation of the abuſes and ill cuſtoms; 'though many perſons had taken pains on the ſame ſubject in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and ſome before (as 'the Author of the *Salus populi* under Edward IV, and 'Patrick Finglas, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and 'afterwards Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas in 'England in the reign of Henry VIII) yet none 'came ſo near to the beſt grounds of a reformation as 'our Author, except in a few paſſages, has done.' But the Editor of Sir James's works in Engliſh owns indeed, "that there are ſome things in it very well written, particularly as to the main deſign of reducing Ireland into due obedience of the crown of England; yet, in the hiſtory and antiquities of the country, he is often miſerably miſtaken, and ſeems rather to have indulged the fancy and licence of a poet, than have ſhewn the judgment and fidelity required in an hiſtorian; beſides his want of moderation. And this makes the loſs leſs regretted of another treatiſe which he propoſed to write of the antiquities of Ireland, but was never finiſhed by him."

[*Q*] *His eſtate was plundered in the Earl of Tyrone's rebellion.*] After many years treacherous ſubmiſſion, as abovementioned, this Earl broke out into an open rebellion on a ſudden, and preſently beſieged Blackwater, near Armagh in Ulſter in 1598. The Earl of Ormond, then General, ſent a detachment againſt him, Auguſt 14, moſt of which Tyrone cut to pieces, and diſperſed the reſt, and Blackwater ſurrendered. This was a ſignal to the whole party, throughout Munſter eſpecially. The rebels were inſtantly in arms, and the commander there, being weakly ſupported, ſhut up himſelf in Cork. The fury of the rebellion ſpread every where; and we are told, that 15000 Engliſh were deſtroyed, in Munſter eſpecially, and through all the forfeited eſtates of the Earl of Deſmond. In the midſt of this deſolation we have always been aſſured that Spenſer ſuffered (104).

(104) Spenſer's life by Mr Church's friend, as before.

till

till his death, which happened this year, or the beginning of the next, 1599 [R]. Thus, after this admirable Poet and worthy gentleman had ſtruggled with poverty all his life-time, he died in extreme indigence (*bb*) and want of bread [S]. However, ſome amends was

(*bb*) Camden, as before.

[R] Camden, in his *Elizabetha*, dates it in 1598, and Sir James Ware (105) in 1599; perhaps it was in 1598-9; for Camden, as has been already obſerved (106), though he profeſſes to begin the year on the firſt of January, yet ſometimes deviates in his work from that rule. However, if his life was continued till 1599, he muſt have died early in that year, if the authority of Ben. Jonſon may be relied on, who told Mr Drummond of Hawthornden, that Spenſer refuſed, a little before his death, twenty pieces that were ſent him by Lord Eſſex, ſaying he had no time to ſpend (107): for his Lordſhip's patent of Viceroy of Ireland was dated March 12, 1598-9, and he ſet out for his government the 27th of that month (108).

(105) Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. II.

(106) In Rem. [N].

(107) See Jonſon's article, in Remark [N].

(108) Spenſer's life, by Church's friend, as before. p. XL.

[S] *He died very poor.*] Dr Birch (109) has lately produced a new proof of this from an old play, intituled *The return from Parnaſſus, or the ſcourge of Simony* (110), publickly acted by the ſtudents of St John's college in Cambridge in 1606, in which is the following paſſage;

(109) In his memoirs of Queen Elizab. p. 487. in the note,

(110) It was communicated to the Doctor by David Garrick, Eſq; who is poſſeſſed of a very curious collection of old plays. Ibid.

(*) Sweeter.

‘ *A ſwifter* (*) *ſwan than ever ſung in Po*
‘ *A ſhriller nightingale than ever bleſt*
‘ *The prouder groves of ſelf-admiring Rome;*
‘ *Blith was each valley, and each ſhepherd proud,*
‘ *While he did chant his carol minſtrelſie;*
‘ *Attentive was full many a dainty Eare,*
‘ *Which hung upon his melting tongue,*
‘ *While ſweetly of his Fairy Queen he ſung,*
‘ *While to the water's fall he tun'd for fame,*
‘ *And on each bark engrav'd Eliza's name;*
‘ *And yet, for all, the unregarding ſoile*
‘ *Unlact the line of his deſired life,*
‘ *Denying maintenance for his deare relief;*
‘ *Careleſs care to provide his exequie,*
‘ *Scarce deigning to ſhut up his dying eye.*
‘ Ing. *Pity it is that gentler wits ſhould breed*
‘ *Thare thick ſkin chuffes laughing at ſcholar's need.*
‘ *But ſoftly may our honours aſhes reſt,*
‘ *That lie by mery Chaucer's noble cheſt.*

(111) In Spenſer's life, prefixed to Church's edition of the Fairy Queen, as before.

(112) Mr Warton thinks that Milton's fine deſcription of Phœbus in his Latin Poem *in Quintum Novembris* is equalled by that of Phœbus in the forgotten Poem, as he calls it, of The Purple Iſland Obſervations.

Hereupon Mr Church's friend obſerves (111), that ſome of theſe particulars are in the firſt Canto of the *Purple Iſland*, finely touched, by a writer who deſerves our acquaintance (112). The Poet having mentioned the diſcouragements attending virtue and learning in theſe lines;

‘ *That wretched we to whom theſe iron days*
‘ *(Hard days) afford nor matter nor reward:*’

proceeds thus;

‘ *Whence our Colin, whom though all the graces*
‘ *And all the muſes nurſt, whoſe well-taught ſong*
‘ *Parnaſſus' ſelf and Glorian embraces,*
‘ *And all the learn'd and all the ſhepherd's throng:*
‘ *Yet all his hopes were croſt, all ſuits denied,*
‘ *Diſcouraged, ſcorn'd, his writings vilified;*
‘ *Poorly, poor man, he lived; poorly, poor man, he died.*
‘ *And had not that great Hart (whoſe honour'd head*
‘ *Ah! lies full low) pity'd thy woeful plight,*
‘ *There hadſt thou lain unwept, unbury'd,*
‘ *Unbleſt, nor grac'd with any common rite:*
‘ *Yet ſhalt thou live, when thy great foe ſhall ſink*
‘ *Beneath his mountain tomb, whoſe fame ſhall ſtink,*
‘ *And Time his blacker name ſhall blurr with blackeſt [ink.*
‘ *Oh! let th'Iambic muſe avenge thy wrong,*
‘ *Which cannot ſlumber in thy ſheets of lead;*
‘ *Let thy abuſed honour live as long*
‘ *As there be quills to write, or eyes to reade.*
‘ *On his curs'd name let thine own votes be turn'd.*
‘ *Oh may that man that hath the muſes ſcorned,*
‘ *Alive nor dead, be ever of a muſe adorned.*’

The Author of the *Purple Iſland* is Mr Phineas Fletcher, ſon of Dr Giles Fletcher, of whom an account is inſerted in this work (113). He was probably a Kentiſh man, as he lived at Brenckly, within a few miles of Penſehurſt. He was bred at Eton ſchool, from whence he was choſen to King's College in Cambridge, and became Fellow there. He had afterwards the living of Hilgay in Norfolk. He ſeems to have been of Spenſer's own turn of mind, paſſing his days moſt likely at Hilgay, privately and unambitiouſly, and with all the modeſt ſentiments with which he every where abounds. We cannot but think of him and love him, when he mentions

(113) See his Article in Vol. III. p. 1984, et ſeq.

‘ ——*The bluſhing ſtrawberries,*
‘ *Which lurk, cloſe ſhrouded from high looking eyes,*
‘ *Shewing that ſweetneſs low and hidden lies.*’

And we cannot but revere and envy him when giving us advice:

‘ *Would'ſt thou live honour'd, clip ambition's wing,*
‘ *To reaſon's yoke thy furious paſſions bring;*
‘ *Thrice noble is the man who of himſelf is king.*’

His poems were publiſhed in 1633, in 2 volumes 4to. Mr Wood tells us (114), he was the author of ſeveral books, one of which was intituled, *A father's teſtament, written for the benefit of his particular relations.* Lond. 1670, 8vo (115), at which time he had been dead ſeveral years. He was nephew to Dr Richard Fletcher, and conſequently couſin to John Fletcher the famous playwriter; each of whom have been thought worthy of a particular article in this work (116): to which we ſhall take this opportunity of making ſome additional remarks (117). To begin with the father, Dr Richard Fletcher: it is true, he is generally ſaid to have been a native of Kent, and as ſuch is placed by Fuller among the worthies of that county, where the name has been very common: however, there is ſome room for doubt. It is certain he was one of the firſt Fellows of Bennet College in Cambridge, upon Archbiſhop Parker's foundation; according to which he muſt have been born in Norfolk, to which county thoſe Fellowſhips are ſolely appropriated. He was ſcholar of Trinity College in 1563, where (as he proceeded A. M. and removed to Corpus-Chriſti in 1569) he had probably been admitted the year before, *viz.* in 1562. Upon this removal he entered upon the buſineſs of pupils, and other offices of Bennet College. He obtained the prebend of Iſledon in the church of St Paul, upon the preſentation of Matthew Parker gentleman, ſon to the Archbiſhop, who probably had the patronage of that turn made over to him by Biſhop Grindal, in order to carry on his father's ſcheme of annexing Prebends to the Fellowſhips he had founded. Accordingly he held this with his Fellowſhip, and was made Preſident of the College the year following; but ſeems to have left the college ſoon after, with a teſtimonial of his learning and good behaviour, as well as his having acquitted himſelf with credit in the offices of the college, in the public ſchools, and in the pulpit (118). He proceeded however D. D. in 1581, and became Chaplain to the Queen, to whom he had been recommended by Archbiſhop Whitgift for the Deanery of Windſor; but ſhe rather choſe to beſtow upon him that of Peterborough, upon the deceaſe of Dr Latymer in 1583. In 1586, he was preſented by Sir Thomas Cecil to the church of Barnack, the Biſhop having betrayed his right of patronage. He made a very affecting and zealous prayer at the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots (119). Whilſt Dean of Peterborough he was choſen, Jan. 27, 1588, Proctor for that church, both in parliament and convocation, *tam ad parliamentum quam ad convocationum Cleri* (120). Upon his promotion to the ſee of Briſtol in 1589, the Queen made him her Almoner. He ſtands cenſured in Archbiſhop Laud's metropolitical viſitation of the church of Peterborough in 1635, wherein an injunction is given to make an enquiry after the executors or adminiſtrators of Dean Fletcher, that ſome ſatisfaction may be had from them, either by a fair compoſition or by compulſion of the law, for that great bell, which through his means, and in his name, was taken away. Soon after he had obtained the ſee of London, he gave out twenty-ſeven articles of enquiry to the churchwardens upon his primary viſitation, whereby, as Neal informs us (121), the priſons, which had been lately cleared, were filled again by Nonconformiſts, to the number

(114) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 107.

(115) The titles of two other books, written by him, are in the Bodleian catalogue.

(116) The Biſhop's article is in Vol. III. p. 1981. & ſeq. and his ſon John in Vol. I. p. 624. jointly with Beaumont's, under which there is alſo ſome account of the Biſhop in Remark [E].

(117) From the Hiſtory of Bennet College by Robert Maſters, A. M. &c. edit. 1753. 4to.

(118) Bennet College leaſe-book, p. 167. ann. 1576. whence it is evident, that he could not have been the ſame perſon with the Richard Fletcher ordained by Biſhop Ridley in 1550, and ſoon after Vicar of Biſhop Stortford and Uglay, as is ſuppoſed both by Strype, in Eccleſ. Mem. Vol. II. p. 57. and Newcourt, in Repert. Vol. I. p. 896. and Vol. II. p. 615.

(119) It is printed in Gunter's hiſtory of Peterb. Cathed. p. 75.

(120) Atterbury's rights, &c. of an Engliſh Convocation.

(121) Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 576. who adds, that he was one of thoſe who drew up and conſented to the Lambeth articles about the Predeſtinarian controverſy, p. 582.

was made to his fame at laſt: his corpſe being interred in Weſtminſter, near Chaucer, as he had deſired, and his obſequies attended by the Poets of that time, and others, who paid the laſt honours to his memory. Several copies of verſes were thrown after him into his grave: and Robert Devereux, Earl of Eſſex, who had married the widow of Sir Philip Sidney, was at the expence of the funeral (*cc*). A handſome monument alſo, with an inſcription, was erected in honour of him by Anne, Counteſs of Dorſet [T], a noble-woman, not more illuſtrious

(*cc*) Camden, as before.

number of eighty-nine. Beſides the favours conferred in his life-time upon Bennet College (122), by his will (123) he left that ſociety the Eſtrick's egg: To the pariſh of Watford in Hants, 10 l. to thoſe of Cranbroke-Hythe, Chelſea, and ſome others, 5 l. each: and to his nine children his fortunes, to be equally divided among them, with his books to his ſons, Nathaniel and John. But theſe were found to be ſcarce equal to his debts, inſomuch that his brother, Dr Giles Fletcher, the Civilian, was obliged to have recourſe to her Majeſty, by means of Mr Anthony Bacon and the Earl of Eſſex, for her favour and benevolence, who ſeemed to be inclined to grant them ſome relief. The petition, where we ſee an account of the ſtate of his ſlender circumſtances, and the cauſes alledged for it (124), was drawn up in the following terms:

1. 'That the Biſhop was tranſlated from the ſee 'of Worceſter to that of London within two years, 'and ſo entered into new firſt-fruits, before he had 'fully paid the old; by which her Majeſty's good 'and gracious meaning for his preferment was rather 'turned to his great hinderance, and the diminution 'of his temporal eſtate, having paid, within three 'years, or not much more, into the Exchequer, for 'his firſt-fruits, tenths, and ſubſidies, the ſum of '1458 l.

2. 'He beſtowed, in allowances and gratifications to 'divers attendants about her Majeſty, ſince his prefer-'ment to the ſee of London, the ſum of 3100 l. or 'thereabouts, without any regard made to himſelf, as 'appeared by his ſtate of particulars; which money 'was *given by him, for the moſt part of it, by her* 'Majeſty's direction and ſpecial appointment.

3. 'Finding the building and manſion-houſes of the 'ſee of London greatly decayed, and in a manner 'ruined, he beſtowed great ſums of money in repara-'tions upon the Epiſcopal houſes at Wickham, Had-'ham, London, and Fulham; in which laſt he was at 'an extraordinary charge, out of reſpect as well to 'his duty and neceſſary uſe, as to her Majeſty's ſatis-'faction, hoping one day, as himſelf would ſay, after 'the end and pacification of her diſpleaſure, and the 'recovery of her gracious favour, which of all worldly 'things he moſt deſired, to ſee her Majeſty in his houſe 'at Fulham.

4. 'He employed himſelf and his whole revenue in 'hoſpitality, and all other duties of his vocation, 'as for conſcience, ſo with a ſpecial regard of her 'Majeſty's liking, and to provoke her reconciliation 'and favour towards him.

5. 'He ſatisfied the error of his late marriage, with 'his untimely and unlooked for death, which pro-'ceeded eſpecially from a ſenſe of her Majeſty's diſ-'pleaſure and indignation conceived againſt him; 'bearing a moſt loving and reverent affection towards 'her Majeſty, as ever ſubject did towards his Prince, 'which might move her Majeſty's royal heart to ſome 'compaſſion towards his poor and fatherleſs children, 'of whom he left eight behind him, divers of them 'very young. His debts, due to her Majeſty and 'other creditors, were about 1400 l. and his whole 'eſtate but one houſe, in which his widow claimed her 'thirds: his plate was valued at 400 l. and his other 'ſtuff at 500 l. (125).

The Biſhop's ſon, John Fletcher (126), the famous fellow play-writer with Beaumont, is ſaid to have been born in Northampton, whilſt his father was Dean of Peterborough, and to have been educated at Bennet College; but as this does by no means correſpond with his age at the time of his death (*), ſo it is more probable he was a native of London, a perſon of that name and place being admitted penſioner there, October 15, 1591, when he muſt have been about fifteen years of age, the uſual time of admiſſion in thoſe days. He was made one of the Bible clerks in 1593: but whether it was he, or Edward of the ſame name and place, who proceeded A. B. the following year, and afterwards A. M. cannot eaſily be determined. How long he ſtaid at the College is equally uncertain, as well as how he diſpoſed of himſelf after his removal; it is moſt probable however he went up to London, where he afterwards cultivated an acquaintance with Beaumont; for it could not be at the Univerſity, although they were both of the ſame, by reaſon of the diſparity of their years (127).

[T] *A monument was erected by the Counteſs of Dorſet.*] This honour to our Poet's memory, was invariably aſcribed to the Earl of Eſſex, till the miſtake was rectified by Mr Fenton (128), who not many years ago diſcovered that it was ſet up, above thirty years after Spenſer's death, by Stone, maſter maſon to King Charles I. (129), as appears from his Diary, which coming into the hands of Mr Vertue the Engraver, the following article was literally tranſcribed from it. *I alſo mad a monument for Mer Spencer the Pooett, and ſet it up at Weſtminſter. For which the Contes of Dorſit payd me* 40 *l.* Mr Fenton further obſerves, that this Lady about the ſame time beſtowed a monument on Daniel the Poet and Hiſtorian. Upon there being an epitaph that begins like Spenſer, he was inclined to believe the Lady recommended both the Inſcriptions to Stone, and that he undertook to compoſe them himſelf, as from the ſtile and ſpelling we may reaſonably conclude he did, which will account too for the little exactneſs obſerved in the dates. The Inſcription, as it now ſtands, is thus.

Heare lyes (expecting the ſecond comminge of our Saviour, Chriſt Jeſus) the body of Edmond Spencer, the Prince of Poets in his tyme, whoſe divine ſpirit needs noe other witneſs than the works which he left behind him. He was borne in London in the yeare 1510, and died in the yeare 1596.

Mr Church's friend (130) confirms the exactneſs of the tranſcript, from Stone's Diary by Mr Fenton, but aſcribes the Inſcription to the Counteſs of Dorſet; in ſupport of which he obſerves, that this Lady married Richard Earl of Dorſet in February $16\frac{08}{18}$, and he dying in March 28, 1624, ſhe continued his widow till June 1630, when ſhe married Philip Earl of Pembroke, and became his Dowager in January $164\frac{3}{4}$ (131). Now as Stone was paid for Spenſer's monument by the Counteſs of Dorſet, that muſt be before her ſecond marriage, in 1630. So that ſhe could not put up Daniel's monument about the ſame time, ſince that was done when ſhe was Dowager of Pembroke. It is agreed, ſhe erected her own monument, and probably compoſed her own epitaph, leaving a blank for the date of her death; but this begins with much the ſame words that introduced both Daniel's and Spenſer's, viz. *Heare lyes expectinge the ſecond comminge of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt* (†). With regard to the ſtile of Spenſer's epitaph, this writer obſerves, that it is full and ſhort, and in a much better manner, than that of ninety-nine epitaphs in a hundred of that time. However, the dates of 1510 and 1696 could not be Lady Dorſet's, but muſt be imputed to the Carver. And we could produce many inſtances of epitaphs, where Blunders as enormous as theſe, have been made by Carvers. But this Writer did not ſufficiently advert, that what he has ſaid of the other part of the inſcription, ſomewhat invalidates all his reaſoning brought to prove that it was compoſed by the Counteſs. 'The Inſcription, ſays he, and the table 'are very fair, yet the reſt of the monument is like a 'honey comb, and indeed ſeveral agree that the table 'ſeems to have been made afreſh, and of late years let 'into the reſt of the monument, after the former In-'ſcription had been much defaced.' We may remember too, that it ſtands near a door of continual paſſage, and till lately (when it became defended by the preſent ſcreen) was much expoſed to the weather, and that Spenſer, probably in the laſt grand Rebellion, had, on account of his deſcription of the *blatant beaſt*, &c. much offended the Puritans, to whom, in B. VII. C. VII. St. 35. l. 8. he compares Barge-men

Bending their force contrary to their face,
Like that ungracious crew, which feigns demureſt grace.

Dr Fuller indeed, and others, tell us, that the original Inſcription was in Latin, grounding themſelves probably

(122) In Maſters's Appendix, No. XXXIX. are two Latin letters, one dated April 12, 1591. and the other, June 6, 1592. from the College to him, expreſſing their gratitude for his favours, and in the latter particularly for his preſent of a curious globe.

(123) Dated Oct. 26, 1593. witneſs the Bp of Worceſter, and proved June 26, 1596.

(124) It was ſent by the Doctor to Mr A. Bacon, to recommend it to the Earl of Eſſex, that he might move it to the Queen, whom the Lord Treaſurer had undertaken to diſpoſe towards it; but what was done in it is not known.

(125) This copy is, in Maſter's Hiſt. in the Appendix LXXII. taken from Dr Birch's Memoirs of the reign of Q. Eliz. Vol. II. p. 113, 159, 224. and Fuller's Church hiſtory, B. ix. p. 223.

(126) He was ſon to the Biſhop by his firſt wife, but who ſhe was is not known.

(*) He was 49 in 1625, and was born in 1576.

(127) Beaumont was born in 1585, and died in 1615.

(128) In Notes upon Waller.

(129) The ſame that built the banqueting-houſe at Whitehall, under the direction of Inigo Jones; but however ſkilful Stone might be (as Mr Fenton tells us he actually was) in other parts of maſonry, it is certain he did not know the true way of beginning the taper of pillars, which therefore appear gouty in this part of that noble Pavilion.

(130) *In Spenſer's Life, ubi ſupra.*

(131) See an account of her Ladyſhip in Vol. V. p. 3550. Rem. [N].

(†) The whole inſcription is in Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 448.

illuſtrious by her birth than by her excellent endowments. We have no account of our Poet's widow after this; but ſhe muſt have brought him one other child at leaſt beſides that which periſhed in the fire at Kilcolman; ſince, after the reſtoration of King Charles, his great grandſon, Hugolin Spenſer, was reſtored by the court of claims to ſo much of the lands in Ireland as could be found to have been his anceſtor's (*dd*). And in the reign of K. William III. a perſon came from Ireland into England to ſollicit the ſame affair, and brought with him letters of recommendation as a deſcendant of Spenſer. His name procured him a favourable reception; and he applied himſelf particularly to Mr Congreve, by whom he was recommended to the Earl of Halifax, who was then at the head of the Treaſury, and by that means obtained his ſuit. This perſon was ſomewhat advanced in years, and might be the ſame mentioned before, having perhaps recovered ſome part only of the eſtate at firſt, or been diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of it. However, he could give no account of the works of his anceſtor, which are wanting (*ee*), and which in ſome meaſure favours the opinion of Mr Fenton, that the Fairy Queen was never finiſhed by our Author, and that the ſtory of the ſix laſt books being loſt in their paſſage from Ireland is no better than a fiction [*U*]. Some of his deſcendants, it is ſaid, are ſtill living in that kingdom; and there is an original picture of him in the poſſeſſion of John Love, Eſq; at Caſtle-Saffron, in the neighbourhood of Kilcolman (*ff*). We ſhall give a liſt of his works below [*W*].

(*dd*) Spenſer's Life, prefixed to the edition of his works, in 1679, folio.

(*ee*) Life of Spenſer, by Hughes, prefixed to his edition of our Poet's works in 1715.

(*ff*) Smith's Account of the preſent ſtate of the county of Cork.

bly upon the account given of it in a ſmall Latin tract, deſcribing the monuments of Weſtminſter in the year 1600 (122), and aſcribed to Camden, where the words are, EDMUNDUS SPENSER *Londinenſis, Anglicorum Poetarum noſtri ſeculi facile Princeps, quod ejus Poemata, ſaventibus Muſis et victuro Genio, conſcripta, comprobant. Obiit immatura morte, anno ſalutis* 1598. *et prope Galfridum Chaucerum conditur, qui fœliciſſimè Poeſin Anglicis Literis primus illuſtravit. In quem hæc ſcripta ſunt Epitaphia.*

Hic prope Chaucerum ſitus eſt Spenſerius, illi
Proximus ingenio, Proximus ut tumulo.
Hic prope Chaucerum, Spenſere Poeta, Poetam
Conderis, et verſu quam tumulo propior;
Anglica, te vivo, vixit plauſitque Poeſis;
Nunc moritura timet, te moriente, mori.

(122) Keepe's Monumenta Weſtmonaſt.

Here the words *obiit immatura morte* are uſed with ſufficient propriety, as Spenſer, according to our calculation, muſt have died at forty-five years of age. But though Winſtanly and Sir Thomas Pope Blount have tranſcribed the whole as Spenſer's epitaph, yet this is inconſiderately done; for beſides that the proſe part has not the form of a monumental Inſcription, it is an Elogium intended only to guide the curious to that part of the Abbey in which the remains of ſo famous a perſon were depoſited, for at that time he had no monument erected, 'of which, ſays Mr Fenton, 'the Latin Verſes ſubjoined are an acceſſory proof, having been probably ſelected from thoſe, that were 'written by the Poets who attended his Funeral, as 'being the moſt pertinent to inform poſterity, that he 'was buried near Chaucer; which I think is all the 'merit they can juſtly pretend, being a ſervile imitation of Cardinal Bembo's epitaph on Sannazarius, and 'the immortal painter of Urbino (123).'

(123) The ſame may be ſaid of Sir Godfrey Kneller's epitaph upon his monument in Weſtminſter Abbey, by Mr Pope.

[*U*] *The ſtory of his loſing his laſt books, &c. is a fiction.*] 'Inſtead of deploring the fate, ſays Mr Fenton (124), of thoſe ſix books which are ſuppoſed to be 'loſt, I am intirely of opinion with Mr Dryden, that 'upon Sir Philip Sidney's death, Spenſer was deprived both of means and ſpirit to accompliſh his deſign. The ſtory of their being loſt in his voyage 'from Ireland, ſeems to be a fiction borrowed from 'the fate of Terence's Comedies, which itſelf has the 'air of a fiction, or at beſt is but a hearſay, that paſſed 'upon the Biographers without due examination.' This cenſure apparently put Dr Birch upon enquiring further into the matter. And that induſtrious Biographer having found it aſſerted, in Sir James Ware's Hiſtory, that theſe laſt books periſhed by the neglect or abuſe of a ſervant, who was ſent to England by Spenſer, in 1598, before his own laſt voyage thither; thereupon remarks, that Mr Fenton, though an ingenious Poet and Commentator, will ſcarce convince his Readers that the death of Sir Philip Sidney was ſufficient to prevent Spenſer from finiſhing his Poem, when it is evident he gave the world, after the loſs of that Patron, ſix books of it, at the ſame time promiſing the reſt, of which we actually have two Cantoes upon Mutability, equal, if not ſuperior, to any of the reſt, beſides two Stanzas of another Canto. And the authority of ſo conſiderable a writer as Sir James Ware, who lived near the time, and was in a ſituation of informing himſelf about the fact, cannot juſtly be rejected as a mere unſupported hearſay, propagated without due examination. 'It is true, continues the Doctor, that in the thirty-'third Sonnet of his *Amoretti*, written about 1592, 'Spenſer ſpeaks of the finiſhing of the *Fairy Queen*, as 'prevented by the cruelty of his Miſtreſs, and in the 'eightieth he requires a little refreſhment after ſo long 'a work as that of compiling the firſt ſix books of that 'Poem, and leiſure to ſing of his love's ſweet praiſe, 'the contemplation of whoſe beauty would raiſe his 'ſpirit, and enable him to undertake his ſecond work.

'*With ſtrong endeavour, and attention due.*

'But theſe Sonnets, allowing the ſubjects of them to 'be real facts, and not poetical fiction, were com-'poſed at leaſt five or ſix years before the laſt ſix 'books of the *Fairy Queen* are ſuppoſed to be loſt, '*an interval long enough for ſo ready and inexhauſtible a genius as Spenſer's to compleat them*, whoſe years bear no 'proportion to the number and perfection of his works. 'For the loſs of thoſe books could not have happened 'till after 1596, becauſe he mentions in the title-page 'of the edition of the *Fairy Queen* that year, that the 'Poem would contain twelve books (125).' I believe the Reader is beforehand with me in his cenſure of this reaſoning, which is ſo notoriouſly inconſiſtent with the fact. The *Fairy Queen*, as has been already ſhewn, was begun in 1579 at leaſt, the firſt three books were finiſhed in 1590, and the next three in 1596. This laſt, not to inſiſt on the whole ſpace, is an interval of ſix years, which is above twice the length of Spenſer's life after 1596. Thus the Doctor's argument we ſee, inſtead of ſtrengthening the teſtimony of Sir James Ware, ſerves rather to weaken it, and at the ſame time confirms the opinion of Mr Fenton, that they were never finiſhed; which therefore we have embraced.

(125) Birch's Life of Spenſer, ubi ſupra.

[*W*] *A liſt of his Works.*] We ſhall mention them in the order of their publication, as follows.

I. *The Shepheard's Calendar*; *Lond.* 1579. and *Lond.* 1586. and again *Lond.* 1590. all by the Author. Long after theſe came out an elegant Latin tranſlation, by *Theodore Batburſt*, Fellow of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, in 1653, 8vo; which was reprinted with the Engliſh original, and a ſhort account of Spenſer's Life and Writings in Latin, by Mr. John Ball, Lond. 1732, 8vo.

II. *The Faerie Queen; diſpoſed into twelve books, faſhioning twelve Moral Vertues. Part* 1. *Lond.* 1590. fol. containing the three firſt books; the ſecond edition with alterations and additions, containing three new books (126), intituled *The Second Part of the Faerie Queen*; *Lond.* 1596. both by the Author; after his death came out a third edition, intituled *The Faerie Queen, containing two new Cantoes, the only remains of a loſt book intituled The Legend of Conſtancy*; *Lond.* 1609. This edition was republiſhed with a new title only in 1611, and again in 1617, and in 1629; another edition with cuts, by Kent, and an Account of the Author's Life and Writings, by Dr Thomas Birch, came out at London 1751, in three volumes, 4to. There were alſo three more editions of this Poem printed in the year 1758. One at London, in two volumes 8vo, by Anonymous. Another by Mr Upton, in two volumes 4to, ibid. And a third by Mr Church, at Oxford, in four volumes 8vo. To each of theſe there is annexed, An Account of the Author's Life and Writings, together with a Gloſſary.

(126) Viz. the fourth, fifth, and ſixth. The *Epithalamium Thameſis*, mentioned in one of his letters to be written in Engliſh Hexameters, is thought to be wrought by him afterwards into that beautiful Epiſode of *The Marriage of the Thames and Medway*, in the XIth Canto of the fourth book.

(124) In notes upon Waller, p. xxii.

III. *Muiopotamos; or The Fate of the Butterfly*; Lond. by the Author.

IV. *Complaints containing ſundry ſmall Poems of the World's Vanity*, as 1. *The Ruines of Time.* 2. *The Teares of the Muſes.* 3. *Virgil's Gnat.* 4. *Proſopopœia; or Mother Hubbard's Tale.* 5. *The Ruines of Rome, by Bellay.* 6. *Muiopotamos.* 7. *Viſions of the World's Vanity.* 8. *Belley's Viſions.* 9. *Petrarch's Viſions* (127): to which is annexed, an Advertiſement by the Printer declaring, that the ſucceſs of his late publication of the *Fairy Queen* had put him upon uſing all good means to procure theſe Poems, which had been diſperſed ſo as not eaſily to be recovered by the Author himſelf, ſome of them having been purloined from him ſince his departure over ſea. Beſides theſe, continues he, the Author had written ſeveral others, as *A Tranſlation of Eccleſiaſtes, and Canticum Canticorum*; *A Se'ennight's Slumber*; *The Hell of Lovers*; and *Purgatory*; all dedicated to Ladies, which together with ſome other Pieces ſcattered abroad, as *The Dying Pellicane*; *The Hours of the Lord*; *The Sacrifice of a Sinner*; *The Seven Pſalms*; which the Printer, when he could obtain them from the Author, or otherwiſe, intended to publiſh. But this deſign proved abortive, and all theſe pieces have been long irrecoverably loſt, as well as his *Pageants*; his *Stemmata Dudleyana*; *The Court of Cupid*; and *A Tranſlation of Mocha's Idyllion on Wandring Love*, all mentioned, either in his literary Correſpondence, or in other parts of his Works.

(127) Theſe ſeveral *Viſions* were probably the ſame with his *Dreams*, mentioned in a letter to Mr Harvey, who ſays they were in imitation of *Petrarch's Viſions*.

V. *Aſtrophel; an Eclogue, or Paſtoral Elegy, on the Death of Sir Philip Sidney*; *Lond.* 1595.

VI. *Colin Clout's come again*; *ibid.* 1595.

VII. *Four Hymns on Love*, dedicated to the Counteſs of Cumberland; Lond. 1596.

VIII. *A View of the State of Ireland*, 1633, *by Sir James Ware.* This is the only treatiſe written by Spenſer in proſe, except that loſt piece, intituled *The Engliſh Poet*, mentioned by his Friend E. K. in his Notes on *The Shepherd's Calendar.*

IX. The firſt Collection of his Works came out anonymous, under this title of *The Works of that famous Engliſh Poet*, Mr Edmund Spenſer, *viz. The Fairy Queen, The Shepherd's Calendar, The Hiſtory of Ireland, &c. whereunto is added, a ſhort Account of his Life, with other new Additions never before printed.* This edition contains, beſides other pieces before printed, the following: 1. *Daphnaida.* 2. *An Elegy upon the death of the Noble and Virtuous Douglas Howard.* 3. *A Viſion upon the Concert of the Fairy Queen.* 4. *A Letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, explaining the Author's whole Intention in the Courſe of this Work*, [Fairy Queen] *dated Jan.* 23, 1589. 5. *The Mourning Muſe of Theſtylis.* 6. *An Elegie, or Friend's Paſſion for his Aſtrophel.* 7. *The Epitaph upon Sir Philip Sidney, Lord Governour of Fluſhing.* 8. *Prothalamion, or a Spouſal Verſe, &c.* 10. *Amoretti, or Sonnets, &c.* with the *Epithalamium* on his marriage. 11. *Britain's Ida*, which is falſely aſcribed to him. 12. *Calendarium Paſtorale, &c. a Theod. Bathurſt, &c.* with the Dedication to Francis Lane, Eſq; by William Dillingham, Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, dated 1 Calend. Julii, 1653. To the whole is prefixed, five letters betwixt our Author and his Friend Mr Gab. Harvey, and another from E. K. to Mr Harvey, by way of a Dedication to him of the *Shepherd's Calendar.*

X. *The Works of Edmund Spenſer, Lond.* 1715, in ſix volumes 12mo, by John Hughes, with an Account of his Life, Remarks upon his Writings, and a Gloſſary. Reprinted in 1750.

XI. A Tranſlation of a Socratic Dialogue, intituled *Axiochus; or of Death*, is mentioned in the Account of Spenſer's Life and Writings, prefixed to the edition of the *Fairy Queen*, by Mr Upton, who there gave us hopes of ſeeing it ſhortly in print, together with his other Works; but this deſign has proved abortive by the death of that learned and ingenious gentleman, which happened November 9, 1760 (128).

(128) London Magazine for that month and year.

SPRAT [THOMAS], late Biſhop of Rocheſter, generally eſteemed one of the moſt elegant and correct of our Engliſh writers, was a clergyman's ſon, and born at Tallaton in Devonſhire, in the year 1635, or 1636 *(a)*. He was entred a commoner of Wadham-College in 1651, and admitted Scholar of the ſame 25 Septemb. 1652, being aged ſeventeen years. Under the influence of the moſt ingenious Dr John Wilkins, then Warden of that college, he made a great progreſs in all branches of the moſt valuable Learning, eſpecially Mathematicks; and became a great admirer of Dr Seth Ward, Dr Ralph Bathurſt, the incomparable Mr Chriſtopher Wren, and other great promoters of true Philoſophy *(b)*. He took the degree of Batchelor of Arts January 29, 165$\frac{4}{5}$, and that of Maſter June 11, 1657 *(c)*, and was choſen Fellow of his college. Upon the death of Oliver Cromwell in 1658, he wrote a fine Pindarick Ode to the happy memory of that Uſurper [*A*]; wherein if

(*a*) Some Account of Biſhop Sprat's Life and Writings; Lond. 1713, 8vo. Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 1096.

(*b*) Wood, ibid.

(*c*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 105, 115.

[*A*] *He wrote a fine Pindarick Ode to the memory of Oliver Cromwell.*] It was printed at London 1659, 4to. among others, under this title, 'Poems upon the death 'of his late Highneſſe Oliver Lord Protector of England, 'Scotland, and Ireland, written by Mr Edm. Waller, 'Mr Jo. Dryden, Mr Sprat of Oxford.' Our author's appearing in ſuch good company, is what makes us ſay, that, 'if he erred, he erred among his Seniors and 'betters.' This juvenile performance was indeed often objected to him, and expoſed him afterwards to frequent cenſure (1). Even J. Oldmixon (2) obſerves, that he 'has carried the panegyric on Oliver, in this poem, as 'far as any of the French panegyriſts have done in 'praiſe of the French King.' It is actually carried to a conſiderable highth, as will appear from theſe two or three inſtances.

(1) From Hen. Stubbe, in his Reply, &c. p. 31, &c.

(2) In his tranſlation of F. Bouhours's celebrated piece, which he might with greater propriety have intituled *The Art of Criticiſm*, than *the Arts of Logic and Rhetoric*, p. 112.

'Tis true, great Name, thou art ſecure
From the forgetfulneſs and rage
Of Death, or Envy, or devouring Age;
Thou canſt the force and teeth of Time endure:
Thy fame, like Men, the elder it doth grow,
Will of itſelf turn whiter too,
Without what needleſs Art can do;
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Thou fought'ſt not out of Envy, Hope, or Hate,
But to refine the Church and State;
And like the Romans whate'er thou
In the field of Mars didſt mow,
Was, that a holy Iſland hence might grow.
. . . . . .

Thou fought'ſt not to be high or great,
Nor for a Scepter or a Crown,
Or Ermin, Purple, or the Throne;
But as the Veſtal Heat,
Thy Fire was kindled from above alone.
. . . . . .
Nor did thy battles make thee proud or high,
Thy Conqueſt rais'd the State, not thee:
Thou overcam'ſt thyſelf in every Victory.

Our Author's Dedication of this Poem to Dr Wilkins, ſhall be his own Apology. It is in theſe words: 'Sir, 'Seeing you are pleaſed to think fit that theſe Papers 'ſhould come into the publick, which were at firſt 'deſigned to live only in a deſk, or ſome private 'Friend's hands; I humbly take the boldneſs to commit 'them to the Security, which your Name and Protection 'will give them, with the moſt knowing part of the 'world. There are two things eſpecially in which they 'ſtand in need of your defence: One is, That they fall 'ſo infinitely below the full and lofty *Genius* of that 'excellent Poet, who made this way of writing free 'of our nation*: The other, That they are ſo little 'proportioned and equal to the Renown of that Prince, 'on whom they were written. Such great Actions and 'Lives, deſerving rather to be the Subjects of the nobleſt 'Pens and divine Fancies, than of ſuch ſmall Beginners 'and weak Eſſayers in Poetry as myſelf. Againſt 'theſe dangerous prejudices, there remains no other 'Shield than the Univerſal Eſteem and Authority which 'your Judgment and Approbation carries with it. The 'right you have to them, Sir, is not only on the ac-'count of the Relation you had to this great Perſon, 'nor of the general favour which all Arts receive from

* Cowley.

if he erred, he erred among his ſeniors and betters. The next production of his promiſing genius, was another Pindarick Ode deſcribing The Plague of Athens, which happened in the ſecond year of the Peloponneſian war [*B*]. After the Reſtoration of King Charles II. he entered into holy orders *(d)*, and became Chaplain to George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, whom he is ſaid to have aſſiſted in his witty compoſitions [*C*]. He was alſo made Chaplain in ordinary to his Majeſty *(e)*: and Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1667, he did due honour to this learned body, by publiſhing the much admired Hiſtory of it [*D*]. And the year following, he very handſomly vindicated the Engliſh Nation, againſt the inſolent Reflections of one Sorbiere [*E*]. He alſo publiſhed Mr Cowley's Life.

(d) He was ordained Prieſt March 10, 1660. Biſhop Kennet Regiſter and Chron. p. 881.

(e) Octob. 10, 1660, he was inſtalled in the Prebend of Carleton with Thurleby in the Church of Lincoln, to which he was preſented by his Majeſty. Br. Willis's Survey, Vol. II. p. 162.

'you; but more particularly by reaſon of that Obliga-
'tion and Zeal, with which I am bound to dedicate
'myſelf to your Service: For having been a long time
'the Object of your Care and Indulgence towards the
'advantage of my Studies and Fortune, having been
'moulded (as it were) by your own hands, and formed
'under your Government; not to intitle you to any
'thing which my meanneſs produces, would not only
'be Injuſtice, but Sacrilege.' . . . . . .

[*B*] *Another Pindarick Ode deſcribing The Plague of Athens*, &c.] We are told (3), that this 'performance 'ſtood the teſt of the ſevereſt Criticks, and, without 'partiality to the author, it was given as the opinion 'of the beſt judges, That the manner of *his* great ori-'ginal was judiciouſly imitated, and that in the ſub-'ject he far excelled both the Greek hiſtorian and the 'Latin poet.' There is, indeed, in this Ode a great deal of the ſublime; the deſcriptions are ſtrong; and the painting lively and moſt affecting. But it ſinks, in ſome places, into the low and the trifling; particularly in ſtanza the eighth in theſe verſes.

(3) Some Account of his Life &c. as above, p. 2.

Next o'er the upper Town it ſpread,
With mad and undiſcerned ſpeed;
In every corner, every ſtreet,
Without a guide did ſet its feet,
And too familiar every houſe did greet.

See alſo ſtanza the ninth.

Long ago had Horace obſerved, how difficult it is to imitate Pindar.

Pindarum quiſquis ſtudet æmulari,
Iule, ceratis ope Dædalea
Nititur pennis, vitreo daturus
Nomina ponto (4).

(4) Carminum, Lib. 4. Ode 2.

He that to equal Pindar tries,
With waxen wings he vainly flies
Too near exalted Fame:
And muſt expect a Fate like his
Who fell, and gave the Sea a name.
Creech.

[*C*] *Whom he is ſaid to have aſſiſted in his witty compoſitions.*] Particularly in his *Rehearſal*. And we are told, the Duke was often heard to ſay, 'That he 'never thought any of his compoſitions perfect, till 'they had received Mr Sprat's approbation (5).'

(5) Some Account of his Life, &c. p. 14.

[*D*] *By publiſhing the much admired Hiſtory of it.*] He intitled it 'The Hiſtory of the Royal Society of 'London, for the improving of Natural Knowledge.' Firſt printed in 1667, 4to; a ſecond edition corrected came out in 1702, and another in 1734. It is divided into three parts. The firſt part treats of the Ancient Philoſophy; the ſecond peculiarly deſcribes the Royal Society; and the third chiefly contains a defence and recommendation of Experimental Knowledge in general. In the ſecond part are inſerted ſeveral curious pieces; as namely, Anſwers by Sir Philberto Vernatti, reſident in Batavia, to certain inquiries ſent thither by order of the Royal Society: A method for making a Hiſtory of the Weather, by Mr Hook: Mr Rooke's direction for the Obſervations of the Eclipſes of the Moon, and his Diſcourſe concerning the Obſervations of the Eclipſes of the *Satellites* of Jupiter: A propoſal for making wine; and Experiments of a Stone called *Oculus Mundi*, both by Dr Goddard: A relation of Pico Teneriffe: Experiments of the weight of Bodies increaſed in the Fire, made at the Tower: Experiments of the recoiling of Guns, by the Lord Brouncker: The hiſtory of the making of Salt-peter, by Mr Henſhaw: The hiſtory of making Gun-powder: An apparatus to the hiſtory of the common practices of Dying, by Sir William Petty: And the hiſtory of the generation and ordering of Green Oyſters, commonly called Colcheſter-Oyſters. — Notwithſtanding the Deſign was noble, and well executed, it was cavilled at by ſome, eſpecially by Henry Stubbe, a phyſician of Warwick, the H—— of the laſt century; who publiſhed, 'Legends no Hiſtories: or a 'Specimen of ſome Animadverſions upon the *Hiſtory* 'of the Royal Society. Lond. 1670, 4to. And, Cam-'panella revived, or an Enquiry into the *Hiſtory of the* 'Royal Society, whether the Virtuoſi there do not pur-'ſue the projects of Campanella for the reducing Eng-'land unto Popery. Being an extract of a letter to a 'perſon of honour from H. S. With another letter to 'Sir N. N. relating the cauſe of the quarrel betwixt 'H. S. and the Royal Society; and a Poſtſcript con-'cerning the quarrel between him and Dr Chriſtopher 'Merrett. Lond. 1670, 4to. H. Stubbe alſo pub-'liſhed, A Cenſure upon certain paſſages contained in 'the *Hiſtory of the Royal Society*, as being deſtructive to 'the Eſtabliſhed Religion and Church of England. 'To the ſecond edition of which is added, The Letter 'of a Virtuoſo in oppoſition to the Cenſure, a Reply 'unto the Letter aforeſaid, and Reply unto the præfa-'tory Anſwer of *Ecebolius* (Joſ.) Glanville, Chaplain to 'Mr Rouſe of Eaton (late Member of the Rump-'Parliament,) Rector of Bath, and Fellow of the Royal 'Society. Alſo an Anſwer to the Letter of Dr Henry 'More, relating to Henry Stubbe Phyſician at War-'wick.' Oxford 1671, 4to.——A late author (6) is pleaſed to ſtyle The Hiſtory of the Royal Society, 'a fuſtian Hiſtory,'——and adds, that 'it was 'eſteemed an excellent compoſition by the metaphor '—hunting mob of ſilly writings in Charles the Se-'cond's reign.' A hard, and indeed unjuſt, cenſure.

(6) Cooper, in his Life of Socrates.

For, much truer, as well as handſomer, is the Character given of it in A. Wood (7); that 'it is penned 'in ſo very fine, neat and graceful a ſtyle, as that 'ſome account it to be one of the moſt exact pieces 'for curiouſneſs and delicacy of Language, that was 'ever yet extant in our tongue.' And the ingenious Mr Cowley, in his Pindaric Ode prefixed thereto, and addreſſed to the Royal Society, pays this fine compliment to the Author.

(7) Ath. ut ſupra, col. 1097.

And ne'er did fortune better yet
Th'Hiſtorian to the ſtory fit.
As *You*, from all old errors free
And purge the body of Pholoſophy;
So from all modern follies *He*
Has vindicated eloquence and wit,
His candid ſtyle like a clean ſtream does ſlide,
And his bright fancy all the way
Does like the Sun-ſhine in it play;
It does, like Thames the beſt of rivers, glide,
Where the God does not rudely overturn
But gently pour the chryſtal urn,
And with judicious hand does the whole current guide.
'T has all the beauties Nature can impart,
And all the comely dreſs without the paint of Art.

[*E*] *Againſt the inſolent Reflexions of one Sorbiere.*] Thoſe Reflexions were comprized in a Voyage to England, intituled, 'Relation d'un Voyage fait en Angle-'terre par Samuel Sorbiere.' 12mo. Paris 1664. Mr Sprat expoſes very ſmartly the pertneſs, petulance, and ignorance of that trifling Scribbler; or, as he ſtyles him (8), 'pragmatical Reviler of one of the moſt 'powerful Kingdoms in Chriſtendome.' His anſwer is in form of 'A Letter containing ſome Obſervations 'on Monſieur de Sorbiere's Voyage into England; 'written to Dr Wren, Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in Ox-'ford.' Lond. 1664, 8vo. In the beginning of which Letter, he gives this character of Sorbiere's performance. '. . Though it be an inſolent Libel on our 'Nation, yet I doubt not, but you will peruſe it with 'delight. For when you have beheld how many 'errors, and falſhoods, he has committed in this ſmall 'Relation; you cannot but be well pleaſed to find,

(8) P. 3.

'that

Life [*F*]. On the 22d of February 1668, he was inſtalled Prebendary of Weſtminſter (*f*): and ſoon after appointed Miniſter of St Margaret's (*g*). July the 3d, 1669, he accumulated the degrees of Batchelor and Doctor in Divinity (*b*). And January 14, 1680, was alſo inſtalled Canon of Windſor (*i*). The ſervice he did the Court, by drawing up the account of the Conſpiracy, known by the title of The Proteſtant Plot [*G*], procured him greater preferments. For in 1683, he was advanced to the Deanery of Weſtminſter; being inſtalled September the 21ſt (*k*). He was next promoted to the Biſhopric of Rocheſter, and conſecrated the 2d of November 1684 (*l*). And on the 29th of December 1685, was ſworn Clerk of the

(*f*) Le Neve's Faſti &c. edit. 1716. fol. p. 373.

(*g*) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra.

(*b*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 175, 176.

(*i*) Le Neve, as above, p. 387.

(*k*) Wood, A col. 1096.

(*l*) Lond. Gaz. No. 1979.

'that whoever undertakes to defame your Country, 'he muſt, at the ſame time, forfeit his Wit, and his 'Underſtanding, as well as his good Manners (9).' ——So Scandalous were Sorbiere's reflexions, that King Lewis XIV. publiſhed an arreſt, or order, of his Council, for ſuppreſſing that Book in France.

(9) P. 2.

[*F*] *He alſo wrote Mr Cowley's life.*] He wrote it firſt in Latin, and prefixed it to Mr Cowley's ſix books *De Plantis*, printed at London 1668. 8vo. Afterwards he drew it up in a fuller manner in Engliſh, and placed it at the head of Mr Cowley's Poems, who had recommended to him, in his will, the care of his printed works and manuſcript papers. But the pious Mr Edmund Elys, of Exeter-College, Oxford, taking umbrage at ſome paſſages in it, publiſhed, 'An Exclamation to all thoſe 'that love the Lord Jeſus in ſincerity, againſt an apo-'logy, written by an ingenious perſon, for Mr Abra-'ham Cowley's laſcivious and profane verſes.' Lond. '4to (10).

(10) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 943, 1097.

[*G*] *By drawing up the account of the Conſpiracy, known by the title of the Proteſtant Plot.*] It was printed in 1685. fol. with this title, 'A true Account and De-'claration of the horrid Conſpiracy againſt the late 'King, his preſent Majeſty, and the Government: 'As it was ordered to be publiſhed by his late Majeſty.' Reprinted in 1686. 8vo. As this was a moſt odious taſk, and that expoſed our Author to the *Reſentment* of perſons of great titles and high ſtations, and indeed of the bulk of the nation; he found it neceſſary, after the Revolution, to write an Apology for himſelf, in a *Second* Letter to the Earl of Dorſet: wherein he thus ſpeaks upon the ſubject of this book.——'Firſt, my 'Lord, as for the book of the Conſpiracy, it is true, 'I have often heard that ſome noble and eminent 'perſons, whoſe Kindred or Friends were unhappily 'concerned in the ſubject of that Hiſtory, had enter-'tained a prejudice againſt me thereupon. But to 'them I ſhall make this equitable requeſt, that they 'would ſuſpend any farther cenſure of me for what 'I did write, till they ſhall be fairly informed how 'much there is that I have not written.

'I will not deny, that it was at the Requeſt, or 'rather the Command, of King *Charles* the Second, 'that I drew up a relation of that Plot: And to that 'end, I had free liberty to conſult the Paper-Office and 'Council-books, whence I was plentifully furniſhed 'with ſuch authentick Materials, either of Papers printed 'by Authority, or of ſworn Depoſitions and Confeſſions, 'as have been always thought the beſt ground for an 'Hiſtorian to work upon. But now, my Lord, I can 'ſtill alledg, that though a vaſt heap of ſuch matter 'was immediately ſupplyed to my hands; and though 'I often received earneſt Meſſages, and ſome ſharp 'Words from that gentle King to quicken my ſlowneſs, 'yet more than twelve months had paſſed before I could 'be brought to put pen to paper; out of my natural 'averſion to any buſineſs, that might reflect ſeverely 'upon any man: my own inclination rather leading 'me to the other extreme, that is, rather to commend 'too much what in the leaſt ſeems well done, than to 'aggravate what is ill done by others. However, up-'on King *Charles*'s frequent commands, and continued 'importunity, I did at length obey; and the rather, 'becauſe I had formerly ſomewhat incurred that King's 'and his brother's diſpleaſure, by my declining to write 'againſt the ſtates of Holland, during the time of the 'firſt and ſecond Dutch wars. Being thus over-perſuaded, 'I made my Collections, and preſented them to that 'King: Which his Majeſty having himſelf peruſed, 'was pleaſed to direct me to put them into the hands 'of the Lord Keeper North, who carefully read and 'corrected what I had done, and added divers matters 'of fact, which had eſcaped my obſervation. Thus 'the work ſtood in preparation for the preſs, when the 'deplorable death of that King happened. And ſhort-'ly after King *James* the Second calling for the Papers, 'and having read them, and altered divers paſſages, 'cauſed them to be printed by his own authority, as is 'to be ſeen before the Book. But now, my Lord, 'I can truly declare, that during my compoſing thoſe 'collections, I earneſtly requeſted King *Charles* the 'Second, ... that few or no Names of perſons 'ſhould be mentioned, whatever probable ſuggeſtions 'might be againſt them, but only ſuch, upon whom 'publick Judgment had paſſed, which it could be to 'no purpoſe for me to conceal. I could indeed have 'wiſhed, that my Lord *Ruſſel*'s, and ſome other Names 'of Perſons of Honour, might have been of the number 'to be omitted, upon that very account; but it was 'none of my fault that they were not. I could not 'hinder, nor did I in the leaſt contribute to their fall: 'Nay I lamented it, eſpecially my Lord *Ruſſel*'s, after 'I was fully convinced by diſcourſe with the Reverend 'Dean of Canterbury *, of that noble Gentleman's 'great probity, and conſtant abhorrence of falſhood; 'but that was a good while after. All that I did, was 'the publiſhing, or rather indeed the putting together 'methodically, what before was ſufficiently publiſhed 'in printed Papers that were licenſed: And out of 'them to draw the ſubſtance of a Declaration of State, 'in vindication of that which the Authority of the 'nation, at that time, called, The Publick Juſtice of 'the Kingdom. But, my Lord, to return to what 'I was ſaying. King Charles having granted my deſire 'of concealing divers Names, according to this allow-'ance I proceeded, leaving out ſome, and abbreviating 'others; endeavouring all along to ſpare Parties and 'Families, and particular Perſons, as much as would 'be allowed. All which may be demonſtrated from 'the Copies of the Depoſitions, as they went out of 'my hands, where there were ſeveral Names viſibly 'marked by my own pen, to be paſſed by in the pub-'lication. So that if ſome indifferent man ſhould now 'compare the informations as they are in print, with 'the Originals in the Secretary's, or the Paper-Office, 'he would, it may be, be apter to ſuſpect me of con-'nivance, than of calumny on that ſide. If I have 'now given your Lordſhip any ſatisfaction touching my 'fair dealing in my part of that Book, I doubt not but 'what follows will give you more; when I ſhall aſſure 'you of my having refuſed to write a *Continuation of the 'ſame Hiſtory*. For, my Lord, it was ſome time after 'the Duke of *Monmouth*'s overthrow and execution, 'that King James the Second required me to undertake 'ſuch another taſk, and preſently to ſet about a *Second 'Part*. To that purpoſe his Majeſty gave me a ſight 'of multitudes of Original Letters and Papers, together 'with the Confeſſions of ſeveral perſons then taken in 'England and Scotland; who did indeed ſeem all to 'outvie one another, who ſhould reveal moſt, both of 'Men and Things, relating to the Old Conſpiracy, 'as well as to the Duke of Monmouth's, and the Earl 'of Argyle's invaſion. But finding the Innocence of 'divers Perſons of Worth and Honour touched in thoſe 'Papers, and by that time beginning vehemently to 'ſuſpect, things were running apace towards the en-'dangering of our Laws and Religion, I muſt ſay, 'I never could be induced by all his Majeſty's reiterated 'commands, to go on with that work. Inſtead of that, 'though I had all the Materials for ſuch a Narrative 'within my power, for above three years, and might 'eaſily have finiſhed it in a month or ſix weeks ſpace, 'yet I choſe rather to ſuppreſs and ſilence, as much as 'I could, all that new Evidence; which, if openly 'produced, would have blemiſhed the Reputation of 'ſome honourable perſons. Give me leave, my Lord, 'only to add, That I am confident there are ſeveral 'Original Papers ſtill in being, which would be more 'than enough to convince all impartial men, how 'moderate and tender I was in that cauſe.'—There is ſomething very ſtinging in what he ſays of the Lord Ruſſel; 'that he was carried away into this traiterous 'enterprife, by a vain Air of popularity, and a wild 'Suſpicion of *loſing a great Eſtate* by an imaginary re-'turn of Popery;'—meaning the Abbey-lands (11).

* Dr Tillotſon.

(11) Account of the Conſpiracy, Sheweth p. 28.

Cloſet

Closet to King James II *(m)*. In 1686, he was put in the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, then newly erected *(n)*; and acted under it, in hopes of being tranſlated to the vacant See of York, of which ſome hints had been given by the Court *(o)*: But he found himſelf miſtaken, and this imprudent compliance expoſed him to the contempt and reſentment of all good and conſiderate men. So that, after the Revolution, he was forced to endeavour to take off the bad impreſſions cauſed thereby, in two Letters written to the Earl of Dorſet [*H*]. He was one of the perſons employed to draw up the Form of Thankſgiving for the

(m) Wood, ibid. But he was not Dean of the Chapel, as is ſaid in the General Dictionary.

(n) See that Commiſſion in the Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. edit. 1719. p. 452.

(o) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, ed. 1753, 8vo. Vol. II. p. 371.

[*H*] *In two Letters written to the Earl of Dorſet.*] The firſt begins thus, 'My Lord, I think I ſhould be 'wanting to myſelf at this time, in my own neceſſary 'Vindication, ſhould I forbear any longer to give my 'Friends a true account of my Behaviour in the late 'Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion. Though I profeſs, what 'I ſhall now ſay, I only intend as a reaſonable Mitiga'tion of the Offence I have given, not entirely to juſtify 'my Sitting in that Court; for which, I acknowledg, 'I have deſervedly incurred the Cenſure of many good 'Men; and I wiſh I may ever be able to make a ſuffi'cient amends to my Country for it. Yet thus much, 'my Lord, I can juſtly alledg for myſelf, That the 'Commiſſion was made, and my Name put into it, 'altogether without my knowledg; when I happened 'to be at Saliſbury, holding an Archiepiſcopal Viſita'tion with the Biſhop of Chicheſter, and other Com'miſſioners .... At my return from thence to London, 'I found I was appointed to be one in a new Com'miſſion: But I could never ſee a copy of it, nor did 'I ever hear its contents, or know the powers granted 'in it, till the time of its being publickly opened at 'Whitehall; whither I was ſent for, on purpoſe, in 'haſte, that very morning from my houſe in the coun'try..... Upon the firſt publiſhing the Commiſſion, 'I confeſs through my ignorance in the Laws, I had 'little or no objection in my thoughts againſt the 'Legality of it; eſpecially when I conſidered, that 'having paſſed the broad Seal, it muſt needs, accord'ing to my apprehenſion, have been examined and 'approved by the King's learned Council in the law, 'men generally eſteemed of eminent ſkill in their 'profeſſion. Beſides, I was farther confirmed (though 'too raſhly I grant) in my Error, when I ſaw two 'Gentlemen of the long robe, perſons of the greateſt 'place and authority in Weſtminſter-hall (12), joined 'with us; who, I ſhould have thought, would never 'have ventured their fortunes and reputations, by 'exerciſing a juriſdiction that was illegal. And I be'lieved I had reaſon to conclude, that this very argu'ment might prevail alſo with ſome others of the tem'poral Lords that ſat among us: particularly the Earl 'of Rocheſter has often aſſured me, it was that which 'induced him to accept of the Commiſſion; and that 'he did it, as I myſelf did, with a purpoſe of doing as 'much good as we were able, and of hindering as 'much evil as we poſſibly could, in that unfortunate 'juncture of affairs. As for my own part, I was 'ſtartled when I perceived my Lord of Canterbury (13) 'ſcrupled to be preſent with us; whoſe Example, it is 'true, I ought rather to have followed than the greateſt 'Lawyers in all matters of Conſcience. Yet I hope his 'Grace will excuſe me, if I declare, that I did not at 'firſt know he made a matter of Conſcience of it. Nor 'did I underſtand his Grace took exception at the Law'fulneſs of the Commiſſion itſelf, till after my Lord 'of London (14) was cited, and had appeared and 'anſwered, and the unjuſt ſentence was paſt againſt 'him. For it was on the very day the Commiſſion was 'opened, immediately, as I remember, after it was 'read, that my Lord of London was informed againſt 'for not ſuſpending Dr Sharpe: Which, though it 'exceedingly ſurprized me at firſt, yet obſerving with 'what heat the proſecution was like to be carried on 'againſt him, that very conſideration did the more in'cline me to ſit and act there, that I might be in ſome 'capacity of doing right to his Lordſhip. And whe'ther I did him any ſervice through the whole proceſs 'of his cauſe, I leave it to my Lord himſelf to judge. 'That I gave my poſitive vote for his Acquittal, both 'the times when his ſuſpenſion came in queſtion, I 'ſuppoſe I need not tell the world. Having thus, in 'the beginning of that court, and the higheſt fer'ment of it, freely diſcharged my conſcience, by en'deavouring to clear my Lord of London, I muſt 'own I thenceforth unawares took a reſolution, which, 'how hurtful ſoever it may now prove to myſelf, yet 'I am ſtill apt to believe, did the Church of England 'no diſſervice in the main, my deſign, by conti'nuing longer among them, was to make ſure of one 'Vote at leaſt, and to do my part, to the utmoſt of 'my ſmall intereſt and ability, to leſſen the blow which 'I feared was coming on the Clergy, ſince it could not 'altogether be avoided. And I was the more perſuaded 'to take this courſe, not only becauſe the Legality or 'Illegality of the Commiſſion ſeemed at firſt rather a 'moot-caſe, than a determined point either way; 'divers of the principal Lawyers, as I was told, being 'divided in their opinions concerning it; but alſo 'becauſe I ſaw ſome other perſons were ready to fill 'my chair there, as ſoon as it ſhould be empty; Men 'of whoſe principles and practices I was ſo well aware, 'that I knew they would not have the ſame regard as 'myſelf for the Churches preſervation. And perhaps 'I might add this further for the extenuation of my 'fault, that I was not diſcouraged by ſome grave and 'worthy perſons, for this very purpoſe, to keep in 'ſome longer time; but I forbear to name them, that 'I may not involve any good man in my infelicity. 'However, upon theſe motives I acted, and, in purſu'ance of this deſign, God knows, I voted as long as 'I remained at the board; where all my opinions were 'ſo contrary to the humour of the Court, that I often 'thought myſelf to be really in as much hazard from 'the Commiſſion itſelf, by my not complying, as any 'of my brethren could be that were out of it. I appeal 'to all that were acquainted with the tranſactions there, 'whether ever I gave my conſent to any irregular or 'arbitrary ſentence; whether I did not conſtantly and 'firmly declare againſt every extravagant decree. I could 'almoſt preſume to affirm, that I was, as far as in me 'lay, ſome way or other, a common ſollicitor, or ad'vocate, for all that were unjuſtly proſecuted before 'them. And I might exemplify this beyond all contra'diction, if I ſhould enumerate every particular cauſe 'that came under their cognizance. After my Lord 'of London was ſentenced, his Lordſhip knows, I was 'always upon the watch to obſtruct all farther proceed'ings againſt him: Nay, his Lordſhip well remembers, 'I had once obtained to have his ſuſpenſion taken off, 'if he would but have made an ordinary ſubmiſſion. 'Then I was zealous for *Exeter-College*, in their defence 'againſt Father Petre, in a buſineſs of ſo great import'ance, that if the college had been overcome in the ſuit, 'that whole Society muſt ſoon have been abandoned 'to Popery. I did my utmoſt to oppoſe the violent 'perſecution upon the whole univerſity of *Cambridge*, 'when the Vice-Chancellor was ſuſpended his office, 'and his Maſterſhip of Magdalen-College; becauſe a 'Popiſh Prieſt, who was one of the Miſſionaries to 'pervert the Scholars, was denied a degree in their 'Convocation. I faithfully aſſiſted and ſerved *Chriſt-Church* in Oxford, when they were in danger of hav'ing new ſtatutes impoſed upon them, which would 'infallibly have laid open that royal College, to the 'ruine of their good learning and religion. I abſolutely 'reſiſted all the alterations in the Statutes of *Sidney*-'College, and all other changes and abrogations of 'Oaths, that were then made or deſigned in the ſtatutes 'of either Univerſity, for the advantage of Popiſh 'Prieſts and ſtudents, and for the freer courſe of *Man'damus*'s in their favour. I ever gave my advice for 'all ſorts of buſineſs, to be returned into the common 'courſe of juſtice; as that all eccleſiaſtical matters ſhould 'be referred back to the ſeveral Biſhops from whoſe 'dioceſes the complaints were brought; and that all 'informations againſt Colleges and Hoſpitals ſhould be 'recommitted to their proper viſitors. I perſiſted un'moveable in my diſſent from every vote that paſſed 'againſt *Magdalen-College* in Oxford; from their very 'firſt citation before that court, to the cruel incapaci'tating of the Preſident and Fellows. I could mention 'many other particulars, wherein I ſucceſsfully laboured 'to relieve divers of the inferior and greater Clergy 'from oppreſſion; to prevent ſome from being called 'before us at all; to preſerve others after they were 'accuſed by malicious ſycophants and informers, that 'ſwarmed then every where: ſome in the caſe of Tythes; 'ſome

(12) L. C. J. Jefferys, and Sir Edward Herbert.

(13) Archbiſhop Sancroft.

(14) Biſhop Compton.

(p) Complete Hiſt. as above, p. 496.

the Queen's being with child of the pretended Prince of Wales (p) [I]. But Auguſt 15, 1688, he withdrew himſelf from the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion [K], and thenceforth concurred

' ſome for preſſing Churchwardens to take legal Oaths;
' ſome for not reading, ſome for preaching againſt the
' King's declaration. But there are two eminent in-
' ſtances, which I cannot omit. 'The one, that when
(*) Dr T. Barlow. ' —— the Biſhop of Lincoln (*), was petitioned
' againſt by his Archdeacon, and there was, at that
' time, inclination enough in the Court to purſue him
' to extremity, yet our Author ſays, that he ſo effectu-
' ally wrought with the Commiſſioners, that the proſe-
' cution againſt him was diſcountenanced and fell to
' the ground.' But the author of the Complete Hiſtory
(15) Vol. III. p. 507. note. of England informs us (15), that Biſhop Barlow's en-
gaging to write in favour of the Diſpenſing Power,
proved his beſt ſecurity and protection.——' The other
' inſtance (as our Author's Apology goes on) concerns
' my Lord of Canterbury; and I am confident his Grace
' will readily give me this teſtimony, That I ſerved him
' honeſtly and induſtriouſly on ſome occaſions, wherein
' he was like to be embroiled with the Commiſſion;
' which muſt inevitably have ended in his Grace's ſuſ-
' penſion at leaſt, ſince he was reſolved, whenever he
' ſhould be brought before them, whatever the pretence
' had been, to deny the whole Power and Juriſdiction
' of the Court. As for the laſt ſcene tranſacted there,
' which was in order to cenſure the whole Clergy, for
' refuſing to read the Declaration: In that I hope I need
' ſay nothing in my defence, it being publickly known
' to the whole Nation, how I then demeaned myſelf;
' how I broke looſe from the Commiſſion, in a time
' when I was convinced I could do the Church no far-
' ther ſervice there, and when the Popiſh party was in
' the height of their power and rage. Then it was
' that I joined myſelf again to the common intereſt of
' the honeſt Clergy, juſt when they were on the very
' brink of deſtruction, before we ever dreamt of this
' glorious Deliverance. . . . . Upon the whole matter
' therefore, though as to the legal part of the Com-
' miſſion, which belonged to Lawyers to judge of, I was
' miſtaken, for acting in it at all: Yet in the conſcien-
' tious part, which properly concerned me as a Divine,
' to act in it honeſtly and ſincerely, according to the
' beſt of my judgment; in that, if I ſhall not be thought
' to deſerve thanks, yet I hope I may obtain pardon
' from all men of candour and ingenuity.'—As this
Letter contains the moſt plauſible Excuſes that could
be made for the moſt exceptionable part of our Prelate's
conduct, we thought it a point of juſtice due to him,
to lay this long Extract of it before the Reader.

[I] *He was one of the perſons employed to draw up the Form of Thankſgiving for the Queen's being with child,* &c.] It was upon that occaſion, that a ballad was made, beginning with the following ſtanza.

(16) *i. e.* Thomas Sprat, Thomas White biſhop of Peterborough, and Nathanael Crew biſhop of Durham.

Two *Toms*, and *Nat* (16),
In Council ſat,
To rig out a Thankſgiving,
And make a pray'r,
For a thing in the air,
That's neither dead nor living, &c.

(17) P. 16. edit. 1711. 8vo.

[K] *He withdrew himſelf from the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion.*] In his Second Letter to the Earl of Dorſet (17), he declares, that his attendance at the Tryal of the Seven Biſhops, was the critical Time when he came to be convinced of the Illegality of the Commiſſion, and took a reſolution to abandon it.——' For my part, ſays
' he, I muſt own, I was ſo fully ſatisfyed by the excel-
' lent Pleadings of thoſe great Lawyers at that tryal,
' that I confeſs I never had till then ſo clear a notion,
' what unalterable Bounds the law has fixed between
' the juſt Prerogatives of the Crown, and the legal
' Rights of the Subject. And therefore from that very
' day I haſtened to make what reparations I could for
' the Errors occaſioned by my former ignorance; and
' to act for the future, what I always intended, as be-
' came a true Engliſhman. Nor was it long after,
' that I met with a ſignal opportunity to put this my
' purpoſe in practice: For perceiving the rage of the
' Popiſh party againſt the Church of England was rather
' heightened than abated, by my Lords the Biſhops
' being acquitted; and fearing the Eccleſiaſtical Com-
' miſſion was next to be employed, to wreak the Papiſts
' revenge on the orthodox clergy, when Weſtminſter-
' hall could not do it, I preſently reſolved to deſert
' that commiſſion, from whence I had often before
' laboured and intreated in vain to be fairly diſmiſſed:
' And immediately I ſent *the Commiſſioners the following*
' *Letter*, whereof your Lordſhip may remember I then
' preſented you with a copy; as knowing how much
' you would be pleaſed, with my other friends, at my
' forſaking that board upon any terms.'——My Lords, I moſt humbly intreat your Lordſhips favourable interpretation of what I now write, That ſince your Lordſhips are reſolved to proceed againſt thoſe, who have not complyed with the King's commands in reading his Declaration, it is abſolutely impoſſible for me to ſerve his Majeſty any longer in this Commiſſion, I beg leave to tell your Lordſhips, that though I myſelf did ſubmit in that particular, yet I will never be any ways inſtrumental in puniſhing thoſe my Brethren who did not. For, as I call God to witneſs, that what I did was merely upon a principle of Conſcience; ſo I am fully ſatisfied, that their forbearance was upon the ſame principle. I have no reaſon to think otherwiſe of the whole body of our Clergy, who, upon all occaſions, have ſignalized their loyalty to the Crown, and their zealous affections to his preſent Majeſty's perſon in the worſt of times. Now, my Lords, the ſafety of the whole Church of England ſeeming to be exceedingly concerned in this proſecution, I muſt declare, that I cannot, with a ſafe conſcience, ſit as judge in this cauſe, upon ſo many pious and excellent men: With whom, if it be God's will, it rather becomes me to ſuffer, than to be in the leaſt acceſſary to their ſuffering. I therefore earneſtly requeſt your Lordſhips to intercede with the King, that I may be graciouſly diſmiſſed any farther attendance at your board, and to aſſure his Majeſty, that I am ſtill ready to ſacrifice whatever I have to his ſervice, but my Conſcience and Religion.

Bromley Aug. 15, 1688. My Lords &c.

' Your Lordſhip ſeeing what I have ſaid in this
' letter, concerning my ſubmitting in that buſineſs of
' the Declaration, upon a principle of Conſcience, as I
' then thought, you may expect my reaſon for doing
' ſo. I muſt frankly confeſs, I had then a doubt in
' my mind, ariſing from a Rubrick in the Common
' Prayer (which is as much as any other a law in the
' land) whether a Biſhop could lawfully deny the read-
' ing of whatever the King ſhould ordain to be read in
' Churches. And 'twas merely upon that miſtaken
' ſcruple of conſcience, I was induced not to oppoſe
' that command of the King in council; I ſay not to
' oppoſe it: Farther than that, I ſtill ſay, I went not
' in that buſineſs. For it is moſt true, that the Or-
' ders of Council, for publiſhing that Declaration in
' Churches, were diſperſed through the places of my
' juriſdiction immediately from the King's printing-
' houſe, without my injunction, or ſo much as my
' knowledge. And after they were ſent abroad,
' though I did not, 'tis true, revoke them, as not
' being then well determined in the caſe; yet I no
' where inſiſted to have them obeyed. Nay both in
' my own dioceſs of Rocheſter, and in that of London,
' where I had then very unwillingly ſome inſpection,
' there is no one Clergyman can upbraid me for urging
' any man to read, or reproving any for not reading
' the Declaration. If it ſhall be objected, that I per-
' mitted it to be read in Weſtminſter-abbey, I deſire it
' may be alſo conſidered, what dreadful Apprehen-
' ſions this Royal Church and School were then under,
' from our neighbours the Jeſuits at Court; who lay in
' wait to take any advantage, whereby they might
' ſtir up the King to ruin us. Beſides that a *Quo*
' *Warranto* was then actually iſſued out againſt us, and
' we were every day threatened, that as we were the
' neareſt, ſo we ſhould fall the firſt prey into the hands
' of the Popiſh Prieſts. But to go on; I need not re-
' mind your Lordſhip what wrath and indignation this
' Letter to the Commiſſioners produced againſt me
' from the Jeſuited Party at Court; for which yet I
' eſteemed myſelf abundantly recompenced by the
' Peace it gave me in my own mind, and I hope I
' may ſay by the good will it revived towards me in
' the hearts of good men; eſpecially of my Lord
' Archbiſhop, and the other perſecuted Biſhops,
' with whom I ever after acted in perfect con-
' junction for the publick Good.'——

Ev-

curred with the reſt of the Biſhops, in ſuch ſalutary meaſures as were thought moſt for the advantage of the nation (q). He was one of the managers in the conference concerning the Abdication of King James II, and one of thoſe who voted againſt the throne's being vacant (r). Notwithſtanding which, he ſubmitted to the new government, and remained unmoleſted in his See; but undoubtedly he was forced to buy his peace, by giving up to the Court the diſpoſal of his beſt preferments, as the Biſhop of Durham was obliged to do (ſ). In 1692, a moſt villainous conſpiracy was formed againſt his life, and the lives of ſeveral other perſons of honor and diſtinction; by forging an Aſſociation under their hands, to reſtore King James, and ſeize the Princeſs of Orange [L]. But, after a ſhort confinement, and ſtrict examination before the Privy-Council, he was honorably acquitted. From thenceforth he ſpent the remainder of his days in a happy tranquillity, charitable and generous to all, eſteemed by the impartial and diſintereſted, and beloved by his acquaintance (t). He joined himſelf to thoſe who were looked upon as beſt affected to the Church, and voted with them; as in Dr Sacheverell's affair &c. (u). At length he dyed at Bromley in Kent, May 20, 1713, of an apoplexy, in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age; and was buried in Weſtminſter-abbey, where a monument was afterwards erected to him (w). He left only one ſon named Thomas, who was Archdeacon of Rocheſter, Prebendary of the Churches of Rocheſter, Winchester, and Weſtminſter; and who dyed May 10, 1720, aged forty-one. Our learned Author, beſides his ſeveral works already mentioned, publiſhed ſome Sermons, and a few other pieces, of which an account is given in the note [M].

(q) His ſecond Letter to the Earl of Dorſet, edit. 1711. 8vo, p. 16, 27.

(r) See N. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, fol. Vol. III. in the Summary, p. 162.

(ſ) From the information of a late Prebendary of Durham.

(t) Some Account of his Life, as above; and the Lives of the Poets by Cibber, Vol. III. p. 239.

(u) See the Doctor's Tryal, and Hiſtory of Queen Anne by Abel Boyer, fol. Lond. 1735. p. 444, 445.

(w) Some Account of his Life, p. 14.

Elſewhere, the Biſhop more fully explains the great danger he expoſed himſelf to, by thus relinquiſhing the Commiſſion. 'This is certain (ſays he) that my leaving and defying the Commiſſion at that time, did 'apparently exaſperate the Popiſh Prieſts, and the 'Ringleaders of the Jeſuitical Faction againſt me, to 'the higheſt degree imaginable. Nay, ſome worthy 'men have made me almoſt ſo vain as to fancy, that 'my bidding the Commiſſion then farewel in ſo public and peremptory a manner, was no inconſiderable 'ſtroke towards the diſſolution of the Commiſſion itſelf. 'It is evident, that immediately upon the receipt of 'my Letter, wherein I renounced them, they adjourned 'in confuſion for ſix months, and ſcarce ever met afterwards. Thus far I am ſure, my perpetual behaviour therein was ſo much all of a piece, ſo directly 'againſt the vogue of the Court, and the counſels of 'Popery then prevailing; and the effects of it did ſo 'viſibly deſtroy my former intereſt with the King, that 'whereas it is manifeſt I was, when the Commiſſion 'began, in as fair a probability as any Clergyman in 'England, to receive great effects of his Majeſty's favour; yet after my oppoſing my Lord Biſhop of 'London's ſuſpenſion, and my other votes conformable to that, I fell by degrees under his ſevere diſpleaſure. I might add moreover, that it is very probable, I was at laſt in more imminent Danger than 'any of my Brethren; I ſay, my Lord, than any of 'my Brethren, the ſeven petitioning Biſhops, and my 'Lord of London only excepted (18).'——An Anſwer to each of theſe Letters was publiſhed in 1689, ſaid to have been written by one Mr Charlton (19).

(18) Firſt Letter to the Earl of Dorſet, p. 8.

(19) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra, col. 1098.

[L] *In 1692, a moſt villainous conſpiracy was formed againſt his life, and the lives of ſeveral other perſons of honor and diſtinction; by forging an Aſſociation*, &c.] This moſt wicked Contrivance was formed, by one *Robert Young*, a Scotchman, (who had inſinuated himſelf into Deacon's orders by forged certificates, and afterwards had forged his Prieſt's orders, but had been degraded for Bigamy, and other the moſt heinous of crimes,) and *Stephen Blackhead*, both priſoners in Newgate; the latter for forging a Bond. They contrived an Aſſociation, to which they affixed the forged hands of W. Sancroft Archbiſhop of Canterbury, *Tho. Sprat Biſhop of Rocheſter*, the Earls of Marleborough and Saliſbury, Lord Cornbury, Sir Baſil Firebrace, and John Wilcoxe. The ſubſtance of the Aſſociation was, That they would contribute their utmoſt aſſiſtance towards King James's Recovery of his Kingdoms; would have 30,000 men ready to meet him at his landing; would ſeize the Princeſs of Orange dead or alive, &c. It was dated March 20—91. In order to come at the Biſhop's hand to counterfeit it, R. Young ſends by Blackhead, in April 1692, a Letter to the Biſhop then at Bromley, under the feigned name of one Robert Hookes, D. D. Rector of Windgrave in Buckinghamſhire; pretending, that one James Curtis had applyed to him to be his Curate; but, that having reaſon to ſuſpect his inſtruments were forged, he deſired the Biſhop to ſend him word, *under his own hand*, by the bearer his man, whether he had ordained ſuch a one, in ſuch, or ſuch years. The Biſhop, after ſearching his books, writes a letter, importing, that he had never ordained any ſuch perſon. This letter being brought to Young, he copies thence the Biſhop's hand to the Aſſociation. And then, in order to lodge it in the Biſhop's houſe, Young ſends Blackhead a ſecond time to Bromley; under pretence of telling his Lordſhip, that Dr Hookes had ſeized Curtis, and would have him ſeverely puniſhed. In reality, Blackhead's intention was, to leave the Aſſociation in the Biſhop's Study; and for that purpoſe earneſtly deſired to ſee the Houſe, particularly the ſtudy: But this not being granted him, he found an opportunity of dropping the Aſſociation into a *Flower-pot* in the chimney of the great Parlour, the door of which was without a lock. Immediately after, Young lodged an Information before the Privy-Council. In purſuance of which, May 7, 1692, Mr Dyve, Clerk of the Council, and Mr Knight, one of the King's Meſſengers, went to Bromley, and arreſted the Biſhop upon ſuſpicion of high-treaſon: who being brought to his lodgings in Weſtminſter, was put under the charge of the meſſenger and a guard of four ſoldiers night and day; and thus he continued eleven days.——In the mean time, the meſſenger having omitted ſearching the room wherein the Aſſociation was, Young ſent Blackhead a third time to Bromley, on Whitſunday, May the 15th, to try to recover it, being the original. Accordingly, getting privately into the parlour, unſeen by the family, he took the Aſſociation out of the ſame Flower-pot where he had laid it, and returned it back to Young.——The Biſhop was examined before the Council, May the 8th, and remained in confinement till the 18th, when, upon his petition, he was enlarged, and retired the next morning early to Bromley: But June the 9th he was ſent for again, and examined a ſecond time on the 10th, and again on the 13th, and being confronted with Blackhead and Young, his Innocence ſo plainly appeared, that he was honorably acquitted.—His Lordſhip publiſhed an Account of it under this title, 'A Relation of the late wicked Contrivance of *Stephen* '*Blackhead* and *Robert Young*, againſt the Lives of ſeveral 'Perſons, by forging an Aſſociation under their hands. 'Written by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. In two Parts: 'The firſt Part being a Relation of what paſſed at the 'three Examinations of the ſaid Biſhop by a Committee 'of the Privy-Council. The Second being an Account 'of the two above-mentioned Authors of the Forgery.' Lond. 1692, and 1693. 4to. Upon the whole, it was one of the moſt horrid ſcenes of wickedneſs that ever was invented. And ſo thankful to Providence was the Biſhop for his happy Deliverance, that he kept a Thankſgiving day for it as long as he lived (20).

(20) See his Will; and the Concluſion of his Relation of that wicked Contrivance.

[M] *Beſides his ſeveral works already mentioned, publiſhed ſome Sermons*, &c.] The Sermons were publiſhed at ſeveral times, as they were preached, and reprinted together in 1710 and 1722, 8vo. They were preached before the King, the Houſe of Commons, at the anniverſary meeting of Clergymens ſons, before the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, the Artillery-company, &c. The laſt mentioned, which is on Luke xxii. part of the 36th verſe, we are told (21), is almoſt word for word the ſame with a Sermon preached by Dr Smallwood in Flanders, upon the ſame text.——As to his other pieces, they were, A Diſcourſe to the Clergy of his Dioceſe at his Viſitation in the year 1695. Lond 1696. 4to. &c.

(21) N. Salmon's Lives of the Engliſh Biſhops, 8vo. 1733. p. 328.

As

As to his Character [N], we are informed, that he was a perſon of neat and bright parts, a good, charitable, and learned Divine; a commanding and eloquent preacher; an excellent poet; juſtly eſteemed a great maſter of our language; one of our correcteſt writers (x); and one who deſerves the firſt rank in hiſtory, for his maſtery in the art of Oratory [O]; and his raiſing the Engliſh tongue to that purity and beauty, which former writers were wholly ſtrangers to, and thoſe who came after him can but imitate (y). But the right honorable the Earl of Orrery hath paſſed a very different judgment upon his ſtyle and manner of writing [P].

(x) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 1096, 1097, and Boyer's Annual Liſt, at the end of his Hiſt. of Queen Anne, p. 60. and Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1753. 8vo. Vol. IV. p. 406.

(y) Boyer, ibid. and Some Account of his life, p. 14.

[N] *As to his character.*] Some ſay, that 'he bore 'a dubious character as to his Principles in Divinity 'and Politicks, being ſaid to accommodate one to the 'other, and both to the times, and perſons in 'power (22).' And others, that 'his parts were 'bright in his youth, and gave great hopes; but 'theſe were blaſted by a lazy libertine courſe of life, 'to which his temper and good nature carried him, 'without conſidering the duties or even the decencies 'of *his* profeſſion (23).' But with ſome this will only paſs for ſlander.——On the other hand, the late author of his life (24), obſerves, that 'in the character of a 'dignified clergyman, he has a claim to be copied in 'thoſe retired and private virtues, in thoſe acts of be-'neficence and humility, and that unaffected and pri-'mitive piety, for which he was juſtly diſtinguiſhed.'

(22) Boyer's annual Liſt, p. 60.

(23) Burnet, as above, p. 406.

(24) Lives of the Poets by Cibber, Vol. III. p. 242.

[O] *For his maſtery in the art of Oratory.*] J. Oldmixon, though otherwiſe no very equitable judge, owns, that 'in the ſublime way, Dr *Sprat*, and Dr 'Burnet of the Charter-houſe, in proſe; and Milton 'in verſe, are equally eminent (25).'

(25) Arts of Logick and Rhetorick, as above, p. 417.

[P] *The right honourable the Earl of Orrery hath paſſed a very different judgment upon his ſtyle and manner of writing.*] It is in his *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr Swift* (26); and what his Lordſhip ſays upon that occaſion, is in theſe words. 'Among our Engliſh 'writers, few men have gained a greater character for 'elegance and correctneſs, than *Sprat* biſhop of Ro-'cheſter, and few men have deſerved it leſs. When 'I have read his works, I have always wondered from 'whence ſuch a piece of good fortune might have 'ariſen, and could only attribute it to Mr Cowley, 'who, in a very delicate copy of verſes, has celebrated 'his friend Dr Sprat for eloquence, wit, and a certain '*candid ſtyle*, which the poet compares to the river '*Thames*, gliding with an even current, and diſplaying 'the moſt beautiful appearances of nature (27). Poets 'and painters have their favourites, whom they tranſ-'mit to poſterity in what colours and attitudes they 'pleaſe: but I am miſtaken, if, upon a review of '*Sprat*'s works, his language will not ſooner give you 'an idea of one of the inſignificant tottering boats up-'on the Thames, than of the ſmooth noble current of 'the river itſelf.'——Such is his Lordſhip's cenſure: But, on the other hand, it may be obſerved, That too ſmooth and uniform a ſtyle is apt to lull the reader aſleep; whereas a beautiful metaphor, or other awakening figure, well-placed, rouſes his attention, and makes him go on with freſh vigour and pleaſure. C

(26) 8vo. edit. 1752. p. 219.

(27) See above, note [D].

STANLEY [THOMAS], a very learned perſon, in the laſt century, was the ſon of Sir Thomas Stanley Knight, and born at Comberlow, within the pariſh of Clothall in Hertfordſhire (a) [A]. After having been educated in grammar-learning, in his father's own houſe, by the ingenious Mr Edward Fairfax [B]; he was admitted a gentleman-commoner of Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, at the age of thirteen, and became an early proficient in all ſorts of polite-literature, not without the aſſiſtance of Mr Fairfax, as well during his ſtay in the univerſity, as afterwards. In 1640 he was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford, having taken before that degree at Cambridge (b). Then he travelled for his improvement into foreign countries, and on his return [C] lived, during part of the civil wars, in the Middle-Temple; where he entered into an intimate friendſhip, and proſecuted his ſtudies, in the moſt induſtrious and ſucceſsful manner, with the learned Edward Sherburne, Eſq; (c), who had retired thither after the Surrender of Oxford to the parliament-forces.

(a) Hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire, by Sir Henry Chauncy, fol. p. 51.

(b) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. ed. 1721. col. 284.

(c) See the article SHERBURNE [EDWARD.]

[A] *Was born at Comberlow.*] He was born in the manor-houſe of Comberlow, a Seat built by John Comberlow. It might ſeem probable, that he was deſcended from the noble family of Stanley, Earls of Derby. But all we can learn, is, that, his grandfather Thomas (1) Stanley, Eſq; was a citizen and ſcrivener of London; and his father, *Thomas Stanley*, was knighted by King Charles I (2). He was born of this Knight's ſecond wife, namely, *Mary*, one of the daughters of Sir William Hammond, of St Albans in Nonington in the county of Kent, Knt, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter to Antony Awcher of Bourne, in Kent, Eſq; which Antony had married Margaret, daughter of Edwin Sandys, Archbiſhop of York, ſiſter to Sir Edwin Sandys of Bourne in Kent, Knt, and to George Sandys, Eſq; the famous traveller and poet (3).

(1) Or, James.

(2) Hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire by Sir Henry Chauncy, p. 51. ſee p. 208, 210. b.

(3) Wood's Ath. as above.

[B] *By the ingenious Mr Edward Fairfax.*] This gentleman was ſeated at Newhall in the pariſh of Oteley in Yorkſhire; being the fifth ſon of Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton, Knight, and brother of Sir Thomas Fairfax, created by King Charles I, on the 4th of May 1627, Lord Fairfax of Cameron in Scotland (4). Mr Fairfax was a famous Poet in his time, and tranſlated Taſſo's Gieruſalem into Engliſh verſe, &c.

(4) The Peerage of Scotland, by Geo. Crawfurd, Eſq; p. 61.

[C] *And on his return.*] J. Hall ſent the following verſes to Mr Stanley, after his return from France.

Bewitched ſenſes, do you lie,
And caſt ſome ſhadow o're mine eye?
Or do I noble Stanley ſee?
What! may I truſt you? *Is it he?*
Confeſs, and yet be gradual:
Leſt ſudden joy ſo heavy fall
Upon my ſoul, and ſink unto
A deeper agony of woe.
'Tis he, 'tis he: we are no more
A barb'rous nation: He brought o're
As much humanity, as may
Well civilize America;
More learning than might Athens raiſe
To glory in her prowdeſt days.
With reaſon might the boyling main
Be calm, and hoary Neptune chain
Thoſe Winds, that might diſturbers be,
Whilſt our Apollo was at ſea,
And made her for all knowledge ſtand
In competition with the land.
Had but the courteous Dolphins heard
One note of his, they would have dar'd
To quit the waters, to enjoy
In baniſhment ſuch melody.
And had the mimick Proteus known,
H'had left his ugly herd, and grown
A curious Syren, to betray
This Ulyſſes to ſome ſtay.
But juſter fates denied, nor would
Another land that genius hold,
As could, beyond all wonder hurl'd,
Fathom the Intellectual world.
But whither run I? I intend
To welcome only, not commend:
But that thy Virtues render it
No private, but a public debt.

So

So that in a ſhort time, He (Mr Stanley) became a very good Linguiſt and Philologer; an excellent Poet, as manifeſtly appears, not only by his own original Poems [*D*], but alſo by his ſeveral tranſlations from the Greek, Latin, Italian, Spaniſh, and French [*E*]; a compleat

[*D*] *By his own original Poems.*] They were printed at London in 1651, 8vo. dedicated to Love. For a ſpecimen of his manner of writing, we ſhall preſent the Reader with theſe two Poems of his.

Delay.

Delay? alaſs there cannot be
To Love a greater Tyranny:
Thoſe cruel Beauties that have ſlain
Their Votaries by their Diſdain,
Or ſtudied Torments, ſharp and witty,
Will be recorded for their Pitty.
And After-ages be miſled
To think them kind, when this is ſpread.

Of Deaths, the ſpeedieſt is Deſpair,
Delays, the ſloweſt Tortures are.
Thy Cruelty at once deſtroys;
But Expectation ſtarves my Joys.
Time and Delay may bring me paſt
The Power of Love to cure at laſt:
And ſhould'ſt thou wiſh to eaſe my Pain,
Thy Pitty might be lent in vain;
Or if thou hadſt decreed that I
Muſt fall beneath thy Cruelty,
O kill me ſoon! thou wilt expreſs
More Mercy, ev'n in ſhewing leſs.——

The Depoſition.

Though when I lov'd thee thou wert fair,
Thou art no longer ſo;
Thoſe Glories all the Pride they wear
Unto Opinion owe.
Beauties, like Stars, in borrow'd Luſtre ſhine,
And 'twas my Love that gave thee thine.

The Flames that dwelt within thine Eye
Do now with mine expire,
Thy brighteſt Graces fade and dye
At once with my Deſire.
Love's Fires thus mutual Influence return,
Thine ceaſe to ſhine, when mine to burn.

Then (proud Celinda) hope no more
To be implor'd or woo'd,
Since by thy Scorn thou doſt reſtore
The Wealth my Love beſtow'd.
And thy deſpis'd Diſdain too late ſhall find,
That none are fair, but who are kind.

Some of Mr Stanley's Poems were ſet to muſic by John Gamble, among his Ayres and Dialogues, to be ſung to the Theorbo or baſs Viol.——A copy of his verſes to Mr Edward Sherburne, is printed among ſome of that Author's.——And, 'A Regiſter of Friends,' in verſe, of his own compoſition, was preſerved in manuſcript, in the collection of the late Dr Fr. Bernard (5).

[5] Catalog. MSS. Angliæ, &c. Vol. II. p. 90. col. 2.

[*E*] *But alſo by his ſeveral tranſlations*, &c.] The ſeveral pieces he tranſlated, and publiſhed, were, 1. From the Idylls of Theocritus, Europa; Cupid crucified; Venus Vigils: with annotations. Lond. 1649. 8vo; reprinted in 1651, with a tranſlation of Anacreon, Bion, Kiſſes of Secundus; and notes on them. 2. From the Spaniſh, Aurora Iſmenia, and the Prince; written by Don Juan Perez de Montalvan. Lond. 3. From the Italian, Oronta the Cyprian Virgin, by Signor Girolamo Preti. Lond. 8vo. 4. A Platonic Diſcourſe of Love, written in Italian by John Picus of Mirandula. Lond. 1651, 8vo. 5. Sylvia's Park, by Theophile; Acanthus Complaint, by Triſtan; Oronto, by Preti; Echo, by Marino; Love's Embaſſie, by Boſcan; The Solitude, by Gongora. All printed in 1651. 8vo.

John Hall of Durham highly celebrates him, in the Dedication of his Poems to him in 1646. 12mo, which is as follows. 'To his truly noble and worthily honoured friend Thomas Stanley, Eſq;——My deareſt friend, ſince it is the hard fortune of theſe glow-worms to ſee day, I wiſh they might have paſſed your examination; for I know you to be a ſevere critick in Poetry, as well as in Philology and the Sciences: but ſince others importunities, and mine own preſſing occaſions have denied it, I muſt preſent them loaden with their own blemiſhes, that being fitter objects of pardon, they may draw in pardoning more demonſtrations of your candor, and add to my engagements, could they receive augmentation. I will not commit a rape upon your modeſty by any praiſes, though Truth herſelf might be your Panegyriſt, and yet continue naked; give me only leave to tell you from mine own experience, that Love is more than a mere Sympathy: for admiration did firſt attract my thoughts to you, and after fix them; though it were only your innate Sweetneſs that received them with an undeſerved entertainment. Sir, what I was firſt indebted to you at Durham, I endeavoured to acquit in part here at Cambridge; for the Totall, though it be rather above my ability than deſires, yet ſhould I hate the thought of a generall diſcharge. Let me only beg of you, that theſe Cherryſtones may draw from you your own Pearls, which cannot but break themſelves a day through that darkneſs, to which you now confine them. Let us once ſee Fancy triumph in the ſpoils of the richeſt Learning; there will many no doubt preſs to follow the Chariot, yet ſhall none be more forward than,

'Sir,

'Your moſt affectionately devoted Servant,

'J. Hall.'

He alſo greatly commends him, in the following verſes.

Who would commend thee (friend) and thinks't may be
Performed by a feint Hyperbole,
Might alſo call thee but a Man, or dare
To praiſe thy Miſtreſs with the term of Faire.
But I, the choiceſt of whoſe knowledge is
My knowing thee, cannot ſo groſsly miſs,
Since thou art ſet ſo high, no words can give
An equal character, but negative.
Subtract the earth and baſeneſs of this age,
Admit no wild-fire in Poetick rage,
Caſt out of learning whatſoever's vain,
Let ignorance no more haunt Noblemen,
Nor Humour Travellers, let wits be free
From over-weening, and the reſt is Thee.
Thee, noble Soul! whoſe early flights are far
Sublimer than old Eagles ſoarings are,
Who light'ſt Love's dying torch with purer fire,
And breath'ſt new life into the Teian lyre:
That Love's beſt ſecretaries, that are paſt,
Liv'd they, might learn to love, and yet be chaſte.
Nay, Veſtals might as well ſuch ſonnets hear
As keep their vows and thy black ribband wear:
So chaſte is all; that though in each line lie
More Amorettoes than in Doris eye;
Yet ſo they're charm'd, that look'd upon they prove
Harmleſs as Charieſſa's nightly love.
So pow'rful is that tongue, that hand, that can
Make ſoft Ionicks turn grave Lydian.
How oft this heavy leaden Saturnine
And never elevated ſoul of mine
Hath been pluck'd up by thee, and forc'd away,
Enlarged from her ſtill adhering clay?
How ev'ry line ſtill pleas'd? When that was o're,
I conceal'd it, and prais'd the other more.

compleat maſter of Philoſophy [*F*]; and, to add to his conſummate erudition, a very good Grecian. Of this laſt, he gave full proof in his beautiful and valuable edition of Æſchylus [*G*], and in his curious Manuſcripts which he left behind him [*H*]. This learned perſon dyed, on the 12th of April 1678, at his lodgings in Suffolk-ſtreet in the pariſh of St Martin's in the fields Weſtminſter; and was buried in the Church there *(d)*, without any memorial that we can find. As to his character; He was endowed with eminent parts, a nimble fancy, an acute wit, and a facetious and generous humour, which rendered him a moſt accompliſhed Gentleman. When he was young, he married Dorothy, eldeſt daughter, and one of the coheirs of Sir James Enian *(e)*, of Flowre in the county of Northampton, Bart. which brought him the acceſſion of a fair eſtate to his own. By her, he had Thomas, his ſon and heir [*I*], who ſold his ſeat and manor of Comberlow *(f)*. The learned Dr William Wotton wrote an Elogium of our Author, which was publiſhed by Mr Henman, at Eyſenach, at the end of Scævola Sammarthanus's Elogia Gallorum; but we have not been able to procure it, at any rate.

(d) Idem, col. 285.

(e) Wood calls him, Sir John Enyon, ubi ſupra.

(f) Chauncy, and Wood, as above.

That if thou writ'ſt but on, my thoughts ſhall be
Almoſt engulf'd in an infinity.
But, deareſt friend, what Law's power ever gave
To make ones own free firſt-born to be his ſlave?
Nay manumiſe it; for what elſe wil't be
To ſtrangle, but deny it liberty.
Once lend the world a day of thine, and fright
The trembling ſtill-born children of the night.
That at the laſt, we undeceiv'd may ſee,
Theirs were but Fancies, thine is Poetry.
Sweet Swan of ſilver Thames! but only ſhe
Sings not till death, thou in thy Infancy.

As warm in our Author's praiſes, is Edward Sherburne Eſq; in his verſes "To Mr Stanley, on his unimitable Poems.

The Stagirite, who Poeſie defines
An Imitation, had he read thy lines,
And thy rich Fancy known, he would have then
Recall'd the learned Error of his pen,
And have confeſt, in his convicted State,
Nought thoſe could equall, this would imitate;
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Nor can our Art a fitting value fit
Upon thy noble courteſie of Wit;
Which to ſo many Toungs doth lend that ſtore
Of pleaſing ſweetneſs which they lack'd before,
Th'Iberian, Roman, and the fluent Greek;
The nimble French, and the ſmooth Thuſcan, [ſeek
For ſeverall Graces from thy Pen alone,
Which that affoords to all theſe Toungs, in One.
Whoſe forraign Wealth transferr'd, improv'd by [thine
Doth with a fair increaſe of Luſtre ſhine
Like Gems new ſet upon ſome richer foyle,
Or Roſes planted in a better ſoyle."

[*F*] *A compleat maſter of Philoſophy.*] He moſt eminently ſhewed himſelf ſuch, in his very learned Book, intituled, 'The Hiſtory of Philoſophy: Containing 'the Lives, Opinions, Actions and Diſcourſes of the 'Philoſophers of every Sect. Illuſtrated with the Effigies 'of divers of them.' Fol. It was publiſhed in three volumes fol. at different times, in the following order. I. The Hiſtory of Philoſophy, containing thoſe on whom the Attribute of Wiſe was conferred. Lond. 1655. fol. in three parts. II. The ſecond Volume was printed in 1656, containing Five parts more. And, at the end of it, was the Doctrine of the Stoicks, in two parts. III. The third Volume came out in 1660, containing four parts. IV. The Hiſtory of the Chaldaick Philoſophy appeared in 1662, in five parts. All theſe ſeveral parts were reprinted together in 1687, and again in 1700, in one volume fol. and in 1743, in one volume, 4to.—Part 1, comprehends the *Wiſe-men* of Greece. Part 2, the Ionick Philoſophers. Part 3, the Socratick Philoſophers. Part 4, the Cyrenaick, Megarick, Eleack, and Eretriack Sects. Part 5, the Academick Philoſophers. Part 6, the Peripatetick Philoſophy. Part 7, the Cynick Philoſophers. Part 8, the Stoick Philoſophers. Part 9, the Italick Sect. Part 10, the Heraclitian Sect. Part 11, the Eleatick Sect. Part 12, the Sceptick, or Pyrrhonian Sect. Part 13. Part 14, and 15, the Chaldaick Philoſophy and Doctrine. Part 16, and 17, of the Perſians, and their Doctrine. Part 18, and 19, of the Sabæans, and their Doctrine.——He obſerves, in the Preface, that, 'Although ſome Gre-'cians have challenged to their nation the Original of 'Philoſophy, yet the more learned of them have ac-'knowledged it derived from the *Eaſt*. To omit the 'dark traditions of the Athenians concerning Muſæus, 'of the Thebanes concerning Linus, and of the Thra-'cians about Orpheus, it is manifeſt that the original 'of the Greek Philoſophy is to be derived from '*Thales*, who travelling into the Eaſt, firſt brought 'Natural learning, Geometry, and Aſtrology, thence 'into Greece, for which reaſon the Attribute of '*Wiſe* was conferred upon him, and at the ſame time 'upon ſix others for their eminence in morality and 'politicks. Thus learning in the ancienteſt times was 'by the Greeks called *Sophia* (wiſdom) and the pro-'feſſor thereof, who raiſed his ſoul to an eminent de-'gree of knowledge, *Sophos* (wiſe) Pythagoras firſt 'named it *Philoſophy* (love of wiſdom) and himſelf a '*Philoſopher*, affirming that no man is wiſe, but only 'God.'——The learned John Le Clerc tranſlated the Hiſtory of the Chaldaick Philoſophy into Latin, and publiſhed it at Amſterdam, in 1690, 8vo, under this title, *Thomæ Stanleii Hiſtoria Philoſophiæ Orientalis. Recenſuit, ex Anglica Linguâ in Latinam tranſtulit. Notis in Oracula Chaldaica, & Indice Philologico auxit Joannes Clericus.* The reſt of the Hiſtory of Philoſophy was alſo tranſlated into Latin by Godfrey Olearius, and publiſhed at Leipſic in 1711, 4to.

[*G*] *His beautiful and valuable edition of Æſchylus.*] It was printed, with large and elegant types, at London in 1663, folio, with this title, 'Æſchyli Tragoe-'diæ VII. cum Scholiis Græcis, deperditorum Dra-'matum Fragmentis, Verſione, & Commentariis 'Thomæ Stanleii.' The learned John Cornelius de Pauw reprinted it in 1745, in two Volumes 4to. without any omiſſion, as he teſtifies in theſe words, 'Edi-'tio hæc ad editionem Stanleii typis expreſſa eſt, & 'nihil in ea, quod hic omiſſum:' He hath added large notes of his own, at the end of the ſecond Volume, wherein he is full petulant againſt Mr Stanley; but he doth not ſeem to have known, or at leaſt to have made uſe of, Mr Stanley's Commentaries on Æſchylus, mentioned in the next Note.

[*H*] *And in his curious Manuſcripts which he left behind him.*] The chief of them were in the late Biſhop More's poſſeſſion, and are now in the public Library of the univerſity of Cambridge; Namely, 1. *Ampliſſimi Commentarii in Æſchyli Tragoedias, nondum editi*; i. e. Very large Commentaries upon the Tragedies of Æſchylus. Eight Volumes, fol. 2. *Adverſaria, in quibus Sophoclis &c. loci plurimi emendantur vel explicantur*; i. e. His Common-place-book, wherein many paſſages in Sophocles &c. are corrected, or explained, fol. 3. *Prælectiones ampliſſimæ in Theophraſti Characteres*; i. e. Lectures upon the Characters of Theophraſtus. 4. Ἀκρο-σύνια: *ſive Excercitatio philologica de Primitiis ac Decimis Prædæ, ad verſum 4. capitis VII. Epiſt. ad Hebræos*, &c. i. e. A Diſſertation on Hebrews, chap. VII. ver. 4. (6).

(6) Catalog. MSS. Angliæ, & Hib. Vol. II. P. 378.

[*I*] *By her, he had Thomas, his ſon and heir.*] This gentleman was educated at Pembroke-hall in Cambridge; and, when very young, tranſlated from the Greek into Engliſh, Claudius Ælianus his Various Hiſtories (7); printed at London in 1665, 8vo. dedicated to his aunt the Lady Newton, wife of Sir Henry Puckering-Newton, Knight and Baronet, to whom the father had dedicated his edition of Æſchylus.

(7) Wood, ubi ſupra.

STEELE [Sir RICHARD], famous for his numerous polite writings, was born probably about the year 1676 *(a)*, at Dublin in Ireland, in which kingdom one branch of the family was poſſeſſed of a conſiderable eſtate in the county of Wexford *(b)*. His Father, a Counſellor at Law, was ſome time private Secretary to James the firſt Duke of Ormond *(c)* [*A*]. But he was of Engliſh extraction, and his ſon, while very young, being carried to London, he put him to ſchool at the Charter-houſe *(d)*, whence he was removed to Merton College in Oxford, where he was admitted a Poſtmaſter in 1692 *(e)*. His inclination and genius being turned to polite literature, he commenced Author during his reſidence in the Univerſity, and actually finiſhed a Comedy; which however he thought fit to ſuppreſs by the advice of one of his fellow collegians, who, upon the peruſal, condemned it as unworthy of his genius [*B*]. Mr Steele's ſubmiſſion to this cenſure ſets his good ſenſe and modeſty in the moſt amiable light. Accordingly he was well beloved and reſpected by the whole Society, and had a good intereſt with them after he left the univerſity [*C*], which he did without taking any degree, in the full reſolution to enter into the Army. This ſtep was highly diſpleaſing to his Friends; but the ardor of his paſſion for a military life, rendered him deaf to any other propoſal. He was abſolutely inflexible, ſo that not being able to procure a better ſtation, he entered a private gentleman in the Horſe-guards, notwithſtanding he thereby loſt the ſucceſſion to his Iriſh Eſtate [*D*]. However, the turn of his mind was very well adapted to the bent of his inclination: he had a flow of good nature, a generous openneſs and frankneſs of ſpirit, and a ſparkling vivacity of wit where there was no want of courage. Theſe qualities rendered him the delight of the ſoldiery, and procured him an Enſign's commiſſion in the guards *(f)*. In the mean time he had made choice of a profeſſion, which ſet him free from all the ordinary reſtraints of Youth to an unthinking gaiety; and he ſpared not to indulge his genius in the wildeſt exceſſes, proſtituting the exquiſite charms of his converſation-talents to give his pleaſures a daintier and more poignant reliſh *(g)*. Yet theſe revels did not paſs without ſome cool hours of reflection, and in theſe it was that he drew up his little treatiſe intituled *The*

(a) This conjecture is grounded upon a ſuppoſition of his being ſixteen years of age when he went to the Univerſity in 1692.

(b) The Theatre, No. XI.

(c) And it is ſaid, went firſt to Ireland when his Grace was appointed Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom. Cibber's Lives of the Poets, under our Author's article.

(d) Memoirs of Sir Richard Steele, p. 5. edition 1738. 8vo.

(e) From the Regiſter of the Poſtmaſters, which was ſhewn to me by the preſent worthy Warden of the College Dr Barton, Mr Steele's name ſtands at the head of the Poſtmaſters admitted that year.

(f) Memoirs of Sir R. Steele, as before.

(g) His Apology, &c. p. 296.

[*A*] *His father was private Secretary to the Duke of Ormond.*] Our Author dedicates his play, called *The Lying Lover*, to the late Duke of Ormond, where he makes uſe of his connexion to that noble family as the beſt plea for that addreſs. 'Out of gratitude, ſays he, 'to the memorable and illuſtrious Patron of my infancy, 'your Grace's grandfather, I preſume to lay this co'medy at your feet.' From the turn of this expreſſion it ſeems not improbable, that Mr Steele ſent his ſon to the Charter-houſe ſchool by the direction of this Patron, who was one of the governours of that hoſpital (1), and conſequently, had he lived long enough, might have been of ſervice to him.

(1) See his article.

[*B*] *He ſuppreſſed his play by the advice of a friend.*] This friend's name was Mr R. Parker, afterwards Fellow of the College, who thought there was nothing extraordinary in it, falling much ſhort of his ſubſequent theatrical performances, which gained him ſo great reputation (2). His firſt appearance as an author in print was in a poem upon the death of Queen Mary in 1695, called *The Proceſſion*. The ſubject is ſublime, and the execution ſhews, that the writer's talent did not lie that way ſo much as to the familiar ſtile; yet the following lines are truly poetical, and ſeem not unworthy the Princeſs whom he ſtrives to adorn.

(2) Communicated by Mr John Allen of Eaſtwick in Hertfordſhire, ſome time a Fellow of Merton College.

The poor her firſt and deepeſt mourners are,
Firſt in her thoughts, and earlieſt in her care:
All hand in hand with common friendly woe,
In poverty, our native ſtate, they go.
Some whom unſtable terrors did engage
By luxury in Youth to need in Age:
Some who had virgin vows to wedlock broke,
And where they help expected found a yoke:
Others who in their want feel double weight
From the remembrance of a wealthier ſtate.
There mothers walk, who oft deſpairing ſtood,
Pierc'd with their infants deaf'ning ſobs for food,
Then to a dagger run, with threat'ning eyes,
To ſtab their boſoms, and to kill their noiſe;
But in the thought they ſtopt, their locks they tore,
Threw down the ſteel, and cruelly forbore.
The innocents their parents love forgive,
Smile at their fate, nor know they are to live.
Theſe modeſt wants had ne'er been underſtood,
But by Maria's cunning to be good.

[*C*] *He had an intereſt in the ſociety after he left it.*] One part of the charge againſt him, for which he was expelled the Houſe of Commons in 1713, being, that his writings were injurious to the Univerſities. In anſwer to this, in his Apology, having quoted a paſſage from the Engliſhman, No. 34, where the Univerſities are mentioned with reſpect, he proceeds in the following words, 'It appears by theſe and many other paſſages 'in my writings, that I have retained the greateſt ho'nour and eſteem for thoſe learned bodies; in one of 'which I received a part of my education, and where 'I can boaſt of much perſonal friendſhip and acquaint'ance [3].' This declaration by himſelf, being a kind of appeal to the world for the truth of what he aſſerts, and was never controverted, may be fairly deemed ſufficient to ſupport what is advanced in the text. But we have a further confirmation of it, which puts it beyond the reach of a doubt: About the year 1712, when Mr R. Breton, the preſent Archdeacon of Hereford, ſtood candidate for a fellowſhip in Merton College, having the honour to be known to our Author, he procured letters of recommendation from him to the then Warden, Dr Holland; as alſo to the beforementioned Mr Parker, to whom he recommended him as to his old friend and acquaintance. At the ſame time he likewiſe ſent to the Warden the four volumes of his Tatlers in the large octavo edition, deſiring he would give them a place in the library of his College, of which he had once the honour to be a member. To which may be added, that in one of Sir Richard's laſt journies to Wales, paſſing through Oxford, he made a viſit to that ſociety (4); which ſhews that he preſerved a good reſpect for it as long as he lived.

(3) Steele's political works, p. 247. edit. 1715.

(4) Communicated by Mr Allen, as before.

[*D*] *He loſt the Iriſh eſtate.*] In anſwer to a calumny thrown upon him by Mr Dennis (5), who, in diminution of his birth and breeding, had derived his deſcent from a trooper's horſe, he defends himſelf in the following words. 'It may perhaps fall in my way to give an 'abſtract of the life of this man, whom it is thought 'thus neceſſary to undo and diſparage. When I do, 'it will appear, that when he mounted a war-horſe 'with a great ſword in his hand, and planted himſelf 'behind King William III. againſt Lewis XIV, he loſt 'the ſucceſſion to a very good eſtate in the county of 'Wexford in Ireland, from the ſame humour which 'he has preſerved ever ſince, of preferring the ſtate 'of his mind to that of his fortune. When he cocked 'his hat, and put on a broad ſword, jack-boots, and 'ſhoulder-belt, under the command of the unfortunate 'Duke of Ormond, he was not acquainted with his 'own parts, and did not then know he ſhould ever 'have been able (as he has ſince appeared to be in 'the Caſe of Dunkirk) to demoliſh a fortified town 'with a gooſe-quill (6).'

(5) In his character and conduct of *Sir John Edgar*, p. 17. edit. 1720. 8vo.

(6) Theatre, No. XI.

Chriſtian

Chriſtian Hero, with a deſign, if we may believe himſelf, to be a check upon his paſſions [*E*]. For this uſe and purpoſe it had lain ſome time by him when he printed it in 1701, with a Dedication to Lord *Cutts*, who had not only appointed him his private Secretary, but procured for him a Company in Lord Lucas's regiment of Fuſiliers (*h*). The whole plan and tenor of our Author's book was ſuch a flat contradiction to the general courſe of his life, that it became a ſubject of much mirth and raillery: But theſe ſhafts had no effect; he perſevered invariably in the ſame contradiction, and though he had no power to change his heart, yet his pen was never made a victim to his follies. Under the influence of that good ſenſe, he wrote his Comedy called *The Funeral, or Grief a-la-mode* [*F*], which was brought upon the ſtage the ſame year. This play procured him the regards of King William, who reſolved to give him ſome eſſential marks of his favour [*G*]; and though upon his Majeſty's death the curtain dropt over all thoſe pleaſing ſcenes of hope, yet was it drawn up again in the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, when he was appointed Gazetteer [*H*]. He owed this Poſt to the friendſhip of Lord Halifax and the Earl of Sunderland, and he diſcharged the duties of it with the exacteſt fidelity to his Maſters. He had been recommended to thoſe Miniſters by his ſchoolfellow Mr Addiſon (*i*), and that gentleman lent him alſo a helping hand in promoting the Comedy called *The Tender Huſband, or the accompliſhed Fools*, which was acted in 1704, with great ſucceſs [*I*]. But his next play, *The Lying*

(*h*) Dedication to this book.

(*i*) Morgan's New Political State, p. 7.

[*E*] *A check upon his paſſions.*] For this we have his own word, which, from what has been already obſerved (7), may perhaps paſs for no bad authority. He tells us, that 'when he was an enſign in the guards, being thoroughly convinced of many things, of which he often repented and as often repeated, he wrote, for his own private uſe, a little book, called *The Chriſtian Hero*; with a deſign principally to fix upon his mind a ſtrong impreſſion of virtue and religion, in oppoſition to a ſtronger propenſity to unwarrantable pleaſures.' This ſecret admonition was too weak. He therefore printed the book with his name, in hopes, that a teſtimony againſt himſelf, and the eyes of the world (that is to ſay of his acquaintance) upon him in a new light, might curb his deſires, and make him aſhamed of underſtanding and ſeeming to feel what was virtuous, and living ſo quite contrary a life. This had no other good effect but that, from being thought no undelightful companion, he was ſoon reckoned a diſagreeable fellow. One or two of his acquaintance thought fit to miſuſe him, and try their valour upon him; and every body meaſured the leaſt levity in his words and actions with the character of a *Chriſtian Hero* [8]. It will not be impertinent, now we are touching upon this untractable temper of our Author with regard to his moral character, to obſerve, that he was equally ungovernable in regard to his political conduct, notwithſtanding he had a conſtant check upon it in his friend Mr Addiſon. Having told us, that there never was a more ſtrict friendſhip than that between them, he proceeds to declare, that 'they never had any difference but what aroſe from their different way of purſuing the ſame thing; the one, with patience, foreſight, and temperate addreſs, always waited and ſtemmed the torrent; while the other often plunged himſelf into it, and was as often taken out by the temper of him, who ſtood weeping on the bank for his ſafety, whom he could not diſſuade from leaping into it (9).'

(7) In Remark [*C*].

(8) His apology, ubi ſupra, p. 296.

(9) The Theatre, No. XII.

[*F*] *The Funeral, or Grief a-la-mode.*] He declares, that the rebuffs he met with, inſtead of encouragements for his declarations in regard to religion, laid him under a neceſſity of enlivening his character, which was the reaſon of his writing this comedy; where, though the incidents that move laughter be numerous, yet, virtue and vice appear juſt as they ought to do (10). The play was levelled at ſome enormities of the Undertakers, which, in the preface he obſerves, it is not in the power of any pen to paint better than they do themſelves. 'As for example, ſays he, on a door I juſt now paſſed by, a great artiſt informs us of his cures upon the dead. "*W. W. known and approved for his art of embalming, having preſerved the corpſe of a gentlewoman ſweet and entire thirteen years without embowelling, and has reduced the bodies of ſeveral perſons of quality to ſweetneſs in Flanders and Ireland, after nine months putrefaction in the ground, and they were known by their friends in England. No man performeth the like.* He muſt be ſtrangely in love with his own life, continues our Author, who is not touched with this kind invitation to be pickled; and the noble operator muſt be allowed a very uſeful perſon for bringing old friends together. Nor would it be unworthy his labour to give us an account at large of the *ſweet* converſation that aroſe upon meeting ſuch an *intire* friend as he mentions.' The other part of the play is aimed at the Lawyers, in ſpeaking of which part he takes occaſion to make a handſome compliment to Lord Somers, then in diſgrace, 'of whom, he ſays, he will mention in words 'that which of all men breathing can only be ſaid of 'him, It is he that is excellent:

(10) Apology, as before.

'*Seu lingua cauſas acuit ſeu civica Jura*
'*Reſponſare parat, ſeu condit amabile carmen.*'

After all, the ſucceſs of this performance was chiefly owing to the zeal of his fellow-ſoldiers, ariſing from the Author's intereſt in the army.

[*G*] *King William had reſolved to give him ſome eſſential marks of his favour.*] This we have from himſelf. 'Nothing, ſays he, ever makes the town ſo fond of a man as a ſucceſsful play; and this, with ſome particulars enlarged upon to his advantage, (for Princes never hear good or evil in the manner that others do) obtained him the notice of the King. And his name, &c. to be provided *for*, was in the laſt table book, ever worn by the glorious and immortal King William III (11).'

(11) Ibid.

[*H*] *He was appointed Gazetteer.*] He calls this the loweſt Miniſter of State, and aſſures us, that he worked in the office faithfully according to order, without ever erring againſt the rule obſerved by all miniſtries, to keep that paper very innocent and very inſipid. 'It is believed, continues he, that it was to the reproaches he heard every gazette-day againſt the writer of it, that the Defendant owes the fortitude of being remarkably negligent of what people ſay which he does not deſerve (12).'

(12) Apology.

[*I*] *The Tender Huſband was acted with great ſucceſs.*] In this comedy, as well as the *Funeral*, our Author ſteadily preſerved the point of morality, of which he makes his dedication of it to Mr Addiſon a teſt, ſince he ſhould not have dared to offer it as a memorial of their inviolable friendſhip, had not he been careful to avoid every thing that might look ill-natured and immoral, or prejudicial to what the better part of mankind held ſacred and honourable. After Mr Addiſon's death, he took an occaſion of mentioning the aſſiſtance that gentleman gave him in this play. 'I remember, ſays he, when I finiſhed *The Tender Huſband*, I told him [Addiſon] there was nothing I ſo tenderly wiſhed, as that we might ſome time or other publiſh a work written by us both, which ſhould bear the name of *The Monument*, in memory of our friendſhip. When the play abovementioned was laſt acted, there were ſo many applauded ſtrokes in it, which I had from the ſame hand, that I thought very meanly of myſelf, that I had never publickly acknowledged them (13).' It is commonly ſaid, that this intimacy commenced ſo early as when they were ſchoolfellows at the Charter-houſe (14); if ſo, it is a memorable inſtance, both of the pregnant parts of the one, and the good-natured condeſcenſion of the other. Addiſon was full ripe for the Univerſity, and accordingly left that ſchool in 1687, when Steele, if there, muſt have been very low in it, as is evident from his not leaving it till 1692, five years afterwards. So great a diſtance of place in two ſchoolboys makes the intimacy then contracted, if true, almoſt unexampled; which likewiſe becomes more extraordinary, in viewing their very different tempers; the one remarkably gay, the other as remarkably grave.

(13) Preface to the Drummer, ſecond edition.

(14) See Mr Addiſon's article.

Lover,

Lover, found a very different fate [*K*]. Upon this laſt rebuff from the ſtage, he turned the ſame humorous current into another channel, and early in the year 1709 he begun to publiſh *The Tatler* (*k*). That admirable Paper was undertaken in concert with Dr Swift [*L*]. Both the general uſefulneſs of the plan, and the inimitable humour and ſpirit, kept up in full bloom throughout the execution of it, were univerſally approved and admired [*M*]. His

(*k*) The firſt paper is dated Tueſday April 12 that year.

[*K*] *The Lying Lover met with a different fate.*] Sir Richard, in his defence before the Houſe of Commons, mentions the event of this play, as an inſtance of his ſuffering for the cauſe of virtue. 'I have carried, 'ſays he, this inclination to the advancement of virtue 'ſo far, as to purſue it even in things the moſt indifferent, and which perhaps have been thought foreign 'to it. To give you an inſtance of this, Sir, I muſt 'mention a comedy, called the *Lying Lover*, which 'I writ ſome years ago, the preface to which ſays, '*Though it ought to be the care of all governments, that* '*public repreſentations ſhould have nothing in them but* '*what is agreeable to the manners, laws, religion, and* '*policy, of the place or nation wherein they are exhibited*; '*yet it is the general complaint of the more learned and* '*virtuous amongſt us, that the Engliſh ſtage has extremely* '*offended in this kind. I thought therefore it would be an* '*honeſt ambition to attempt a comedy which might be no* '*improper entertainment in a Chriſtian commonwealth.* 'Mr Collier had, about the time when this was publiſhed, written againſt the immorality of the ſtage. 'I was (as far as I durſt for fear of witty men upon 'whom he had been too ſevere) a great admirer of his 'book, and took it into my head to write a comedy 'in the ſeverity he required. In this play I make the 'ſpark or hero kill a man in his drink, and finding 'himſelf in priſon the next morning, I give him the 'contrition which he ought to have on that occaſion. 'It is in alluſion to that circumſtance, that the preface 'further ſays as follows; The anguiſh he there expreſſes, 'and the mutual ſorrow between an only child and a 'tender father in that diſtreſs, are perhaps an injury to 'the rules of comedy; but I am ſure they are a juſtice 'to thoſe of morality. And paſſages of ſuch a nature 'being ſo frequently applauded upon the ſtage, it is 'high time that we ſhould no longer draw occaſions 'of mirth from thoſe images, which the religion of our 'country tells us we ought to tremble at with horror. 'But her moſt excellent Majeſty has taken the ſtage 'into her conſideration; and we may hope, from her 'gracious influence on the muſes, that Wit will recover 'from its apoſtacy, and that, by being encouraged in 'the intereſts of Virtue, it will ſtrip Vice of the gay 'habit in which it has too long appeared, and cloath 'it in its native dreſs of ſhame, contempt, and diſhonour. I acknowledge that I cannot tell, Sir, what 'they would have me to do to prove myſelf a churchman; but I think I have appeared one even in ſo 'trifling a thing as a comedy. And, conſidering me 'as a comic poet, I have been a martyr and confeſſor 'for the church; for this play was damned for its 'piety (15).'

(15) Apology, p. 259. et ſeq.

[*L*] *He began the Tatler in concert with Dr Swift.*] This is acknowledged by our Author, firſt in the dedication to the two firſt volumes, as follows. 'A work 'of this nature requiring time to grow into the notice 'of the world, it happened very luckily, that, a little 'before I had reſolved upon this deſign, a gentleman 'had written predictions, and two or three other pieces, 'in my name, which had rendered it famous through 'all parts of Europe, and, by an inimitable ſpirit and 'humour, raiſed it to as high a pitch of reputation as it 'could poſſibly arrive at.' This paſſage he refers to in the preface to the fourth volume, where, in purſuance of a promiſe in the laſt Tatler to give an account of the aſſiſtants he had in the work, he uſes the following words. 'I have, in the dedication to the firſt volume, 'made my acknowledgments to Dr Swift, whoſe 'pleaſant writings in the name of Bickerſtaff, created 'an inclination in the Town towards any thing that 'ſhould appear in the ſame diſguiſe. I muſt acknowledge alſo, that, at my firſt entrance upon this work, 'a turn in converſation peculiar to that agreeable gentleman, rendered his company very advantageous to one 'whoſe imagination was to be continually employed 'upon obvious and common ſubjects, though obliged, 'at the ſame time, to treat of them in a new and unbeaten method. His *Verſes on the Shower in the Town*, 'and the deſcription of *The Morning*, are inſtances of 'the happineſs of that genius, which could raiſe ſuch 'pleaſing ideas upon occaſions ſo barren to an ordinary 'invention.' Whoever compares this with his acknowledgments to Mr Addiſon, will ſee, that the firſt are exemplified by only two trifling juvenile deſcriptions, *when*, as Mr Pope obſerves, *fond deſcription takes the place of ſenſe*; while thoſe of the other are inſtanced in the moſt ſublime and important ſubjects of the whole work, The diſcourſes on the immortality of the ſoul, &c. Nay, as if that was not ſufficient to eclipſe the merit of Dr Swift in the Tatler, he declares, that he thinks 'the fineſt ſtrokes of wit and humour in all Mr 'Bickerſtaff's lucubrations, are thoſe for which he is 'alſo beholden to Mr Addiſon (16).' But this treatment of his quondam friend, Dr Swift, will eaſily be accounted for, when we recollect, that not only *The Examiner*, but *The Whig Examiner*, by Mr Addiſon (17), and *The Medley*, in which our Author had a ſhare (18), were begun ſome time before the laſt Tatler, and eſpecially before the preface to the laſt volume of that work was written; not to mention that the dedication of the firſt volume is addreſſed to Mr *Mainwaring* the Undertaker of *The Medley*.

(16) The laſt paper of the Tatler.

(17) See Prior's article in remark [*P*].

(18) See the remark [*N*].

[*M*] *Approved and admired.*] The general purpoſe of this paper, Sir Richard tells us (19), was to expoſe the falſe arts of life, to pull off the diſguiſes of cunning, vanity, and oſtentation, and to recommend a general ſimplicity in our dreſs, diſcourſe, and behaviour. Nothing more was aimed at while Dr Swift was engaged in it, nor did the papers riſe above this deſign, as it is planned out into its ſeveral branches in the firſt paper, till the change of the miniſtry, when Mr Addiſon had leiſure to engage more conſtantly in it, who raiſed it to a greater thing than our Author had intended it. This advanced its reputation in the view of becoming a more important work. The air of the familiar, which had never been tranſgreſſed before, was raiſed into the ſublime, and theſe ſubjects were ſet off with all the elegance, purity, and correctneſs, which they deſerved. But then the inoffenſiveneſs of the firſt plan was a little broke into. At the ſame time *the change* of the miniſtry was ſeen in the change of *The Tatler*, and objected to. The raillery in behalf of Mr Hoadly [the preſent Biſhop of Wincheſter] was too much pointed to be conſiſtent with that conduct which had been profeſſed and preſerved in the two firſt volumes, in which the amiable parts in the characters of Atterbury and Smallridge are drawn without any ſuch points of offence. But our Author owned [after the juſt-mentioned change] he could not be cold enough to conceal his opinion in politicks (20). However, as politicks are almoſt always, though not altogether, ſet apart, the exquiſite pleaſure he both felt and gave in framing the characters of domeſtic life, and to putting thoſe parts of it into an agreeable view which are leaſt obſerved, his enquiry into the ſeeds of vanity and oſtentation, added to his glorious attempt to extirpate the pernicious race of gameſters and duelliſts, were received with ſo much advantage to the Author, that, as he obſerves himſelf, there was hardly a name eminent among us for power, wit, beauty, valour, or wiſdom, which was not ſubſcribed for the encouragement of the Work.

(19) In the dedication to the firſt volume.

(20) The Examiner had fallen upon the Tatler in the paper of Sept. 28, 1710. No. 230. The Tatler replied in No. 239.

When the bill to prevent duelling was brought into parliament, Sir Richard took that occaſion of ſeconding his blow againſt the duelliſts, which at the ſame time gave him an opportunity of doing juſtice to one of his correſpondents in *The Tatler*, who was at that time unknown to him. Speaking of this bill in 1720, 'I can 'hardly conceive, ſays he, a more laudable act, than 'declaring an abhorrence of ſo faſhionable a crime [as 'duelling] which weakneſs, cowardice, and impatience 'of the reproach of fools, have brought upon reaſonable men. This ſort of behaviour cannot proceed but 'from a true and undaunted courage, and I cannot but 'have in great veneration a generous youth, who in 'public declared his aſſent and concurrence to this law, 'by ſaying, *that, in ſpight of the prevailing cuſtom, he* '*triumphed more in being a ſecond to prevent, than he ſhould* '*have been in being one to promote, murder.* A ſpeech 'thus ingenuous could come only from a heart that 'ſcorned reſerves in compliance to falſehood, to do 'injury to truth. This was true greatneſs of mind; 'and the man who did it could not poſſibly do it for 'his own ſake, but muſt be conſcious of a courage 'ſufficient for his own defence, who could thus candidly,

His reputation became perfectly eſtabliſhed by it, and during the courſe of it, he was made a Commiſſioner of the Stamp-Duties in 1710. Upon the change of the miniſtry the ſame year, he ſided with the Duke of Marlborough, who had ſeveral years entertained a friendſhip for him. And upon his Grace's diſmiſſion from all employments in 1711, Mr Steele addreſſed a Letter of thanks to him for the ſervices done to his Country (*l*). However as our Author ſtill continued to hold his place in the Stamp-Office under the new Adminiſtration, he forbore entering with his pen upon political ſubjects. But adhering more cloſely to Mr Addiſon, he dropt *The Tatler* (*m*); and afterwards, by the aſſiſtance chiefly of that ſteady Friend, he carried on the ſame plan under the title of *The Spectator* (*n*). The ſucceſs of this paper was equal to that of the former, which encouraged him before the cloſe of it to proceed upon the ſame deſign in the character of *The Guardian*. This was opened in the beginning of the year 1713 (*o*), and was laid down in October the ſame year. But in the courſe of it, his thoughts took a ſtronger turn to politics (*p*); he engaged with great warmth againſt the Miniſtry, and being determined to proſecute his views that way by procuring a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons, he immediately removed all obſtacles thereto. For that purpoſe, he took care to prevent a forcible diſmiſſion from his Poſt in the Stamp-Office by a timely reſignation of it to the Earl of Oxford [*N*]; and at the ſame time, gave up a penſion which had been till this time paid him by the Queen, as a ſervant to the late Prince George of Denmark [*O*]. This done, he wrote the famous *Guardian* upon the demolition of Dunkirk,

(*l*) The title of it is The Engliſhman's Thanks to the Duke of Marlborough. It is the firſt in the Collection of his Political Writings, publiſhed in 1715. 8vo.

(*m*) The laſt paper is dated Tueſday Jan. 2, 1710-11.

(*n*) This paper begun March 1, 1710-11, and continued without interruption till December 6, 1712, when it was dropt for a while.

(*o*) The Spectator was diſcontinued, but reſumed in June 18, 1714, and continu'd till December 20 the ſame year.

(*p*) Mr Congreve and Mr Pope withdrew their auxiliaries on this occaſion.

'ly, at his time of life, reſcue other men from the 'neceſſity of bearing contempt, or doing an ill action. 'The mind uſually exerts itſelf in all its faculties with 'an equal pace towards maturity; and this gentleman, 'who, at the age of ſixteen, could form ſuch pleaſant 'pictures of falſe and little ambitions of low ſpirits as 'Mr *Fuller* did, to whom we owe, with ſeveral other 'excellent pieces, *The Vain-glorious Glutton*, when a 'ſecret correſpondent of the Tatler, I ſay ſuch a one 'might eaſily, as he proceeded in human life, arrive 'at this ſuperior ſtrength of mind at twenty-four. 'The ſoul that labours againſt prejudice, and follows 'reaſon, ripens in her capacities and grows in her 'talents at the ſame time. As therefore courage is 'what a man attains by thought, as much as he im'proves his wit by ſtudy, it is only for want of oppor'tunity to call one or the other forth, and draw the 'reſpective qualities into habit, if ever a man of ſenſe 'is a coward (21).'

(21) The Theatre, No. 26, for Tueſday, March 29, 1710.

[*N*] *By a timely reſignation of it to the Earl of Oxford.*] The Paper was drawn up in theſe terms, the uncommon ſtrain of which will repay the Reader's attention in peruſing them.

'To the Right Honorable the Lord High Treaſurer of
'Great-Britain.

'Bloomſbury-Square,
'My Lord, 'June 4, 1713.

'I preſume to give your Lordſhip this trouble to 'acquaint you, that having an ambition to ſerve in the 'enſuing Parliament, I humbly deſire your Lordſhip 'will pleaſe to accept of my reſignation of my office 'as Commiſſioner of the Stamp-Revenues.

'I ſhould have done this ſooner, but that I heard 'the Commiſſion was paſſing without my name in it. 'I would not be guilty of the arrogance of reſigning 'what I could not hold. But having heard this ſince 'contradicted (22), I am obliged to give it up, as 'with great humility I do, by this preſent writing. 'Give me leave, on this occaſion, to ſay ſomething as 'to my late conduct with relation to the late men in 'power, and to aſſure you, that whatever I have done, 'ſaid, or writ, has proceeded from no other motive, 'than the love of what I think truth. For merely as 'to my own affairs, I could not wiſh any man in the 'Adminiſtration rather than yourſelf, who favours thoſe 'that become your Dependants with a greater liberality 'of heart, than any man I have ever before obſerved. 'When I had the honour of a ſhort converſation with 'you, you were pleaſed not only to ſignify to me, that 'I ſhould remain in this office, but to add, that if I 'would name to you one of more value which would 'be more commodious to me, you would favour me 'in it. I am going out of any particular dependance 'on your Lordſhip, and will tell you with the freedom 'of an indifferent man, that it is impoſſible for any 'man who thinks, and has any public ſpirit, not to 'tremble at ſeeing his country, in its preſent circum'ſtances, in the hands of ſo daring a genius as yours; 'if incidents ſhould ariſe, that ſhould place your own 'ſafety, and what ambitious men call greatneſs, in a 'ballance againſt the general good. Our all depends 'upon your choice under ſuch a temptation. You have 'my hearty and fervent prayers to Heaven to avert all 'ſuch dangers from you. I thank your Lordſhip for 'the regard and diſtinction which you have at ſundry 'times ſhewn me, and wiſh you, with your Country's 'ſafety, all happineſs and proſperity. Share, my 'Lord, your good fortune, with whom you will; 'while it laſts you will want no friends: but if any 'adverſe day happens to you, and I live to ſee it, 'you will find I think myſelf obliged to be your friend 'and advocate. This is talking in a ſtrange dialect 'from a private man to the Firſt of a nation; but to 'deſire only a little, exalts a man's condition to a level 'with thoſe who want a great deal. But I beg your 'Lordſhip's pardon, and am, with great reſpect,

'My Lord,

'Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,

'And moſt humble Servant,

'Richard Steele.'

(22) This expreſſion ſeems to imply, that the deſign to diſmiſs him was ſuperſeded by the proſpect of his getting into Parliament, which would oblige him to reſign.

We ſee here our Author takes notice of the deſign to diſmiſs him, which indeed he had reaſon to have apprehended long before; for he had frequently attacked this Miniſter under borrowed names (23), and particularly in *The Medley*, where the pleaſant Narrative of the Ball at Wapping, in the twenty-fifth Number, was written by him (24).

(23) See Remark [*W*].

(24) Life of Arthur Maynwaring, p. 193.

[*O*] *He reſigned his penſion, &c.*] When *The Examiner* afterwards made an attempt to conſume him in the fire of Ingratitude, this ſtep furniſhed him with cold water to throw upon that fire. It is entertaining enough to view the contraſt, in the words of each Antagoniſt: 'I believe, ſays *The Examiner* (25), ſpeaking of *The* 'Guardian, then juſt publiſhed, I may challenge all 'the nations of the world, and all the hiſtories of this 'nation for a thouſand years paſt, to ſhew us an in'ſtance ſo flagrant as what we have now before us, viz. 'whenever a ſubject, nay a ſervant under a ſalary, and 'favoured, in ſpite of ill behaviour paſt, with a con'ſiderable employ in the government, treated his Sо'vereign in ſuch a manner as *The Guardian* has done 'the perſon of the Queen, and went unpuniſhed. If 'the clemency of the Queen prevails to ſave ſuch a 'man; if her Majeſty thinks it below her to reſent an 'injury from ſo contemptible a wretch, by ſo much 'the rather ſhould every ſubject reſent it, and ſhew 'their duty and reſpect to their Sovereign, by trampling 'under their feet the very name and memory of the 'man, that can have boldneſs enough to inſult his 'Prince in a printed, and for that reaſon a ſcandalous 'libel, and can have ingratitude enough to do it, 'while he is eating her bread.' To this very warm charge, our Author makes the following very cool reply: '*The Examiner*, ſays he, accuſes me of ingra'titude, as being actually under ſalary, when I writ 'the Letter to *The Guardian*; but he is miſtaken in 'that particular; for I had reſigned, not only my 'office in the Stamp-Duties, but alſo my penſion as 'Servant to his late Royal Highneſs, which her Ma'jeſty hath been graciouſly pleaſed to continue to the 'whole family of that excellent Prince. I diveſted 'myſelf of all that I was ſo happy as to enjoy by her 'Majeſty's goodneſs and favour, before I would pre'ſume

(25) In the Paper Aug. 11, 1713.

Dunkirk, which was publiſhed Aug. 7, 1713; and the Parliament being diſſolved the next day, *The Guardian* was ſoon followed by ſeveral other warm political tracts againſt the Adminiſtration [P]. Upon the meeting of the new Parliament, Mr Steele having been returned a Member for the borough of Stockbridge in Dorſetſhire, took his ſeat accordingly in the Houſe of Commons, but was expelled thence in a few days after, for writing ſeveral ſeditious and ſcandalous libels, as he had been indeed forewarned by the Author of a periodical Paper, called *The Examiner* [Q]. Preſently after his expulſion, he publiſhed Propoſals for

(26) Importance of Dunkirk conſidered, p. 61, 62, in Steele's political Works.

'ſume to write any thing which was ſo apparently an 'advertiſement to thoſe employed in her ſervice (26).'

[P] *The Guardian, and ſeveral other tracts againſt the adminiſtration.*] In the *Guardian* of Aug. 7, 1713, our Author had ſaid twice, *The Britiſh nation* expect *the immediate demolition of Dunkirk*, and a third time, pray Mr Ironſide repeat it again, that *The Britiſh nation* expect *the immediate demolition of Dunkirk*. Upon which, in a few days came out, *The honour and prerogative of the Queen's Majeſty vindicated, and defended againſt the unexampled inſolence of the author of the Guardian. In a letter from a country whig to Mr Steele.* The writer of which, in ſpeaking to the juſt-mentioned paſſage of the Guardian, cries out, "See how the villain treats the beſt of ſovereigns, the beſt miſtreſs to him, whoſe bread he has eaten, and who has kept him from a Goal. Read it again. Put it into Engliſh, ſaid a neighbour of mine to me, Come make the beſt of it. Then he reads as follows, *The Britiſh nation* expect, &c. and again, *The Britiſh nation* expect *the immediate demolition of Dunkirk.* And a third time, with a tone of threatening, *The Britiſh nation* expect *it.*—I would fain have pleaded for you, that this was not to be underſtood to be ſpoken to, or pointed at their Queen; but it would not do, they laughed at me. Come, ſays my neighbour, if you can't put it into words, I'll do it for you: *The Britiſh nation expect the immediate demolition of Dunkirk.* We all know her Majeſty has poſſeſſion of Dunkirk; and though the work is to be done by the French, her Majeſty may appoint the day. Now, ſays he, read the words; what is it but thus; *Look you*, Madam, *your Majeſty had beſt take care that* Dunkirk *be demoliſhed, or elſe*, &c. *and again*, Madam, *We expect, and we would have you take notice that We expect, that Dunkirk be demoliſhed, and that immediately.* Juſt thus an imperious planter at Barbadoes ſpeaks to a negro ſlave, *Look you, ſirrah, I expect this ſugar to be ground; and look to it that it be done forthwith. It is enough to tell you I expect it, or elſe*, &c. *and then he holds up his ſtick at him.*" This *Guardian* was reprinted together with *The Importance of Dunkirk conſidered, in a defence of that Guardian, in a letter to the bayliff of Stockbridge*, which concludes with the following ſtory, by way of reply to that of his antagoniſt: "If I might make an abrupt digreſſion from great things to ſmall, I ſhould, on this occaſion, mention a little circumſtance which happened to the late King William. He had a Frenchman who took care of the gun-dogs, whoſe buſineſs it was alſo to charge and deliver the piece to the King. This miniſter once forgot to bring out ſhot into the field, but did not think fit to let ſo paſſionate a man, and ſo eager a ſportſman, as the King, know his offence; but gave his Majeſty the piece loaded only with powder; when the King miſſed his aim, the impudent cur ſtood chattering, admiring, and commending the King's ſkill in ſhooting, and, holding up his hands, ſaid, *He had never ſeen* SA MAJESTE' *miſs before in his whole life.* This circumſtance was no manner of argument to them (who afterwards found out the fellow's iniquity) againſt the King's reputation for a quick eye, and ſhooting very finely."

This piece was ſucceeded by *The Engliſhman*, a paper publiſhed three days in a week, the firſt of which is dated October 8, 1713. During the courſe of this paper came out *The Criſis, or a diſcourſe, repreſenting, from the moſt ancient records, the juſt cauſes of the late revolution, and the ſeveral ſettlements of the crown of England, with ſome ſeaſonable remarks on the danger of a popiſh ſucceſſor.* Our author tells us (27), that the plan of this treatiſe was firſt hinted to him by ſome incidental diſcourſe in a viſit to a friend of his; Mr *More* of the Inner Temple, a man perfectly ſkilled in the laws and conſtitution of this kingdom. This gentleman preſſed him likewiſe to the undertaking, and obſerved, that he thought Mr Steele, from the kind reception the world gave to what he publiſhed, might be more inſtrumental towards curing this evil [the diſaffection to the houſe of Hanover] than any private man in England; that in concluſion it was agreed for them both to join in writing the book, and ſhare the profits ariſing from the ſale equally between them.

(27) In his Apology, p. 301, 302.

[Q] *He was expelled the houſe, as he had been forewarned by the Examiner.*] The warning was publiſhed in the Examiner, before his election, in the following words. 'This man [Steele] was never ſo dear to the 'Whigs as ſince he let them know, that he durſt aſſault 'his Queen. This has made him their favourite, and 'one of their authors has made his dull panegyrick upon 'him already for it; while another ſet of them are to 'get him choſen for the next parliament, that he may 'carry on his inſults there, and obtain the honour, 'as another of their haughty leaders has already done, 'of being expelled the houſe.' The perſon here ſignified was the famous Mr Walpole; and there is room to think that our Author (like ſome others after him) (28) even courted this honour. Preſently after his election at Stockbridge he begun the Engliſhman, and printed the Criſis, which procured that honour for him. His great care, in drawing up this laſt treatiſe, ſeems to have been not to bring upon himſelf a heavier puniſhment. 'When the Criſis, ſays he, was written hand 'in hand with that gentleman [Mr More], I, who was 'to anſwer for it with my all, would not venture upon 'my own ſingle judgment; therefore I cauſed it to be 'printed, and left one copy with Mr Addiſon, another 'with Mr Lechmere, another with Mr Minſhull, and 'another with Mr Hoadly. From theſe corrected copies 'the Criſis became the piece it is. When I thought it 'my Duty, I thank God I had no further conſideration 'for myſelf than to do it in a lawful and proper way, 'ſo as to give no diſparagement to a glorious cauſe 'from my indiſcretion, or want of judgment. I was 'willing to ripen the queſtion of the ſucceſſion upon 'my own head.' When the parliament met, after two or three gentlemen had propoſed Sir Thomas Hanmer for Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Mr Steele took upon him to ſay he had the ſame honourable ſentiments of that gentleman in the following words:

(28) Particularly Mr Poultney, the preſent Earl of Bath. General Hiſtory of England.

'At the cloſe of the laſt parliament, her Majeſty 'was graciouſly pleaſed to declare from the throne, 'that the late rejected bill of commerce between Great-'Britain and France ſhould be offered to this houſe. 'That declaration was certainly made, that every 'gentleman, who ſhould have the honour to be re-'turned hither, might make himſelf maſter of that 'important queſtion. It is demonſtration that was a 'moſt pernicious bill; and no one can have a greater 'merit to this houſe, than he by whoſe weight and 'authority that pernicious bill was thrown out. I riſe 'up to do him honour, and diſtinguiſh myſelf by giving 'him my vote for that his ineſtimable ſervice to his 'country.'

'It will be impoſſible for the Reader, continues he, 'to conceive how this ſpeech was received, except he 'has happened to have been at a cock-match, and has 'ſeen the triumph and exultation which is raiſed, when 'a volatile, whoſe fall was ſome way gainful to part of 'the company, has been necked. At the mention of 'the *Bill of Commerce*, the cry began; at calling it *per-'nicious*, it increaſed; at the words *doing him honour*, it 'grew inſupportably loud.' In this ſtate of the houſe, on March 12, 1713, a complaint was made to them againſt certain paragraphs in three printed pamphlets; *The Engliſhman*, from Saturday January 16 to Tueſday January 19, 1713, wherein is a printed letter to the Engliſhman, to which is ſubſcribed the name Richard Steele; another, intituled *The Criſis*, in the title-page whereof it is ſaid by Richard Steele, Eſq; and another, intituled *The Engliſhman*, being the cloſe of the paper ſo called; in the title whereof it is alſo ſaid by Richard Steele, Eſq; as containing ſeveral paragraphs tending to ſedition, highly reflecting upon her Majeſty, and arraigning her adminiſtration and government. Upon which Mr Steele was ordered to attend. He did ſo on Saturday 13, and heard the ſeveral paragraphs, complained of; read; after which he ſtood up, and deſired time to make his defence, which, after great debates, was granted till Thurſday 18. In theſe debates Mr Auditor Harley moved for having him heard on the Monday following. In anſwer to whom we are told (29), that

(29) Boyer's Annals of Queen Anne, ad ann. 1713.

for writing the Hiſtory of the Duke of Marlborough [*R*]. At the ſame time he alſo wrote *The Spinſter*, and in oppoſition to *The Examiner*, he ſet up a Paper called *The Reader*, and continued publiſhing ſeveral other things in the ſame ſpirit, till the death of the Queen.

that Mr Steele, out of contempt of his adverſaries, who were known, ſays this Author, to have been rigid Preſbyterians, though they now ſided with the High-church, aſſumed their ſanctified countenance, and *owned, in the meekneſs and contrition of his heart, that he was a very great ſinner, and he hoped the member who ſpoke laſt, who was ſo juſtly renowned for his exemplary piety and devotion, would not be acceſſary to the accumulating the number of his tranſgreſſions, by obliging him to break the ſabbath of the Lord in peruſing ſuch profane writings as might ſerve for his juſtification.* On Monday 15, Mr Steele made the following motion, as of uſe, he ſaid, to his defence; That an humble addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, that ſhe would be pleaſed to give directions, that the ſeveral repreſentations of her Majeſty's engineers, and others who have had the care and inſpection of the demolition of Dunkirk, and all orders and inſtructions given thereupon, be laid before the houſe. It paſſed in the negative, and from that moment Mr Steele deſpaired of his cauſe. On Thurſday the 18th, Mr Foley, the Accuſer, demanded the matter appointed for the day might be entered upon. This gentleman had, in the firſt debate, remarked, that the drift of the writings before them was to make a great number of the gentlemen of England appear Jacobites and enemies to their country. Mr Steele choſe to make his appearance near the bar of the houſe, and mentions one circumſtance in this ſcene that he ſays very much ſweetened his affliction, which was, that he had the honour to ſtand between Mr Stanhope and Mr Walpole (30), who condeſcended to take upon them the parts of his advocates. He was likewiſe aſſiſted by his friend, Mr Addiſon, member for Malmſbury, who ſat near him to prompt him upon occaſion (31). He began his defence with the uſual preface of beſpeaking favour to any miſtakes that might eſcape him therein, and, after complaining of the Examiner for abuſing him the Friday before, he proceeds to maintain the truth of the obſervations in the ſeveral paragraphs alledged as crimes againſt him. The firſt, in No. 46 of the Engliſhman, concludes thus: 'I own I have nothing to ſay 'for the liberty I take now, or the book I put out 'to-day, when nobody elſe talks in the ſame ſtile, 'but what the ſailor ſaid, when he fired out of the 'ſtage-coach upon ſome highwaymen before they cried, '*Stand*, would you have me ſtay till they have boarded 'us;' and the laſt paragraph from the cloſe of that paper is in theſe words, 'I wiſh that his Electoral 'Highneſs of Hanover would be ſo grateful as to ſignify 'to all the world, the perfect good underſtanding with 'the court of England in as plain terms as her Majeſty 'was pleaſed to declare ſhe had with that houſe on her 'part. This laſt circumſtance, dear Jack, would be 'very pleaſing to all of us who are churchmen, becauſe, 'if the elector ſhould be any ways diſobliged, I am 'confident her Majeſty has given no cauſe for it. 'I cannot but attribute any miſunderſtanding, if ſuch 'there ſhould be, to the artifices of ſome new converts, 'who, for ought I know, may ſtill be Preſbyterians in 'their hearts (32).' After he was withdrawn, Mr Foley ſaid, Without amuſing the houſe with long ſpeeches, it is plain the writings we had complained of were ſeditious and ſcandalous, injurious to her Majeſty's government, the church, and the univerſities, and called for the queſtion. Thence aroſe a very warm debate, which laſted till eleven o'clock at night. The firſt who ſpoke for Mr Steele was Robert Walpole, Eſq; who was ſeconded by his brother Horace, Lord Finch, Lord Lumley, and Lord Hinchinbroke; but it was reſolved by a majority of 245 againſt 152, "That a printed pamphlet, entituled *The Engliſhman*, being the cloſe of the paper ſo called, and one other pamphlet, entituled *The Criſis*, written by Richard Steele, Eſq; a member of this houſe, are ſcandalous and ſeditious libels, containing many expreſſions highly reflecting upon her Majeſty, upon the nobility, gentry, clergy, and univerſities of this kingdom, maliciouſly inſinuating, that the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover is in danger under her Majeſty's adminiſtration, and tending to alienate the affections of her Majeſty's good ſubjects, and to create jealouſies and diviſions among them. It was reſolved likewiſe, for his offence in writing and publiſhing the ſaid ſcandalous and ſeditious libels, that he be expelled this houſe." How much ſoever he complained afterwards of this reſolution, as unjuſtly depriving him of his property in houſe, and his good name in the world, yet there reaſon to believe, that he was ſenſible he deſerved more and expected to have gone to this honour through the Tower, as Mr Walpole had done before him. In his Apology he declares, No man could help plainly ſeeing, that, in theſe writings he had gone as far as he could, with any ſafety to his liberty and life; and that he got into the Houſe of Commons for no other reaſon but to ſay more for the good of his deluded country.

(30) This gentleman particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion in behalf of liberty, and added to the popularity he had acquired before among the Whigs. Life of Sir Robert Walpole.

(31) See his Apology.

(32) The ſubſtance of this ſpeech, which laſted near three hours, is printed in his Apology.

[*R*] *The Hiſtory of the Duke of Marlborough.*] He gives an account of his deſign in the ſixth Number of *The Reader*, where he informs us, that it would be done from proper materials, in his cuſtody; that the relation would commence from the date of his Grace's Commiſſion of Captain General and Plenipotentiary, and to end with the expiration of theſe Commiſſions. 'It 'is not doubted, ſays he, but his hiſtory, formed 'from the moſt authentic papers, and all the moſt 'ſecret intelligence, which can be communicated with 'ſafety to perſons now living, and in the confidence 'of foreign Courts, will be very entertaining, and put 'the ſervices of her Majeſty's Miniſters, at home and 'abroad, in a true light. The Work is to be printed 'in folio, and Propoſals for the encouragement of it, 'may be ſeen at Mr Tonſon's, Bookſeller in the 'Strand.' But this Work was never executed; and the materials were afterwards returned to the Dutcheſs Dowager of Marlborough, who by her laſt Will, left for writing the Hiſtory of the Duke's Life, under the inſpection of Philip Earl of Cheſterfield, a thouſand pounds, to be equally divided between Mr *Glover*, Author of *Leonidas*, and Mr Mallet, Writer of the Life of Lord Bacon, and ſeveral Plays and Poems. The former of theſe Gentlemen having declined the offer, the papers have been many years in the hands of the latter; but what progreſs is made in the work, does not appear.

[*S*] *He continued writing with the ſame ſpirit till the death of the Queen.*] One of theſe pieces is intituled *A Letter to* Sir Miles Wharton, *concerning occaſional Peers; written in* 1713. In this pamphlet, to prevent the miſchiefs that might ariſe from the twelve Peers newly created, the liſt of which he ſays he was told was to be encreaſed with a dozen more, he propoſes that a Bill be brought into the Houſe to diſable any Peer to vote in any caſe, till three years after the date of his Patent. This is ſomething like the year of ſilence enjoined to the Advocates at Doctors Commons, at their firſt admiſſion, which he not improbably had in his eye; and ſome ſuch inſtitution, as he propoſes, might perhaps not be altogether abſurd, as a preſervative in ſuch extraordinary caſes, which require in the body politic, as well as the natural, extraordinary remedies. In order to recommend it, he makes an obſervation, which is pointed at the then preſent conjuncture, 'That when the minds of men are preju- 'diced, wonderful effects may be wrought againſt 'common ſenſe. One weak ſtep, continues he, in 'trying a fool for what he ſaid in the Pulpit, with all 'the pomp that could be uſed to take down a more 'dangerous and powerful man than ever England yet 'has ſeen, coſt the moſt able Miniſtry that England 'was ever honoured with, its Being. The Judgment 'of the Houſe of Lords was by this means inſulted and 'evaded, and the anarchical fury ran ſo high, that '*Harry Sacheverell* ſwelling, and *Jack Higgins* laugh- 'ing, marched through England in a triumph more 'than military.'

Another of his pamphlets is called *French Faith repreſented in the preſent State of Dunkirk*; *A Letter to the Examiner in defence of Mr Steele*, in 1714. It was wrote after the delivery of Dunkirk to the French, who were building a new harbour at Mardyke. 'The 'Harbour of Dunkirk indeed, ſays he, was demoliſhed. 'But they have made a new one, and another ſort of 'harbour than it was before; but not a jot leſs com- 'modious to themſelves, or leſs terrible to us;' to evince which, he has given a map of the place as it then ſtood; whereupon he turns *The Examiner*'s words upon himſelf, and his Friends the French. 'Your 'words, ſays he, are, in No. I. of your current 'Volume, in ſpeaking of theſe reſtleſs ſilly Rogues, 'the Whigs, *They have made no diſcoveries, nor 'opened any new ſluices or ſtreams of Scandal*; 'but

Immediately after which, as a reward for theſe ſervices, he was taken into favour by her Succeſſor to the throne, King George I, and appointed Surveyor to the Royal Stables of Hampton-Court, and put into the Commiſſion of the Peace in the County of Middleſex; and having procured a Licence for chief Manager of the Royal Company of Comedians, he eaſily obtained it to be changed the ſame year 1714 into a Patent from his Majeſty (*q*), appointing him Governor of the ſaid Company during his life, and to his Executors, Adminiſtrators, or Aſſigns, for the ſpace of three years afterwards [*T*]. He was alſo choſen

(*q*) The Licence bore date October 18, and the Patent January the 19th following.

but yet, like the ingenious Winſtanly and other Maſters in Hydroſtatics, they have laid their pipes ſo well, and diſpoſed their wheels and machines in ſuch order, that the ſame maſs and body of water, with good huſbandry and management, circulates and comes round again at proper periods, as they direct it (33).' He compares this artifice with another, which he had met with in a little treatiſe in French, the Author of which tells us, that in a treaty with Spain the French obtained an article, that whatſoever ſhould be found within the dominions of either State, at the time of the ratification, ſhall belong to the reſpective Sovereign. The French pillaged a wood, and carried the timber out of the bordering territories of Spain into thoſe of France, *in order to profit, as they did, by the Article.*

(33) This was publiſhed in May or June, 1714.

A third pamphlet wrote by our Author at this time, was intituled *A Letter to a Member of Parliament, concerning the Bill to prevent the growth of Schiſm*, dated May 28, 1714. It was written preſently after his expulſion from the Houſe of Commons, and he concludes in theſe terms: 'This, dear Sir, is all I have to trouble you with upon this occaſion; and though you accuſe me of being caſt down with my Expulſion, you ſee I have not dunned you to move that the other pamphlets may be examined as well as *The Criſis*, and *The Engliſhman*. Give my ſervice to poor Tom and Ned. I muſt confeſs, they were the laſt I forgave; but I have forgiven them too now: I am thoroughly convinced, ſince this Bill, that I was not worthy. For now you have taken upon you eccleſiaſtical matters; and I ſhould not have known how to behave myſelf among you as a *Communion of Saints* (34).'

(34) The draught put into his hands was the firſt ſketch of this Bill, it received many amendments, and was extended to Ireland, before it paſſed into an Act. See more of it in the article WAKE [WILLIAM].

Another treatiſe of our Author came out in this interval, intituled *The Romiſh Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Late Years.* This he obſerves, is no more than an account of ſome collateral and contemporary circumſtances and ſecret paſſages, joined to an account of the ceremony of the laſt Inauguration of Saints, by his Holineſs the Pope. 'This account, continues he, gives us a lively idea of the pageantry uſed in that Church, to ſtrike the imagination of the Vulgar, and needs only to be repeated to give any ſerious man an abhorrence of their Idolatry.' There is an Appendix, No. I. of which preſents us with a liſt of the Colleges, Monaſteries, and Convents, of men and women of ſeveral Orders in the Low Countries, with the revenues which they draw from England. No. II. exhibits an extract of the *Taxa Cameræ ſeu Cancellariæ Apoſtolicæ*, the fees of the Pope's Chancery, a Book printed above a hundred years before by the authority of the Pope, being a table or liſt of the fees paid to him for Abſolutions, Diſpenſations, Indulgencies, Faculties, and Exemptions. No. III. is A Bull of the Pope in 1357, given to the then King of France, whereby the Princes of that nation have received an hereditary right to cheat all the reſt of mankind. No. IV. gives us a tranſlation of Pope Sixtus IV's Oration, as it was uttered in the Conſiſtory at Rome in 1589, defending the execrable fact of Jaques Clement, a Jacobine Friar, upon the perſon of Henry III, King of France, to be commendable, admirable, and meritorious. The fact was the aſſaſſination of that King (35), who in order to cruſh the Popiſh Party, then in open Rebellion againſt him (36), had lately joined the Proteſtants under the King of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. of France, who was alſo aſſaſſinated by the Jeſuit *Ravillac* in 1610, which was likewiſe vindicated as a meritorious fact by that Religious Fraternity. No. V. contains a Collection of ſome Popiſh Tracts and Poſitions, deſtructive of Society and all the good ends of government.

(35) Aug. 1. this year at St Clou. Mezeray's Hiſt. of France.

(36) Under the Duke of Mayn, brother to the Duke of Guiſe, whom the King had the preceding year cauſed to be put to death as a Rebel. Ibid.

[*T*] *A Patent for the Play-houſe.*] He obtained this by the intereſt of the Duke of Marlborough, who had long entertained a friendſhip for him. He firſt drew the Duke's regards by a pleaſant repartee, which he made upon his Grace's preferring his own relations, and which coming to the Duke's ear, had the good luck to be taken as the Author meant it. Upon the great change of the Adminiſtration, after the acceſſion of King George I, Mr Collier the former Patentee of the Company in Drury-Lane being no more heard of, and the Licence of the Managers of that Houſe expiring with the late Queen, they therefore applied to Sir Richard to uſe his intereſt for the renewal of their Licence, and begged him to do them the honour of getting their names to ſtand with his in the ſame Commiſſion. We have a full account of this matter from Mr Colley Cibber, who was then one of the Managers (37), and relates it in the following words, much to the honour of Sir Richard. He aſſures us, that this application to our Author was not only owing to the high favour he now ſtood in at Court, but to the obligations the Stage had to his Writings. There being ſcarce a Comedian of merit in their whole Company whom his *Tatlers* had not made better by his public recommendation of them, 'and many days, continues he, had our houſe been filled by the influence and credit of his Pen. Obligations of this kind, from a Gentleman with whom they all had the pleaſure of a perſonal intimacy, the Managers thought could not be more juſtly returned, than by ſhewing him ſome warm inſtances of their deſire to have him at the head of them. This they told him would put it ſtill in his power to ſupport the Stage in that reputation to which his lucubrations had already ſo much contributed, and that therefore he had better pretenſions to partake of its various ſucceſſes, than any other perſon whatſoever. He was highly pleaſed with the offer, and his ſpirits took ſuch a lively turn upon it, that had we been all his own ſons, no unexpected act of filial duty could have more endeared us to him. The Licence being obtained, the Managers agreed to give Sir Richard 700 l. per ann. as they had done before to Mr Collier. Soon after this, the Houſe in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields being finiſhed by the old Patentee who had been ſilenced, he procured, by the intereſt of Mr Craggs the younger, his ſuſpenſion to be taken off: upon which that Play-houſe being opened, proved at firſt a great drawback upon the profits of the Old Houſe: on this occaſion, the Managers remonſtrated to Sir Richard, that as he now ſtood in Collier's place, his penſion of 700 l. per ann. was liable to the ſame conditions, which was, that it was only payable during their continuance to be the only company permitted to act; but in caſe another was ſet up againſt them, this penſion was to be liquidated into an equal ſhare with them, and which they now hoped he would be contented with. While they were offering to proceed, Sir Richard ſtopt them ſhort, by aſſuring them, that as he came among them by their invitation, he ſhould always think himſelf obliged to come into any meaſures for their uſe and ſervice; that to be a burthen to their induſtry would be more diſagreeable to him, than it could be to them; and as he had always taken a delight in his endeavours for their proſperity, he ſhould be ſtill ready on their own terms to continue them. Every one, proceeds Mr *Cibber*, who knew Sir Richard in his proſperity (before the effects of his good nature had brought him to diſtreſs) knows that this was his manner of dealing with his Friends in buſineſs. Another inſtance of the ſame nature will immediately fall in my way. When we propoſed to put this agreement in writing, he deſired us not to hurry ourſelves, for that he was adviſed upon the late deſertion of our Actors (38), to get our Licence, which now ſubſiſted only during pleaſure, enlarged into a more ample and durable authority, and which he ſaid he had reaſon to think would be more eaſily obtained, if we were willing that a Patent for the ſame purpoſe might be granted to him only for his life and three years afterwards, which he would then aſſign over to us. This was a proſpect beyond our hopes, and what we had long wiſhed for. For though I cannot ſay, continues this Manager, we had ever occaſion to grieve at the perſonal ſeverities of any Lord Chamberlain; yet the ſeveral officers under them

(37) The other three were Wilks, Dogget, and Booth.

(38) Several of their beſt Actors went to the New Houſe in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.

choſen one of the Repreſentatives for Boroughbrigg in Yorkſhire, in the firſt Parliament of that King, who conferred the honour of Knighthood upon him, April 28, 1715 (r). And in Auguſt following he received five hundred pounds from Sir Robert Walpole, for ſpecial ſervices [U]. Thus highly encouraged, he triumphed over his opponents in ſeveral Pamphlets wrote in this and the following year [W]. In 1717, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for

(r) Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under that year.

'them often treated us with all the inſolence of Office. 'But a Patent, we knew, would free us from ſo abſolute a ſtate of dependance. Accordingly we deſired 'Sir Richard to loſe no time.——A few days after 'Sir Richard told us, that his Majeſty being apprized, that others had a joint power with him in 'the Licence, it was expected that we ſhould under 'our hands ſignify, that his petition for a Patent ſhould 'be preferred by them all; ſuch an inlargement was 'immediately ſigned, and the patent thereupon paſſed 'the Great Seal (39). The form of it was drawn after 'that of Sir William Davenant's, in King Charles II's 'reign; after relating the abuſes of the Stage, both 'as to Religion, and Government, it declares, that for 'the purpoſe of redreſſing, this command is granted to 'the Patentee, not only on account of his public ſervices 'to Religion and Virtue; but of his ſteady adherence to 'the true intereſt of his Country: then his power is ſet 'forth in all the particulars of which it conſiſts. After 'which it concludes, with an injunction that no repreſentations be admitted, whereby the Chriſtian Religion in general, or the Church of England in particular, may ſuffer reproach, inhibiting every degree 'of abuſe and miſrepreſentations of Sacred Characters, 'enjoining the ſtricteſt regard to ſuch repreſentations 'as any way concern Civil Policy, or the conſtitution 'of the Government. And laſtly, commanding that 'no new Play, or any old revived Play, be acted, containing any paſſages of offence to Piety, before ſuch 'paſſages be corrected and purged out by the ſaid Governor. The Patent was received January 19, and 'the Patentee ſet out next morning for Boroughbrigg, 'where he was ſoon after elected Member for the new 'Parliament. So that the Managers were forced, that 'very night, to draw up in a hurry (till their Council 'might more adviſedly perfect it) his aſſignment to 'them of equal ſhares in the Patent, with farther conditions of Partnerſhip.' But this aſſignment (drawn by Cibber) was ſo unluckily worded, that it gave Sir Richard as clear a title to their property, as it had given them to his Authority in the Patent. Sir Richard, notwithſtanding, when he returned to Town, took no advantage of the miſtake, and conſented, on their ſecond agreement, to pay 1200 l. to be equally intitled to their property, which at his death they were obliged to repay: As they did to his Executors. Our Author, by this moderation, was 300 l. per ann. a Gainer; ſo that his Income from the Play-houſe amounted now to 1000 l. per ann. (40).

(39) This Author tells us too that Lord Cowper, then Lord Chancellor, in compliment to Sir Richard, would take no fee. He was made Chancellor the ſame day that the Patent was ſigned, viz. Jan. 19, 1714; Salmon's Chr. Hiſt. but the Patent appears to be ſigned, By Writ of Privy-Seal, Cocks,

(40) Cibber's Apology, p. 289, 290. Lond. 1740. 4to.

[U] *He received* 500 *l. for ſpecial ſervices.*] In the Appendix to the Report of the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons in 1741, and 1742. In a table of monies expended by Sir Robert Walpole, among other articles, there is one for ſpecial ſervices, in which is the following article; Aug. 27, 1715: 500 l. to *Leonard Welſtead, Eſq.* But this Gentleman ſome years afterwards declared, that he received the money for Sir Richard Steele, and paid it to him (41).

(41) Communicated by Mr Walthoe, Alderman of St Albans.

[W] *He wrote ſeveral pamphlets in* 1715 *and* 1716.] In 1715 he collected his pamphlets againſt the late miniſtry, and publiſhed them in one volume 8vo, with this title, *The Political Writings of Sir Richard Steele.* In the dedication to the Earl of Clare (42) he writes thus; 'The following papers were written to confront 'daring and wicked men in the proſecution of purpoſes 'deſtructive to their country.—The painful ſtruggle 'under ſo great a difficulty as explaining with a miniſtry 'in open contradiction to their proceedings, is what 'can be ſupported by nothing leſs than the teſtimony 'of a good conſcience, and a heart pure from avaricious 'ambition; and theſe are ſuch ſupports as will keep a 'man from languiſhing in diſcontent. Should he, 'among the proſperities of a cauſe he has endeavoured 'to ſerve, live to find zeal for the public, of all human 'virtues the moſt expoſed to the cool comfort of being 'its own reward; and that which was undertaken 'againſt the inclinations to mirth and pleaſure, out of 'a ſenſe of duty and honour, to have little other effect, 'than to become a man's characteriſtic, and by that 'means to give a hortulent air to all his other pretenſions, and even to ſink the agreeableneſs of the friend 'and companion in the appearance of ſomewhat ſuppoſed to be demanding in the patriot.'—Theſe words intimate, that he did not think his ſervices yet ſufficiently rewarded, to obtain which was apparently the chief motive for the publiſhing his merit with an address to a nobleman then in the higheſt favour at court.

(42) The preſent Duke of Newcaſtle; who was raiſed from the title of Lord Pelham to that of Earl of Clare on the 26th of October, 1714. Collins's Peerage of England, under his article.

Among theſe pieces he now firſt printed his apology, with this motto, *Fabula quanta fui!* It is dedicated to Mr Walpole, to whom he obſerves, that the member accuſed had not a harſh perſonal expreſſion uſed againſt him; though the miniſter who brought on the accuſation, in the midſt of all his power, was treated in a different manner; which confirms what we have before obſerved, that the heavieſt part of his puniſhment was the lightneſs of it; he was not conſiderable enough for any weightier notice. This he ſeems to reſent in the preface, as follows; 'The onſet was made in the pooreſt 'manner, and the accuſation laid with an inſipid action 'and cold expreſſion. The accuſer arraigned a man 'for ſedition with the ſame indolence and indifference 'as another man pares his nails; what was ſpoken appeared only a rheum from the mouth, and Mr Foley, 'as well as do what he did, might have blown his noſe 'and put the queſtion. But, though the choler of my 'accuſers was corrected by their phlegm, &c.' In the dedication he celebrates Mr Walpole on the two great talents for which he was eminently diſtinguiſhed; his admirable talent of ſpeaking in the houſe, and his happy ability in explaining the moſt difficult parts of buſineſs to men wholly unacquainted with negociations; and the character of an open honeſt Engliſh gentleman.

Our Author publiſhed alſo this year in 8vo, *The State of the Roman catholic religion throughout the world, written for the uſe of pope Innocent XI. by monſ. Cerwic, ſecretary of the congregation* DE PROPAGANDA FIDE; *now firſt tranſlated from an authentick Italian MS. never publiſhed. To which is added, A diſcourſe concerning the ſtate of religion in England, written in French in the time of King Charles I, and now firſt tranſlated, with a large dedication to the preſent pope, giving him a very particular account of the ſtate of religion among the Proteſtants, and of ſeveral other matters of importance relating to Great Britain.* The tranſlation of this account was done by *Michael de la Roche*, author of *The Memoirs of literature*; and the dedication to the pope was, upon good grounds, ſuppoſed to be done by another (*), and not by Sir Richard. In this laſt he rallies the notion, that the church may err but never does, maintaining, that the power and authority of the proteſtant church is as ſtrong upon this foundation as that of the pope founded upon infallibility (43). The ſame year Sir Richard publiſhed *A Letter from the Earl of Mar to the King before his Majeſty's arrival in England, with ſome remarks on my Lord's ſubſequent conduct.* Our Author alſo continued his *Lover* to this year, though it was begun in 1714 (44). The character of Sir Anthony Crabtree, of Goatham in Hereforddſhire, in No. 14. was deſigned for the Earl of Oxford (45). About the years 1715 and 1716 he wrote the paper called *The Town Talk*, and another intituled *The Tea-Table*, and ſome of the Paſquins. Alſo in 1716 he publiſhed the ſecond volume of the Engliſhman. In the preface of which he obſerves, 'that to inſinuate 'that there are evil purpoſes in the miniſters of any 'country is in itſelf a ſeditious and unwarrantable practice; but that the apparent tendency of the proceedings in the late times, juſtified the diſreſpect with 'which the officers of the ſtate were then treated in the 'former volume of the Engliſhman. That volume 'alarmed mankind of their purpoſes, and of the 'methods they had taken to accompliſh them. It is 'incumbent upon one who had treated them ſo frankly 'when they were only ſuſpected, to make good what 'he ſeemed to accuſe them of, now their actions are 'brought to light.' In anſwer to this it was maintained, on the other hand, that the late miniſtry had never entertained any ſuch evil purpoſes as they are here charged with, which is evident from the peaceful entrance of the Queen's ſucceſſor into the poſſeſſion of the throne; and that the practices and deſigns to diſturb him in that poſſeſſion afterwards, were entirely owing to the violent proceedings of his miniſters againſt their immediate predeceſſors in the adminiſtration. In reality, the violence on both ſides was the genuine effect of that never enough

(*) Who was better verſed in Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt.

(43) The whole tenour of this dedication appears indeed to be above Sir Richard's reach in church matters. Yet the Author, whoever he was, here confounds (affectedly perhaps) the difference between popiſh infallibility and proteſtant certainty.

(44) No. I. came out on Tueſday Feb. 25. that year.

(45) Oldmixon's life of Arthur Maynwaring, p. 193. who tells us, that he was courted at this time by that Lord to come into his meaſures.

for enquiring into the Eſtates forfeited by the late Rebellion in Scotland. This carried him into that part of the united kingdom, where how unwelcome a gueſt ſoever he might be to the generality, yet he received from ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry, the moſt diſtinguiſhing marks of reſpect (s), inſomuch that he began to turn his thoughts upon the much to be deſired, but hopeleſs project of perfecting the Union between the two kingdoms, by extending it to the policy in Church as well as State. In this view, he had frequent converſations with ſome of the Preſbyterian Miniſters [X], concerning the reſtoration of Epiſcopacy, the ancient church government of that nation; and often lamented this diviſion in the eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration, which ſtill ſerves to maintain a kind of alienation between the people. Sir Richard wiſhed well to the intereſts of Religion, and as he imagined that Union would promote it, he had ſome thoughts of propoſing it at Court; but that, as was likely, proved abortive (t). In 1718 he buried his ſecond wife, who had brought him a handſome fortune, and a good eſtate in Wales [Y]; but neither that, nor the ample additions lately made to his income, were ſufficient to anſwer his demands. The thoughtleſs vivacity of his ſpirit, often reduced him to little ſhifts of wit for its ſupport [Z]; and the Project of the *Fiſh-pool* this year, owed its birth chiefly to the Projector's neceſſities [AA]. The following year he oppoſed the remarkable Peerage bill in the Houſe of Commons,

(s) Morgan's Chron. Diary in the Hiſtorical Regiſter for this year.

(t) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, under our Author's article.

enough to be lamented miſchief of party-rage. And we ſhall ſee our Author himſelf preſently groaning under a perſecution from the ſame cauſe in ſome of his now applauded miniſtry.

[X] *He talked with ſeveral of the Scotch Miniſters.*] Among theſe was one Hart, with whom Sir Richard commenced a friendſhip, and afterwards honoured him with his correſpondence. This Hart he uſed to ſtile the Hangman of the Goſpel; for though he was a facetious good-natured man, yet he had fallen into a peculiar way of preaching what he called The Terrors of the Law, and denounced Anathemas from the Pulpit without reſerve. Our Knight alſo, during his ſtay in Scotland, indulged his genius in ſearching into the humours of low life. In which view, he prepared a ſplendid feaſt at Edinburgh, and ordered his ſervants to pick up all the beggars and poor people they could find in the ſtreets for his Gueſts. The Servants obeyed, and Sir Richard ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of forty or fifty beggars, together with ſome poor decayed Tradeſmen. After dinner he plied them with punch and wine; and when the frolick was ended, he declared, that beſides the pleaſure of filling ſo many empty bellies, he had learned humour enough to make a good Comedy (46).

(46) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. IV. p. 118.

[Y] *He buried his ſecond Wife.*] She died on the 26th of December this year, at the age of forty years, and was buried in Weſtminſter Abbey. Sir Richard had teſtified his great eſteem for her in the Dedication to her, prefixed to the third Volume of *The Lady's Library* while ſhe was living (47), and after her death he laments his loſs of her as the beſt Woman that ever man had, intimating that ſhe frequently lamented and pined at his neglect of himſelf (48). The account of her birth and family is given at the cloſe of this Memoir.

(47) Publiſhed in 1714 by him in three Volumes, 8vo.

(48) In the Theatre, No. XII. Tueſday, Feb. 9, 1720.

[Z] *He was often reduced to little witty ſhifts.*] Among many inſtances of Sir Richard's good nature, his kindneſs to the unfortunate Mr Savage, natural ſon to Earl Rivers, was none of the leaſt. He declared in this Gentleman's favour with all the ardor and benevolence which conſtituted his character, promoted his intereſt with the utmoſt zeal, related his misfortunes, applauded his merit, took all opportunities of recommending him, and aſſerted that the inhumanity of his mother had given him a right to call every good man his Father. He propoſed to eſtabliſh him in ſome ſettled ſcheme of life, and to have contracted ſome kind of alliance with him by marrying him to a natural daughter, on whom he intended to beſtow a thouſand pounds. But though he was always laviſh of his future bounties, he conducted his affairs in ſuch a manner, that he was very ſeldom able to keep his promiſes, or execute his own intentions. However, he gave Savage a certain allowance till the ſaid marriage ſhould be conſummated (49). During this ſtate of things, he once deſired Savage in 1718, with an air of the utmoſt importance, to come very early to his houſe the next morning, which Savage did, and found the chariot at the door, Sir Richard waiting for him, and ready to go out. What was intended, and whither they were to go, Savage could not conjecture, and was not willing to enquire, but immediately ſeated himſelf with Sir Richard in the chariot. The Coachman was ordered to drive, and they hurried with the utmoſt expedition to Hyde-Park Corner, where they ſtopped at a petty Tavern, and retired to a private room. Sir Richard then informed him, that he intended to publiſh a pamphlet, and that he had deſired him to come thither that he might write for him. They ſoon ſat down to the work; Sir Richard dictated, and Savage wrote, till the dinner that had been ordered was ſet upon table. Savage was ſurprized at the meanneſs of the entertainment, and after ſome heſitation, ventured to aſk for wine, which Sir Richard, not without reluctance, ordered to be brought. They then finiſhed their dinner, and proceeded on their pamphlet, which they concluded in the afternoon. Savage then imagined his taſk was over, and expected that Sir Richard would call for the reckoning; but he was deceived, for Sir Richard told him, that he was without money, and that the pamphlet muſt be ſold before the dinner was paid for. Savage was therefore obliged to go and offer their new production to ſale for two guineas, which, with ſome difficulty, he obtained. Sir Richard then returned home, having retired that day only to avoid his Creditors, and compoſed the pamphlet only to diſcharge his reckoning. This was related by Savage himſelf, who alſo told another equally uncommon ſhift as follows: Sir Richard having one day invited to his houſe a great number of perſons of the firſt quality, they were ſurprized at the number of Liveries that ſurrounded the table; and after dinner, when wine and mirth had ſet them free from the obſervation of rigid ceremony, one of them enquired of Sir Richard how ſuch an expenſive train of domeſtics could be conſiſtent with his fortune? Sir Richard frankly confeſſed, that they were fellows of whom he would very willingly be rid. And being then aſked, why he did not diſcharge them, he declared, that they were Bailiffs, who had introduced themſelves with an execution, and whom, ſince he could not ſend them away, he had thought it convenient to embelliſh with Liveries, that they might do him credit, whilſt they ſtaid. His friends were diverted with the expedient, and by paying the debt, diſcharged the Attendance; having obliged Sir Richard to promiſe, that they ſhould never find him again graced with a retinue of the ſame kind. It will be proper to inform the Reader, before we diſmiſs this remark, the ſubſtance of which was furniſhed by Mr Savage, that his marriage beforementioned with a natural daughter of Sir Richard, never took place; for during the delay occaſioned by waiting till our Knight could raiſe the promiſed Fortune, he was informed, that Savage had ridiculed him, at which he was ſo much exaſperated, that he withdrew the allowance that he had paid him, and never afterwards admitted him to his houſe (50).

(49) Plain Dealer by Aaron Hill, Eſq;

(50) Life of Richard Savage, p. 13—16.

[AA] *The Fiſh-pool.*] Sir Richard had a patent for this invention (51). By which it appears, that this veſſel was intended to carry fiſh alive, and without waſting, to any part of the kingdom. The project was promiſing enough in the theory, and he accordingly built himſelf up with great hopes of ſuch ſucceſs as would make a handſome fortune. He even comforted himſelf with the proſpect of making up the loſs of his patent for the playhouſe by the profits of it. 'I ſhall 'not whine longer, ſays he, in the concluſion of *The* '*Theatre* (†), about the hardſhips I have ſuffered, but 'advertiſe my friends and others, that, ſince a late judg-'ment in my favour concerning a certain ridiculed in-'vention, I want nothing but that men will ſupport 'a deſign of mine, by which they may divide ten per 'cent. ſix times a year, to be in poſſeſſion of a much 'greater income than any man living has merit enough 'to deſerve.' But, after all theſe towering hopes, the

(51) It was dated June 10, 1718.

(†) In Number XXVIII. which is the laſt of thoſe Papers.

Commons [*BB*], and during the course of this opposition to the Court, his Licence for acting Plays was revoked, and his Patent rendered ineffectual at the instance of the Lord Chamberlain. He did his utmost to prevent so great a loss [*CC*]. And finding every direct

the scheme proved a ruinous one to him; for, after he had been at immense expence in contriving and building his vessel, besides the charge of the patent, it appeared upon the trial to be a meer project. His intention was to bring salmon alive from the coast of Ireland, where that fish abounded, to London, where it was very scarce (52). But these fish, though supplied by this contrivance with a continual stream of water in crossing the sea, yet, not brooking the confinement, battered themselves to pieces against the sides of the pool, so that when they were brought to market, they fetched little money. The great cheapness of this fish at present in London, where it is sold for a shilling a pound, is owing to the extraordinary plenty of it caught in the Trent and Severn, especially this last season, whence it is brought to London in the Cirencester and Gloucester stage-coaches (53).

(52) It was usually sold there for 5*s.* a pound.

(53) This was written in 1755.

[*BB*] *He opposed the Peerage Bill.*] Upon this occasion he wrote the following letter to the Earl of Oxford.

'My Lord,

'I am very glad of the occasion wherein I have the 'good fortune to think the same way with your Lord-'ship, because I have very long suffered a great deal 'of pain in reflecting upon a certain virulence with 'which my zeal has heretofore transported me to treat 'your Lordship's person and character. I do protest to 'you, excepting in the first smart of my disgrace and 'expulsion out of the House of Commons, I never writ 'any thing that ought to displease you but with a re-'luctant heart, and in opposition to much good-will 'and esteem for your many great and uncommon talents. 'And I take the liberty to say thus publicly to yourself, 'what I have often said to others on the subject of my 'behaviour to you; I never had any other reason to 'lessen my Lord of Oxford than that which Brutus had 'to stab Cæsar, the love of my country. Your Lord-'ship will, I hope, believe, there cannot be a more 'voluntary unrestrained reparation made to a man, 'than that I make to you, in begging your pardon 'thus publicly for every thing I have spoken or written 'to your disadvantage, foreign to the argument 'and cause which I was then labouring to support. 'You will please to believe, that I could not be so 'insensible as not to be touched with the generosity 'of part of your conduct towards me, or have omitted 'to acknowledge it accordingly, if I had not thought 'that your very virtue was dangerous; and that it was '(as the world then stood) absolutely necessary to de-'preciate so adventurous a genius, surrounded with so 'much power as your Lordship then had. I trans-'gressed, my Lord, against you, when you could make 'twelve peers in a day; I ask your pardon, when you 'are a private nobleman; and, as I told you when 'I resigned the Stamp-office, I wished you all prosperity 'consistent with the public good; so now I congratulate 'you upon the pleasure you must needs have in looking 'back upon the true fortitude, with which you have 'passed through the dangers arising from the rage 'of the people, and the envy of the rest of the world. 'If to have rightly judged of mens passions and pre-'judices, vices and virtues, interests and inclinations, 'and to have waited with skill and courage for proper 'seasons and incidents to make use of them for a man's 'safety and honour, can administer pleasure to a man 'of sense and spirit, your Lordship has abundant cause 'of satisfaction. In confidence that you will accept of 'my sorrow and repentance for the unprovoked liberties 'I have taken in my former writings, I make you my 'patron in this present discourse on the greatest occasion 'that has perhaps ever happened in England. Your Lord-'ship will see I write in haste; and the necessity of pressing 'forward to be time enough to be of any use, will excuse 'the failures in style and expression. I shall therefore 'immediately fall into the matter of the bill; which 'I fear may change this free state into the worst of all 'tyrannies, that of an Aristocracy. I shall support 'my reasons for that terror by running through the 'several parts of it, and making it appear, that this 'is more likely than any other consequence that can 'be supposed will attend such a law as this would be. 'The whole tenour of it is very unfortunately put 'together, if any thing but an additional power to the 'peers is intended by it.'

Sir Richard is also said to be the author of a paper, written in opposition to the same bill, called *The Plebeian*, which was answered by Mr Addison in *The Old Whig*. Concerning which, we refer to this last gentleman's article (54), with this remark, that the Plebeian is ascribed by Mr Oldmixon (55) to William Benson, Esq; late one of the Auditors of the Imprest, the great venerator of Milton. (56).

(54) In Vol. I. p. remark [illegible] In History of England, &c. p. 675. Edit. 1735. Fol. See that author's article, Vol. V. remark [illegible] and in the text, p. 3127.

[*CC*] *He did all he could to prevent such a loss, &c.*] Our Author's pen, in every exigence, was an engine which, like Flavia's fan, was always ready at hand to serve the various purposes of the Engineer, and which, in the present case like that too, in raising a flame in every other breast, gave such a proper degree of coolness, as was necessary for preserving that gaiety of spirit, by which he had constantly procured the attention of the public. He opened his design in a Paper called *The Theatre*, with a display of the usefulness of the Stage, and the merit of good Actors in general. But he had proceeded on this general plan only a few weeks, when the first step was taken to perplex his government, by suspending Mr Colley Cibber, a principal Actor, and a Fellow-manager with him by the licence; he entered particularly into the defence of his character and merit. But this was cut very short by the succeeding direct measures that were taken to displace him Governor. A particular Account of which was immediately published, in a Letter from himself under his real name, to himself under the feigned name of Sir John Edgar, which he had assumed in this Paper, as follows.

'Sir,

'Your last Paper having descended to the case of 'particular men, who are concerned in the Theatre, 'I hope you will allow me the advantage of being 'represented to the Town by your means, and of con-'veying my thoughts to a Noble Person, who has 'forbid me, without any fault of mine, ever to ap-'proach him either by speech or writing, as long as we 'live; but you will understand me better by reading, 'what I know not how to convey to him, unless you 'will please to print it.

'My most honoured Lord and Patron,

'If your Grace believes that it is as great to undo 'as to make a man, I am the unhappy instrument in 'both kinds; and, if it is a gratification to you, I have 'some consolation in the wretched distinction of being 'the only man the Duke of Newcastle (*) ever injured. 'My high obligations to you temper my spirit; and, 'after some tumult of soul, and agony of the worst 'passions in it, I behold *you in the* pleasing *light you* 'have heretofore appeared to me. I make you allow-'ance for the disadvantage of youth and prosperity, 'and my benefactor covers my oppressor; as this last 'word must needs give offence to a noble nature, it 'stands upon me to make out my complaint, and shew 'all the world, for all the world will be curious in this 'case, as obscure as I am, for I have ceased to be so, 'since I have been distinguished by your Grace's dis-'pleasure. The patent which I have from his Majesty 'makes me the sole governor of a company of come-'dians for my life, and that franchise is to subsist in 'those who claim under me three years after my death; 'there is nothing in it, as to the bestowing part from 'the crown, but what are meer transcripts of the patent 'given by King *Charles II.* to Sir *William Davenant*; 'and, though I might have had it to myself as well as 'he, I made a conscience and scruple of asking for my 'heirs, an office that required a very particular turn 'and capacity to execute. It is not, my Lord, very 'common in Courts, for a man to ask less, when he 'knows he may obtain more; the very night I received 'it, I participated the power and use of it with relation 'to the profits, that should arise from it, between the 'gentlemen who invited me into the Licence upon his 'Majesty's happy accession to the throne; and it has 'flourished in all manner of respects to a degree un-'known in any former time. When your Grace came 'to be Chamberlain (57), from a generous design of 'making every office and authority the better for your 'wearing, your Grace was induced to send for me, 'and the other Sharers, and in an absolute manner 'offered

(*) The Earl of Clare was created Marquis of Clare and Duke of Newcastle August 2, 1715. Peerage of England, as before.

(57) He was made Chamberlain April [illegible] 1717. Sam. [illegible] Chron. Hist. under that year.

direct avenue of approach to his Royal Maſter effectually barred againſt him by his powerful Adverſary, he had recourſe to the method of applying to the public, in hopes that

' offered us a Licence, and demanded a reſignation of ' the Patent, which I preſumed as abſolutely to refuſe; ' this refuſal I made in writing, and petitioned the ' King for his protection in the Grant, which he had ' given me: this matter reſted thus for many months, ' and the next moleſtation we received, was by an ' Order, ſigned by your Grace, to diſmiſs Mr *Cibber*. ' The Actors obeyed, but I preſumed to write to your ' Grace againſt it, and expreſſed my ſorrow, that you ' would give me no better occaſion of ſhewing my duty ' but by bearing Oppreſſion from you; this freedom ' produced a meſſage by your Kinſman and Secretary, ' whom I treated with as much deference and reſpect, ' as any man living could do the *Duke of Newcaſtle* ' coming from the King. This meſſage was in your ' Grace's name, to forbid me ever to write, ſpeak, or ' viſit you more. The Gentleman, I dare ſay, has ' told you, and will tell you, that I anſwered him al- ' moſt in theſe very words:

' Sir, I beg of you to take notice of my Manner, ' my Voice, and my Geſture, when I anſwer to this ' ſevere Meſſage; and let the Duke of Newcaſtle know, ' that with the moſt profound ſubmiſſion and humility ' I received it, and proteſted to you, that I could have ' no meſſage from any Family, except the Royal one, ' that could give me half this mortification. If I have ' not fallen into phraſes, that ſpeak me truly ſorrowful ' and humble, uſe any you yourſelf can think of, which ' are more ſo, and you will then beſt expreſs my mean- ' ing. At the ſame time you may very truly ſay, that ' if any other man were Chamberlain, and ſhould ſend ' me ſuch a meſſage, my reply ſhould be as haughty ' as it is now humble.

' He left me with a farther declaration, that my ' Patent ſhould be proſecuted according to Law. I ' reſted as well ſatisfied as one who had loſt ſo powerful ' a friend could, from a ſecurity in a ſtill greater Power, ' that of the Laws of the Land; but I was ſoon after ' awakened out of this ſlumber, which was far from ' being an eaſy one, by hearing that your Grace had ' ſent for Mr *Booth*, and threatened a ſigned Manual, ' which muſt neceſſarily diſable me, as to my defence, ' before you would proceed againſt me according to ' Law. I did your Grace the Juſtice to think it im- ' poſſible for you to be prevailed upon to do that. ' I aſſure your Grace, the great name on the Top of ' the Paper, did not give me more Terror, than the ' name at the bottom did Sorrow. The Miniſter who ' ſubſcribes, is anſwerable for what the King writes. ' Our Laws make our Prince Author of nothing but ' favour to his ſubjects. My Patent cannot be hurt, ' except it can be proved, it was obtained *per decep- ' tionem*, as according to my duty, I am to believe ' this Order, for it does, by an artificial method in its ' effect, deſtroy by his ſigned Manual, what is granted ' by his Great Seal, which had been impoſſible to ' have been brought about, had the matter been fairly ' repreſented. All I could do, was to repreſent it by ' Petition, which I delivered in your Grace's preſence ' on Friday Night, the Prayer of which was: *Votre ' Suppliant donc prie très humblement vôtre Majeſté, qu'il ' ne recoive aucune Moleſtation, que par la Loye en juſte ' forme de Proces*; Your Petitioner therefore moſt hum- ' bly prays, he may not be any way moleſted but by ' due courſe of Law. I know not by what Accident ' it happened, that my Petition was never read, but ' the next news I heard was the Order of Revocation. ' But I muſt take the liberty to ſay, that his Majeſty ' muſt grant the Ruffians, mentioned in the laſt Pro- ' clamation, which is denied unhappy me, a Trial by ' due courſe of Law. The Revocation came on the ' Saturday, your Grace was ſo good as not to break ' the Sabbath upon me; but the ſufficient evil of this ' day, being Monday, is an Order of Silence. Your ' Grace will pleaſe to read them both over again, which ' are to this effect:

' Whereas by our Royal Licence, bearing date the ' 18th day of October, 1714, We did give and grant ' unto *Richard Steele* Eſq; now Sir *Richard Steele* Knt. ' Mr *Robert Wilks*, Mr *Colley Cibber*, Mr *Thomas ' Dogget*, and Mr *Barton Booth*, full power, licence, ' and authority, to form, conſtitute, and eſtabliſh a ' Company of Comedians. And having received In- ' formation of great miſbehaviours committed by our ' Company of Comedians now acting at the Theatre in ' *Drury-Lane*: Therefore for reforming the Come- ' dians, and for eſtabliſhing the juſt and ancient Autho- ' rity of the Officers of our Houſhold, and more eſ- ' pecially of our Chamberlain, We have thought fit ' to revoke the abovementioned Licence. And we do ' further (as much as in us lies, and as by Law we may) ' revoke and make void all other Licences, Powers, ' and Authorities whatſoever, and at any time hereto- ' fore given by us to the ſaid Sir *Richard Steele*, *Robert ' Wilks*, *Colley Cibber*, *Thomas Dogget*, and *Barton Booth*, ' or to any of them ſeverally. In purſuance of this ' your Grace proceeds thus:

' Whereas his Majeſty has thought fit, by his Letters ' of Revocation, bearing date the 23d day of January, ' 1719, (for divers weighty reaſons therein contained) ' to revoke his Royal Licence: For the effectual pre- ' vention of any future miſbehaviour, in obedience to ' his Majeſty's commands, I do, by virtue of my Office ' of Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, hereby ' diſcharge you the ſaid Managers and Comedians at ' the ſaid Theatre in Drury-Lane in Covent-Garden, ' from farther acting. Given under my hand and ſeal ' this 25th day of January, 1719.

' To the Gentlemen managing the Company of ' Comedians, at the Theatre in Drury-Lane in ' Covent-Garden, and to all the Comedians and ' Actors there.

' 'Tis obſervable, that though his Majeſty took ' great care to expreſs himſelf according to his gra- ' cious inclination, with much reſerve and care that ' nothing but the Law ſhould hurt his poor ſubject, in ' the words *as much as in us lies, and as by Law we may*, ' your Grace has been prevailed upon to ſupply the ' defective hardſhip. I ſhall not ſay more, or make ' ſtronger obſervations upon what you have ſigned; ' for my Love to you, will not let me call this an act of ' yours, as my duty to my Prince will not let me call ' it an act of his: I wiſh your Grace had been as care- ' ful as he in leaving me to the Law. But if you will ' allow me to aſk you one favour, before you have quite ' broke my heart and ſpirit; give me but the name of ' your Adviſer, that is to ſay, your Lawyer on this ' occaſion, and you ſhall ſee, that it is not for want of ' ſkill in life, that I am ſubjected to all the pains and ' puniſhments, to which thoſe wicked ones are expoſed, ' who are deſcribed by the monoſyllable, Poor. When ' I know who has made your Grace thus injure the beſt ' Maſter and beſt Servant that ever man had, I will ' teach him the difference between Law and Juſtice: ' he ſhall ſoon underſtand, that he who adviſes how to ' eſcape the Law, and do Injuſtice to his Fellow-ſubject, ' is an Agent of Hell; ſuch a man for a larger fee, ' would ſend a Dark-lanthorn to a Murderer, which ' would be but the ſame iniquity practiſed in a higher ' degree, that would be more cruel, but not more ' unjuſt. When I am ſure who he is, I ſhall with ' juſtice uſe him, as he does with injuſtice uſe me: I ' ſhall ſo far imitate him as to be within the Law, ' when I am endeavouring to ſtarve him; I hope he is ' Poor, by ſelling Poyſon to get himſelf food (58). ' But I fear I grow tranſported beyond the reſpect that ' is due to your Grace's preſence, and proteſt to you, ' in the moſt ſolemn manner, that rather than never to ' be well with you more, were myſelf and family only ' concerned in it, I would this moment reſign my Pa- ' tent, for any employment of leſs profit, that you would ' procure me: but my obligations to your Grace will ' not diſcharge thoſe, which I am under to the reſt of ' the world. I would not hurt any man now in *India*, ' for the favour of the greateſt man in *England*, or give ' up a Door-keeper of the Play-houſe to make myſelf: ' therefore your Grace I hope will forgive me, that to ' gratify you, I do not conſign to diſtreſs and poverty, ' above ſixty families, who all live comfortably, many ' of them plentifully, under my preſent Juriſdiction. ' When I reſign them, they may be governed by your ' Grace's Succeſſor in your office, as they have been by ' your Predeceſſor, according to humour and caprice, ' and not reaſon and juſtice. In their defence and my ' own, I deny all Allegations of voluntary neglect im- ' puted to me or them; or undue demands made upon ' the

(58) This Lawyer was Sir Thomas Pengelly, ſome time Chief Baron of the Exchequer Court, whoſe name he diſſects thus: *Pen* is the Welſh word for Head, *Guelt* the Dutch word for Money, which with the Engliſh word *Ly*, expreſs one, who turns his head to lye for money. The Theatre, No. IX and XI.

that his complaints would reach the Ear of his Sovereign, though in an indirect courſe, by that canal. In this ſpirit he formed the plan of a periodical Paper, to be publiſhed twice a week under the title of *The Theatre*; the firſt number of which came out on the 2d of January, 1719-20. In the mean time, the misfortune of being out of favour at Court, like other misfortunes, drew after it a train of more. During the courſe of this Paper, in which he had aſſumed the feigned name of *Sir John Edgar*, he was outraged by Mr *John Dennis*, the noted Critic, in a very abuſive pamphlet, entituled *The Character and Conduct of Sir John Edgar, called by himſelf Sole Monarch of the Stage in Drury-Lane; and his Three Deputy Governors, in two Letters to Sir John Edgar.* To this inſult, our Author made a proper reply in *The Theatre* [*DD*]. While he was ſtruggling with all his might to ſave himſelf from ruin, he found time to turn the ſame Engine, his Pen, againſt the miſchievous South-ſea Scheme [*EE*], which had nearly brought the nation to ruin in 1720. And the next year

'the ſubject by me or them; and ſhall always with 'ſafety to my honour, and duty to the reſt of the 'world, and no other reſerve, be,

'My Lord,

'Your Grace's moſt obliged,

'Moſt devoted and obedient humble Servant,

'Villars-Street,
'York-Buildings,
'Jan 25, 1719-20.

'Richard Steele (59).'

(59) The Theatre, No. VIII.

But this application proving ineffectual, he publiſhed ſoon after *The State of the Caſe between the Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and the Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians. With the opinions of* Pemberton, Northy *and* Parker *concerning the Theatre.* In this pamphlet he ſtates the account of his loſs by this proceeding, as follows:

	l.	s.	d.
Six hundred pounds a year for life, moderately valued, amounts to	6000	0	0
Three years after my life	1800	0	0
My ſhare in the ſcenes, ſtock, &c.	1000	0	0
The profit of acting my own plays already writ, or I may write	1000	0	0
Total £	9800	0	0

He then declares he never did one act to provoke this attempt, nor, ſays he, does the Chamberlain pretend to aſſign any direct reaſon of forfeiture, but openly and wittingly declares he will ruin Steele; 'which, in a 'man in his circumſtances againſt one in mine, is as 'great as the humour of Malagene, in the Comedy, 'who valued himſelf upon his activity in tripping up 'Cripples. All this is done againſt a man to whom 'Whig, Tory, Roman Catholic, Diſſenter, Native, 'Foreigner, owe zeal and good-will for good offices 'endeavoured towards every one of them in their Civil 'Rights, and their kind wiſhes for him are but a juſt 'return. But what ought to weigh moſt with his 'Lordſhip the Chamberlain, is my zeal for his Ma'ſter; of which I ſhall at preſent ſay no more than 'that his Lordſhip and many others may perhaps have 'done more for the Houſe of Hanover, than I have; 'but I am the only man in his Majeſty's Dominions, 'who did all he could (60).'

(60) State of the Caſe, &c. p. 30.

It is obſervable, that our Author's friend, Mr Walpole, was at this time in diſfavour at Court, having reſigned his Poſt of Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury on the 10th of April, 1717 (61), and was not replaced till April 2, 1721, preſently after which, viz. on the 18th of May following, Sir Richard was alſo reſtored to his Office of Comptroller of the Theatre (62).

(61) Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under that year.

(62) Ibid. under the year 1721.

[*DD*] *He made a proper reply in the Theatre.*] The impotence of the critic's attack was a ſubject juſtly provocative of mirth, a provocative which was very ſeaſonable to our Author, then groaning under ſuch a perſecution from the hand of real power, as had almoſt ſunk his native gaiety: but here he appears perfectly reſtored. 'The Defamer, ſays he of himſelf in the cha'racter of Sir John Edgar, has this phraſe in his firſt 'page: *Your black peruke and your duſky countenance*— 'This treatment of a viſage ſo well known is an im'pudence that tranſcends all example; and I have 'ordered new editions of his face after Kneller, Thorn'hill, and Richardſon, to diſabuſe mankind in this 'particular. He is painted by the firſt *reſolute*, by the 'ſecond *thoughtful*, and by the third *indolent*. Sir God'frey bewailed that Caracchio was not living when he 'ſat to him; and, when he took pencil in hand, re'peated this ſentence out of Mr *Steele*'s epiſtle to the 'Bayliff of Stockbridge: *He is gone but a little way in 'the courſe of virtue, who cannot bear reproach for her 'ſake.* You may obſerve a roughneſs in the portraiture 'from the rigor of that thought, which has occaſioned 'that moſt ladies chuſe Mr Richardſon's work rather 'than Sir Godfrey's (63).' In the ſame perfectly good humour he publiſhed afterwards the following adverteſment. *An eminent Turky-merchant and an ingenious Foreigner do hereby give notice, that if any perſon will diſcover the libeller or libellers, who has and have falſly and maliciouſly inſinuated in their writings, that Sir R——d S—le is ugly, ſo as he or they may be proſecuted by law, ſhall have all fitting encouragements; the ſaid gentlemen having loſt conſiderable matches by reaſon of the ſimilitude of their perſons to the ſaid injured Knight* (64).

(63) The Theatre, No. X.

(64) The Theatre, No. XVIII.

[*EE*] *He employed his pen againſt the South-ſea ſcheme.*] Upon this ſubject he wrote *The Criſis of Property; an argument proving, that the annuities for ninety-nine years, as ſuch, are not in the condition of other ſubjects of Great-Britain; but, by compact with the legiſlature, are exempt from any direction relating to the ſaid eſtates*; which was ſoon followed by *A Nation a Family; being the Sequel of the Criſis of Property; or a Plan for the Improvement of the South-ſea propoſals*; both publiſhed in Feb. 1720. He entered alſo into this ſubject in *The Theatre* for Tueſday February 16, the ſame year, where having, in defence of his ſtruggle to preſerve his patent according to the firſt plan of this paper, deſcanted upon the neceſſity of guarding againſt poverty by all warrantable means, by diſplaying the many calamities that were its attendants, he paſſes, by way of no very unnatural tranſition, to the unjuſtifiable means of doing it by the South-ſea ſcheme. This is the ſubject of a feigned viſit from himſelf, Sir John Edgar, to the injured Knight, Sir Richard Steele. In the concluſion of which, 'Sir 'John Edgar, ſays he, turned off the diſcourſe, by aſk'ing what thoſe papers were upon the table, which 'he told me, with a very grave face, were a calcu'lation he had made of the difference between a ſcheme 'of his for paying the debts of the nation, which he is 'printing in all haſte, and ſays will be for the advantage 'of the whole kingdom, and is built upon what he 'calls his firſt rule of politics, to wit, *A Nation a 'Family.* I told him, ſays Sir John Edgar with ex'quiſite humour, people would expect great things 'of him indeed upon that foundation, he had ſuch 'a reputation for œconomy. He pertly anſwered, 'I would provide for my family as it belongs to the 'nation, and not for the nation as if it belonged to my 'family. Let others ſerve the nation by taking care 'only of themſelves, I will ſerve it with contempt of 'any thing for myſelf, but what I will enjoy in com'mon with others. I ſuppoſe we ſhall ſee this, and 'a great deal more, too old-faſhioned even for me, 'in print within a few hours. I left him very much 'out of humour with him; and, in ridicule of his paying the public debts, before he had recovered his eſtate 'to pay his own, I placed the extemporary diſtich at the 'head of this preſent writing. This is-

'To make his publick ſpirit better known,
'He to the public debts poſtpones his own.
'Confeſs and avoid ——
'Culprit Civil (65).'

(65) The Theatre, No. XIV.

As the South-ſea ſcheme was not obtained without a proper conſideration given to the miniſtry, our Author's engine was apparently directed againſt it by the ſpirit of oppoſing the miniſtry which then oppreſſed him. *The Criſis of Property* was attacked in a pamphlet printed the ſame year under the title of *The Criſis of Honeſty, being an Anſwer to the* Criſis of Property; *in a Letter to Sir* Richard Steele. He took no notice in print of this anta-

year he was reſtored to his office and authority in the Play-houſe in Drury-Lane (r). Of this it was not long before he made an additional advantage, by bringing his celebrated Comedy, called *The Conſcious Lovers*, upon that Stage, where it was acted with prodigious ſucceſs in 1722. So that the receipt there muſt have been very conſiderable, beſides the profits accruing by the Sale of the Copy, and a Purſe of five hundred pounds given to him by the King (s), to whom he dedicated it. Yet notwithſtanding theſe ample recruits, about the year following, being reduced to the utmoſt extremity, he ſold his ſhare in the Play-houſe, and ſoon after commenced a Law-ſuit with the Managers, which in 1726 was determined to his diſadvantage [FF]. Having now again, for the laſt time, brought his fortune, by the moſt heedleſs profuſion, into a deſperate condition, he was rendered altogether incapable of retrieving the loſs, by being ſeized with a paralytic diſorder, which greatly impaired his underſtanding. In theſe unhappy circumſtances, he retired to his ſeat at *Languanor* near *Caermarthen* in Wales; where he paid the laſt debt to nature on the 21ſt of September, 1729, and was privately interred, according to his own deſire, in the Church of Caermarthen. Among his papers were found, the MSS. of two plays; one called *The Gentleman*, founded upon *The Eunuch of Terence*; and the other intituled *The School of Action*; both nearly finiſhed.

(r) On the 18th of May, 1721. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under that year.

(s) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, as before.

Sir Richard's firſt Wife was a Gentlewoman of *Barbadoes*, with whom he had a valuable Plantation there, on the death of her brother, who was taken by the French, at ſea, as he was coming to England, and died in France. After the death of this wife, without Iſſue, he married Mary the daughter of *Jonathan Scurlock* of Languanor in Caermarthenſhire, Eſq; by whom he had three children, a ſon named *Eugene*, and two daughters, *Elizabeth* and *Mary* (t). His ſon was ſome years under the care of Mr *Solomon Lowe*, of Blythe-Houſe in Hammerſmith, who gave him the character of a ſprightly lad, of fine parts; but not long after he was taken home to his Father's houſe in York-Buildings, being indulged (as his genius lay that way) in acting plays in the *Cenſorium* (u), his conſtitution was broke by frequent heats and colds, and the child loſt (w). His daughter Elizabeth, being the only one then living (*), was married young, in the end of May 1731, to the honourable John Trevor, then one of the Welſh Judges, and now Baron Trevor of Bromham, who hath Iſſue by her one daughter, named Diana (x). As Sir Richard was beloved when living, his loſs was ſincerely regretted at his death. He was a man of undiſſembled, and extenſive benevolence; a friend to the friendleſs, and, as far as his circumſtances would permit, the Father of every Orphan. His works are chaſt and manly; he himſelf admired Virtue, and he drew her as lovely as ſhe is. He celebrates a generous action, with a warmth that is only peculiar to a good heart. He was a ſtranger to the moſt diſtant appearance of Envy or Malevolence, never jealous of any man's growing reputation, and ſo far from arrogating any praiſe to himſelf from his conjunction with Mr *Addiſon*, that he was the firſt who deſired him to diſtinguiſh his Papers in the Spectator; and after the death of that Friend, was a faithful Guardian of his Fame, notwithſtanding an aſperſion which Mr Tickel was ſo unjuſt to throw upon him [GG]: Sir Richard's greateſt Error

(t) Memoirs of Sir Richard Steele, as before.

(u) So Sir Richard called his great room there.

(w) Gen. Dict. under Sir Richard's article.

(x) Collins's Peerage, under the article of Lord Trevor.

(*) Mary died in her Infancy.

(66) Which met Dec. 8th, and on the 12th, the Commons ordered, that the Directors of the South-ſea company ſhould forthwith lay before the Houſe an account of all their proceedings. Salmon's Chron. Hiſtory, under that year.

antagoniſt, being prevented probably by the ſudden cataſtrophe of the project, the iniquity of which became a parliamentary enquiry before the end of the year (66). Upon the whole, it was very lucky for Sir Richard's character, that he was thrown into the oppoſition both againſt the Peerage bill and the South-ſea ſcheme. The reputation he gained thereby as a patriot may be deemed a ſufficient ballance for whatever loſs he ſuſtained as a patentee.

[FF] *The ſuit ended to his diſadvantage.*] Mr Cibber is here again our authority, who begins his account thus. 'In all the tranſactions of life there cannot be a more 'painful circumſtance than a diſpute in law with a man 'with whom we have long lived in an agreeable amity. 'But when Sir Richard, proceeds he to get himſelf 'out of difficulties, was obliged to throw his affairs 'into the hands of lawyers and truſtees, upon that 'conſideration the friend and the gentleman had no 'more to do in the matter. Thus, whilſt Sir Richard 'no longer acted from himſelf, it can be no wonder 'if a flaw was found in our conduct for the law to make 'work with. About three years before the law-ſuit 'commenced, upon Sir Richard's total abſenting him-'ſelf from all care and management of the ſtage, which 'by our articles he was equally and jointly with us 'obliged to attend, we let him know that we could not 'go on at that rate; but that, if he expected to make 'the buſineſs a ſinecure, we muſt be paid for our extra-'ordinary care of it: we therefore intended to charge 'for it a ſalary of 11. 13s. 4d. every acting day for 'our management. To which in his compoſed man-'ner he anſwered, that to be ſure we knew what was 'fitteſt to be done better than he did; that he had 'always taken a delight in making us eaſy, and had 'no reaſon to doubt of our doing him juſtice; and he 'never once objected to, or complained of, this for near 'three years together. But, though no man alive can 'write better of œconomy, yet perhaps no man is more 'above the drudgery of practiſing it. He was often in 'want of money; and, while we were in friendſhip with 'him, we aſſiſted his occaſions: but this compliance had 'ſo unfortunate an effect, that it only heightened his im-'portunity of borrowing more; and the more we lent, 'the leſs he minded us, or ſhewed any concern for our 'welfare. Upon this we ſtopt our hands at once, and 'peremptorily refuſed to advance another ſhilling, till, 'by the ballance of our accounts, it became due to him. 'This treatment, though we hope not in the leaſt un-'juſtifiable, we have reaſon to believe ſo ruffled his 'temper, that he at once was as ſhort with us as we had 'been with him; for from that day he never came near 'us: nay, he not only continued to neglect what he 'ſhould have done, but did what he ought not to have 'done; he made an aſſignment of his ſhare without 'our conſent, in manifeſt breach of our agreement. 'Our part ſuffered by this neglect, ſince his rank and 'figure in the world were of extraordinary ſervice to us. 'The cauſe was heard before Sir Joſeph Jekyl; and 'the iſſue was, that, Sir Richard not having made any 'objection to what we had charged for management 'for three years together, as our proceedings had been 'all tranſacted in open day, without any clandeſtine 'intention of fraud, we were allowed the ſums in diſ-'pute abovementioned, and Sir Richard not being 'adviſed to apply to the Lord Chancellor, both parties 'paid their own coſts, and determined this ſhould be 'the laſt law-ſuit between them (67).'

(67) Cibber's Apology, p. 308.

[GG] *He ſhewed himſelf a guardian of Addiſon's fame againſt Tickel.*] Inſtances of this friendſhip to the memory of Mr Addiſon have been already mentioned, and ſufficiently enlarged upon in this work, to which places we muſt refer the reader (68), who, it is hoped, will excuſe ſome inaccuracies there too haſtily dropt, to the prejudice of Sir Richard's account of this friend's reaſons for quitting his deſign to enter into the prieſthood, which our Author aſcribes to the perſuaſions of Lord Halifax (69), and proves it againſt Mr Tickel, who had imputed this change to Mr Addiſon's ſerioufneſs and

(68) Vol. I. under Mr Addiſon's article.

(69) In the dedication of the Drummer, p. 12, 2d edition, publiſhed by Sir Richard.

Error was want of Oeconomy. However, he was certainly the moſt agreeable, and (if we may be allowed the Expreſſion) the moſt innocent rake, that ever trod the rounds of indulgence *(q)*.

(q) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, as before.

and modeſty, which repreſented the duties of the prieſtly office as too weighty for him, without taking notice of any other reaſon, and thereby manifeſtly inſinuating, that this, at leaſt, was the principal if not the ſole cauſe of the change. But this is utterly inconſiſtent with Sir Richard's account of it, which as plainly implies, that the principal if not the ſole cauſe of it came from Lord Halifax. Whence it is evident, that both the accounts cannot be true (70) in the full ſenſe and meaning of their reſpective Authors. In juſtice therefore to Sir Richard let it be allowed, as candour requires it ſhould, that his remark is not ill-grounded; and then we hope the charge of ill-nature in it may not be turned upon the critic, by reflecting too ſeverely, that *the ſeriouſneſs of the viſage* may fairly be underſtood to imply *the ſeriouſneſs of the temper* from which the viſage naturally takes its air.

(70) Addiſon's article, remark [E].

STILLINGFLEET [Edward], the late very learned Biſhop of Worceſter, was the ſeventh ſon of Samuel Stillingfleet Gent. deſcended from an ancient family [A], by Suſanna his wife, the daughter of Edward Norris of Petworth in Suſſex Gent. who was his godfather as well as grandfather, and from whom he received his name. He was born April the 17th 1635, at Cranbourn in Dorſetſhire; and educated from his tender years, in the grammar-ſchool of that place by Mr Thomas Garden, a man of eminence and character in his profeſſion: Under whom he made ſo conſiderable a progreſs, that he continued there till the time drew on, that it would be proper to ſettle him in the univerſity. In order whereunto, he was removed for a while to Ringwood in Hampſhire, with the view of an exhibition, given for ſuch Scholars as ſhould be elected thence to either of the Univerſities, by William Lynne Eſq; founder of that ſchool. From hence he was choſen at Midſummer 1648, and admitted the Michaelmaſs following into St John's college in Cambridge: and about ſix weeks after, on November the 8th, was admitted a Scholar of the houſe, at the nomination of the Earl of Saliſbury. In this ſtation he acquitted himſelf with ſuch applauſe, and was taken ſo much notice of for his ſingular ingenuity, and conſtant improvement of it by a diligent application to his ſtudies *(a)*; that no ſooner had he commenced Batchelor of Arts, which was in 1652 *(b)* [B], but the very next election, he was choſen Fellow of the college, and admitted as ſuch March the 31ſt 1653. About the year 1654, he withdrew a while from the univerſity to live at Wroxhall in Warwickſhire with Sir Roger Bourgoine, or Burgoigne, Bart. [C], a perſon of great piety, prudence, and learning, to whom he had been recommended by Dr Paman, one of the Fellows of his college. But, the year following, he removed to Nottingham, to be tutor to Francis, eldeſt ſon of the honorable Francis Pierrepont Eſq; brother to the Marquis of Dorcheſter. Here he began his *Irenicum (c)*, which was publiſhed in 1659 [D]. Mean time,

(a) Life and Character of Dr Edward Stillingfleet, Biſhop of Worceſter. Lond. 1710. 8vo. p. 8—10.

(b) From the Univerſity Regiſters.

(c) Life &c, as above, p. 11—14.

[A] *Deſcended from an ancient family.*] He was deſcended from the family of the Stillingfleets of Stillingfleet, about four miles from York, where his [namely Samuel's] grandfather John Stillingfleet Eſq; brother to Cuthbert Stillingfleet Abbot of York, had a fair eſtate (1).

(1) Life, &c. as above, p. 8.

[B] *That no ſooner had he commenced Batchelor of Arts.*] Whilſt he was Batchelor, he was appointed *Tripos*, and much applauded for his witty and inoffenſive ſpeech on that occaſion. But this did not take him off from his ſevere and more uſeful ſtudies (2).

(2) Life, &c. p. 10.

[C] *To live at Wroxhall in Warwickſhire with Sir Roger Burgoigne Bart.*] In what ſtation Mr Stillingfleet was there, whether as a Companion or Chaplain, we are not informed. However, he behaved himſelf extremely well, as appeared not only from Sir Roger's kindneſs to him whilſt in his family, but always by his unuſual reſpects to him when he made him viſits, and afterwards eſpecially by his preſenting him to the conſiderable Living of Sutton [3].

(3) See Life, p. 11.

[D] *Here he began his* Irenicum, *which was publiſhed in* 1659.] The whole title of this Book, is, 'Irenicum. 'A Weapon-Salve for the Churches Wounds, or the 'Divine Right of particular Forms of Church-Government diſcuſſed and examined according to the Princi- 'ples of the law of Nature, the poſitive Laws of God, 'the practice of the Apoſtles, and the Primitive Church, 'and the judgment of reformed Divines. Whereby 'a Foundation is laid for the Churches peace, and the 'accommodation of our preſent differences. Humbly 'tendered to conſideration.' In 1662 he put out a ſecond Edition, 'with an Appendix concerning the 'power of Excommunication in a Chriſtian Church.' 4to. The running title is, 'The divine Right of Forms 'of Church-Government, examined.' He hath divided it into two books. And, after having enquired, in the *firſt*, How far Church-Government is founded upon the Law of Nature; He proceeds in the *ſecond* to lay down theſe poſitions; That, of divine right, there muſt be ſome form of Government in the Church; and, That Church-government muſt be adminiſtered by officers of divine appointment. And then he ſhews, That Chriſt did not determine the Form of the Government of his Church by any poſitive Laws; That the Apoſtles, in ſettling the government of it, copied the Model of the Jewiſh Synagogue; That Epiſcopacy is owned as a human Inſtitution by the ſenſe of the Church; That, in all probability, the Apoſtles did not obſerve any one fixed courſe of ſettling Church-government; but ſettled it according to the ſeveral circumſtances of time, places, and perſons; That there is no foundation for Lay-Elders, either in Scripture or Antiquity; That Epiſcopacy is lawful; That no certain unalterable Form of Church-Government was obſerved in the primitive Church, as delivered down to them either by a law of Chriſt, or an univerſal Conſtitution of the Apoſtles; That the moſt eminent Divines of the Reformation did never conceive any one form neceſſary; Thoſe who look upon equality as the primitive Form, yet judge Epiſcopacy lawful; Thoſe who judge Epiſcopacy to be the primitive Form, yet look not on it as neceſſary .... 'The book 'is written with a great deal of Learning, Moderation, 'and wit in ſome parts, eſpecially the preface. It was 'eſteemed a maſter-piece (4):' and well it might be ſo, when it is conſidered that the Author was only twenty-four years of age at the time of its publication (5). Biſhop Burnet tells us, that it 'took with many; but 'was cried out upon by others as an attempt againſt 'the Church. Yet the argument was managed with 'ſo much learning and ſkill, that none of either ſide 'ever undertook to anſwer it ..... The writing of it 'was a great ſnare to the Author: For, to avoid the 'imputations which that brought upon him, he not 'only retracted the book, but he went into the humours 'of a high ſort of people, beyond what became him, 'perhaps beyond his own ſenſe of things.'——— He was obliged more than once to make a kind of Apology for it. Thus, in one place (6), he 'profeſſes 'to have publiſhed it, hoping by it to bring over thoſe 'to a compliance with the Church of England (then 'like to be re-eſtabliſhed) who ſtood off upon the ſup- 'poſition that Chriſt had appointed a Preſbyterian 'Government to be always continued in his Church, 'and therefore thought Prelacy was to be deteſted as 'an

(4) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 265.

(5) Life, p. 15.

(6) Ep. Ded. to an Ordination Sermon preached at St Peter's Cornhill, March 15, 1684-5.

time, he took his Maſter of Arts degree in 1656 (d), as ſoon as he was of proper ſtanding; and was incorporated in the ſame at Oxford, June 14, 1677 (e). He had not been above two years at Nottingham, when he was called back from thence by his worthy patron Sir Roger Burgoigne, who preſented him, in 1657, to the Rectory of Sutton in Bedfordſhire [E]. Before he was inſtituted to it he received epiſcopal orders from Dr Brounrig, the then ejected Biſhop of Exeter. In this cure he performed all the duties of a moſt diligent and faithful Paſtor; and there he compoſed his very learned book intituled *Origines Sacræ*, printed in 1662 (f) [F]: Which ſo recommended him to the favour of his dioceſan, Biſhop Sanderſon, that he granted him, October the 16th 1662, the ſingular privilege of a Licenſe to preach the word of God throughout his dioceſe of Lincoln (g). It alſo procured him ſuch eſteem amongſt the reſt of the learned world, that Dr Henchman Biſhop of London employed him to write a Vindication of Archbiſhop Laud's conference with Fiſher the Jeſuit [G]. The reputation of theſe excellent performances was the occaſion of his being choſen by Sir Harbottle Grimſton Preacher at the Rolls-Chapel; which obliging him to be in London in Term-time, was a fair introduction to his ſettlement in that noble city (h). And it followed ſoon after; for in January 1664-5, he was preſented by Thomas Earl of Southampton to the great living of St Andrew's Holbourn; to which he was inſtituted the 21ſt of March (i). He kept notwithſtanding his office of Preacher at the Rolls: And was choſen Lecturer at the Temple, where for ſeveral years he preached in the afternoon before thoſe learned and venerable Societies; which procured him the acquaintance and friendſhip of the moſt eminent men in the law (k). On the 9th of February, 1666-7, he was collated by Biſhop Henchman to the Prebend of Iſledon, or Iſlington, in the church of St Paul's (l). Having taken in 1663 the degree of Batchelor of Divinity, he commenced in 1668 Doctor in that faculty (m); at which time he was perſuaded to keep the public Act [H]. And having been for ſome time Chaplain to King Charles II, his

(d) From the University Regiſters.

(e) Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. edit. 1721. col.

(f) Life &c. p. 14, &c.

(g) Regiſt. R. Sanderſon Ep. Linc.

(h) Life &c. p. 18, 19.

(i) Newcourt, Repertor. Vol. I. p. 275.

(k) Particularly Sir Matth. Hale, the Lord Chief Juſtice Vaughan &c. See Life, p. 21.

(l) Newcourt in the ſame Volume, p. 168.

(m) From the Univerſity Regiſters.

(7) Several conferences between a Romiſh Prieſt, a Fanatick Chaplain, &c. p. 148.

(8) See his Life, p. 12, 13.

(9) Life, &c. p. 14.

(10) p. 16, 17.

(11) Life, p. 18, 19.

(12) Dedication of the Rule of Faith to Dr Stillingfleet.

' an unlawful Uſurpation: . . . and it did not want ' ſucceſs that way both here and in a neighbour king- ' dom.' . . . In another place (7), he ſpeaks of it thus, in the perſon of P. D. . . ' I believe there are many ' things in it, which if Dr Stillingfleet were to write ' now, he would not have ſaid: For there are ſome ' which ſhew his Youth and want of due conſideration; ' others which he yielded too far, in hopes of gaining ' the Diſſenting Parties to the Church of England; ' but upon the whole matter, I am fully ſatisfied the ' Book was written with a deſign to ſerve the Church ' of England. . . . . He ſays further, I dare challenge ' any man to produce one paſſage in the whole Book ' that tendeth to encourage Faction or Schiſm, or op- ' poſition to the Church of England, but on the con- ' trary, I endeavoured to recommend the Epiſcopal ' Government, as having the advantage of all others, ' and coming neareſt to Apoſtolical practice.' Upon the whole, it muſt be acknowledged by all, to contain a maſs of Learning abundantly beyond what could have been expected at his years, and which few, if any, of his contemporaries, could pretend to equal (8).

[E] *Who preſented him, in 1657, to the Rectory of Sutton in Bedfordſhire.*] One of the Seats of Sir Roger's family being here, might make him the more ſollicitous to place a ſerious, ingenious, pious, and prudent perſon there, to be both a good neighbour, and ſuitable companion for himſelf, as well as a watchful and ſkilful guide of ſouls. And of whom could he more fitly make choice upon ſuch an occaſion, than of Mr Stillingfleet, whom he had ſo thoroughly known, and of whoſe character and abilities he was ſo fully ſatisfied, by his own converſation with, and experience of him, at Wroxhall (9)?

[F] *Origines Sacræ, &c.*] The whole title of it is, ' *Origines Sacræ*: Or a rational Account of the Chriſtian ' Faith, as to the Truth and Divine Authority of the ' Scriptures, and the matters therein contained.' Lond. 1662. 4to. The compiler of his life juſtly obſerves (10), that this was ' a work of great extent, and variety ' of admirable learning, and written with ſuch perſpi- ' cuity of expreſſion, ſuch ſolidity of judgment and ' ſtrength of argument, that it would have been de- ' ſervedly eſteemed a moſt compleat performance for ' one of more than twice his age: And ſo it was thought ' by a moſt excellent judge; for when he appeared at a ' Viſitation before his dioceſan, Biſhop Sanderſon, the ' Biſhop ſeeing ſo young a man, could hardly believe ' it was Mr Stillingfleet, whom as yet he only knew ' by his Books; and afterwards, when he had embraced ' him, ſaid, " He much rather expected to have ſeen one " as conſiderable for his age, as he had already ſhewn " himſelf for his learning;" It having always been ' juſtly eſteemed one of the beſt Defences of revealed ' Religion that ever was extant in our own or any other ' Language. And it ſhewed the early ripeneſs of his ' Underſtanding, and that he had attained to the Know- ' lege of the Aged, when himſelf was yet but very ' young, he being but about twenty-eight years old ' at the time of its publication. An excellent work in ' its kind! but which would have been ſtill much ' improved, had God granted him a longer life: A large ' *ſpecimen* whereof is to be ſeen in the Folio editions of ' that work, printed ſince his deceaſe, which was to ' have made part of the Firſt Volume; for he deſigned ' to have publiſhed it in ſeveral parts in 8vo, and had ' ſo well conſidered it, as to have gone on writing and ' printing as faſt as ever health and buſineſs would have ' permitted him.' The Specimen here referred to, is printed at the end of the folio Editions of *Origines Sacræ*; and bears this further title. " Or, a Rational Account " of the Grounds of Natural and Revealed Religion: " wherein the Foundations of Religion, and the Au- " thority of the Scriptures, are aſſerted and cleared. " With an Anſwer to the modern Objections of Atheiſts " and Deiſts. In five Books." But it contains only Two Chapters of Book I. of the intended work; and pages 116.

[G] *A Vindication of Archbiſhop Laud's Conference with Fiſher the Jeſuit.*] The book written againſt Archbiſhop Laud's Conference was intituled, ' *Labyrinthus Cantua-* ' *rienſis*, or Dr Laud's Labyrinth.' By T. C. It was ſaid to be printed at Paris, 1658, but did not appear abroad till 1663.——Mr Stillingfleet's Anſwer was named, I. ' A Rational Account of the Grounds of the ' Proteſtant Religion; being a Vindication of the Lord ' Archbiſhop of Canterbury's *Relation of a Conference* ' *between him and John Fiſher*, from the pretended ' Anſwer of T. C.' Lond. 1664. fol. In this book, he ſo evidently manifeſted what are the true Grounds of Faith, and where, and on which ſide, the Schiſm between us and the Church of Rome lies; and what Corruptions have been introduced by, and are conſtantly maintained among thoſe of that Communion; as effectually ſilenced the Adverſary, and did not a little advance Mr Stillingfleet's reputation. He wrote his Anſwer at Sutton, and made ſuch diſpatch, that, beſides conſtant attendance on the duties of the place, he ſent up of that elaborate work ſix or ſeven ſheets a week to the preſs (11). Dr Tillotſon gives this juſt and true character of it, that he found it in every part anſwerable to its title, viz. A *Rational Account*, &c. (12).

[H] *At which time he was perſuaded to keep the public Act.*] And he did it with univerſal applauſe, on account of his fluency in the Latin tongue, his quickneſs of reply, and his powerful vindication of the poſitions he undertook to maintain: which were theſe, 1. *Ratio ſecundi Præcepti in Decalogo eſt immutabilis*, i. e. The reaſon or ground, of the ſecond Commandment in the Decalogue is immutable. 2. *Exiſtentia τῦ Λόγε ab æterno conſtat ex initio*

his Majesty constituted him, in 1670, Canon Residentiary of St Paul's [*I*]. On the 11th of October 1672, he exchanged his Prebend of Islington for that of Newington in the same church (*n*). And, to bring some of his other preferments together, May the 4th 1677, he was made by King Charles Archdeacon of London, upon the promotion of Dr Lamplugh to the See of Exeter: Moreover, being nominated Dean of St Paul's, he was elected January 16, 1677-8 (*o*). But to return to his learned writings; he published in 1669 some Sermons: one of which being 'concerning the Reason of Christ's suffering for us,' engaged him in a controversy with the Socinians [*K*]. He was also engaged soon after in a controversy with the Papists [*L*]. And he moreover exerted himself in writing against them in King James the Second's reign [*M*]; which he did with such an exactness and liveliness, that no

(n) Newcourt, as above, p. 189.

(o) Idem, p. 64, 53.

initio Evangelii secundum S. Johannem, i. e. The eternal Existence of the *Logos*, or Word, is plainly manifest from the beginning of St John's gospel (13).

(13) Life, p. 24, 25.

[*I*] *His Majesty constituted him, in* 1670, *Canon Residentiary of St Paul's.*] The recommendation sent by his Majesty, on that occasion, to the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's, is so much in the Doctor's praise, that we shall mention part of it. It begins thus. '*Cha. R.* Trusty and 'well-beloved, we greet you well. Our well-deserving 'and well-beloved subject and chaplain *Edward Stilling-*'*fleet*, Doctor in Divinity, hath by his learned writings 'done such eminent service for the Church of England 'in particular, and the defence of the Christian Truth 'in general, that we think ourselves bound to give 'him all fitting encouragement, and therefore we are 'graciously pleased to recommend [him] unto you in 'very especial manner, and further to will and require 'that you elect and admit Him the said &c. Given 'at our Court at Whitehall the 9th of June 1670 (14).'

(14) Life, p. 22.

[*K*] *Engaged him in a controversy with the Socinians.*] One of them having reflected upon the doctrine of this sermon, and made at the same time unworthy reflections upon the rulers of our Church, as if they had countenanced and encouraged the Socinian doctrine; our learned Author published, II. 'A Discourse concerning 'the true Reason of the Sufferings of Christ, in con-'futation of Crellius's Answer to Grotius.' Wherein he justly exposes the Socinian method of interpreting Scripture, particularly by a witty parallel between the first chapter of Genesis, and the first of St John's gospel. He also seriously considers the nature and end of our Saviour's sufferings, and removes the Socinian objections against their merit, and the reason we have to expect Salvation by them. After his death there was published, III. A second part to this book of Satisfaction; occasioned by an Appeal from the Dissenting Ministers to him, touching some Differences among themselves about that point. There are in this several of their Letters, with his Answers, and then a fuller examination of the grounds of the controversy (but not quite finished) wherein he judiciously states and explains the points between them, and as strenuously vindicates that necessary doctrine of satisfaction from the Antinomian notion and consequences of it, as he had before done from the Socinian (15).——The first of these Discourses was reprinted in 1696, with this title, 'A Discourse 'concerning the Doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction; or 'the true Reasons of his Sufferings; with an Answer 'to the Socinian objections. To which is added a 'Sermon concerning the Mysteries of the Christian 'Faith; preached April 7, 1691. With a Preface 'concerning the True State of the Controversie about 'Christ's Satisfaction.' Lond. 1696. 8vo. The Sermon was preached at the Tuesday Lecture at St Lawrence Jewry, upon 1 Tim. i. 15.——He published also a Defence of it, or IV. 'A Discourse in Vindication of 'the Trinity: with an Answer to the late Objections 'against it from Scripture, Antiquity, and Reason. 'And a Preface concerning the different Explications 'of the Trinity, and the tendency of the present Soci-'nian Controversie.' The Preface is dated Worcester, Sept. 30. 1696 (16).... And some Reflections being made on this last Treatise, he wrote an Answer to them (17).

(15) Life, p. 26, 27, 28.

(16) See his Life, p. 78, &c.

(17) See below, note [*W*].

[*L*] *He was also engaged soon after in a Controversy with the Papists.*] The several pieces he now writ against them, were, V. 'A Discourse concerning the Idolatry 'practised in the Church of Rome, and the hazard of 'Salvation in the Communion of it: in answer to some 'Papers of a Revolted Protestant. Wherein a parti-'cular account is given of the Fanaticisms and Divi-'sions of that Church.' Lond. 1671. 8vo. VI. 'An 'Answer to several late Treatises occasioned by a Book 'entituled, A Discourse concerning the Idolatry prac-'tised in the Church of Rome, and the hazard of Sal-'vation in the Communion of it. Part I.' 8vo. VII. 'A Second Discourse in Vindication of the Protestant 'Grounds of Faith against the pretence of Infallibility 'in the Roman Church, in Answer to *The Guide in* 'Controversie, by R. H. and against *Protestancy with-*'*out Principles*, and *Reason and Religion*; *or the certain* '*Rule of Faith*, both written by E. W. with a parti-'cular Enquiry into the Miracles of the Roman Church.' Lond. 1673. 8vo. VIII. 'A Defense of the Discourse 'concerning the Idolatry practised in the Church of 'Rome, in Answer to a Book entituled *Catholicks no* '*Idolaters*.' 8vo. IX. 'An Answer to Mr Cressy's 'Epistle Apologetical to a Person of Honour, touching 'his Vindication of Dr Stillingfleet.' Lond 1675. 8vo. The Epistle Ded. is dated London, Nov. 14, 1674. The *Person of Honour* here mentioned, was Edward Earl of Clarendon, who wrote '*Animadversions on a Book* *entit.* Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church by Dr Stillingfleet, and the imputation refuted and retorted, *by Ser. Cressy*.' Lond. 1674. 8vo. X. 'Several Conferences between a Romish Priest, a Fa-'natick Chaplain, and a Divine of the Church of 'England, concerning several Points both of Doctrine 'and Practice, chiefly relating to the Sin of Idolatry; 'and more especially these four, The Idolatry of the 'Church of Rome, and the Consequences of the 'Charge of Idolatry; the Nature of Idolatry, and a 'Parallel between the Heathen and Romish Idolatry; 'being a full Answer to the late Dialogues of T. G.(18).' Lond. 1679. 8vo. XI. 'A Letter to Mr G. giving a 'true Account of a late Conference at the D. of P's.' [i. e. Dean of St Paul's.] XII. 'A Second Letter to 'Mr G. in Answer to two Letters lately published con-'cerning the Conference at the D. of P's.' He also published at the end of Dr Tillotson's Rule of Faith, XIII. 'A Reply to Mr J. S. [Serjeant] his Third Ap-'pendix, containing some Animadversions on our 'learned Author's *Rational Account* &c.' . . . XV. And, in another Postscript, he examined a Treatise called *Diaphanta*, said to have been written by the Author of *Fiat Lux*. . . . Likewise he republished, with a learned Preface, XVI. 'The Jesuits Loyalty manifested in three 'several Treatises, lately written by them (19) against 'the Oath of Allegiance.' From which it appears, that the Government can have no real security from them, so long as they refuse to renounce the Pope's power of deposing Princes, and absolving subjects from their Allegiance. To which are subjoined three other Tracts, viz. 1. The Execution of Justice in England, not for Religion, but for Treason. Dated Dec. 17, 1583, and penned by the Lord Treasurer Burleigh. 2. Important Considerations; tending to prove, that Queen Elisabeth's proceedings against the Catholicks, since the beginning of her reign, were both mild and merciful. 3. The Jesuits Reasons unreasonable: or Doubts proposed to the Jesuits upon their Paper presented to divers Persons of Honour for Non-exception from the common Favour voted to Catholicks. This last had been printed at London in 1662. 4to.——— One of the chief Pieces written by the Catholicks against Dr Stillingfleet, was printed at Paris, with this title, 'A just Discharge to Dr Stillingfleet's unjust Charge of 'Idolatry against the Church of Rome. With a Dis-'covery of the Vanity of his late Defence, in his pre-'tended Answer to a Book entituled Catholicks no 'Idolaters. By way of Dialogue between Eunomius, 'a Conformist, and Catharinus, a Nonconformist. In 'three parts.' 1677. 8vo.

(18) I. e. Godden.

(19) In K. James the First's time.

[*M*] *And he, moreover, exerted himself against them in King James the Second's reign.*] He published then, XVII. 'An Answer to some Papers lately printed, con-'cerning the Authority of the Catholick Church in 'matters of Faith, and the Reformation of the Church 'of England.' Lond. 1686. 4to. The Papers an-swered in this Tract, were said to be written by King Charles II, and found in his strong box. J. Dryden the poet, newly converted to Popery, writ a Defence of

(p) Bishop Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1753. 8vo. Vol. I. p. [illegible]

(q) Ibid.

no books of controversy were so much read and valued, as his were (p). In the opinion of Bishop Burnet (q), 'he wrote against Infidelity beyond any that had gone before him.' One of his pieces in that kind, was, 'A Letter to a Deist, in answer to several Objections 'against the Truth and Authority of the Scriptures [N].' The Dissenters having attacked a Sermon of his, preached in 1680, it occasioned his publishing The Unreasonableness of Separation [O]. And, about the same time, upon the contest that arose in the House of Lords, about the Bishops Right of voting in capital cases; he wrote his very learned treatise of The Jurisdiction of the Bishops in capital cases (r) [P]. In 1685, he published, *Origines*

(r) Life, p. 48, 49.

of them. Whereupon, our learned Author wrote XVIII. 'A Vindication of the Answer to some late 'Papers concerning the Unity and Authority of the 'Catholick Church, and the Reformation of the Church 'of England.' Lond. 1686. 4to. XIX. 'The Doc- 'trines and Practices of the Church of Rome *truly re-* 'presented, in answer to a Book intituled *A Papist mis-* 'represented and represented.' Lond. 1686. 4to. XX. 'The Doctrine of the Trinity and Transubstantiation 'compared as to Scripture, Reason, and Tradition, 'in a new Dialogue between a Protestant and a Papist. 'Part I. wherein an Answer is given to the late Proofs 'of the Antiquity of Transubstantiation in the books 'called, *Consensus Veterum*, and *Nubes Testium*.' XXI. 'The Doctrine of the Trinity and Transubstantiation 'compared as to Scripture, Reason, and Tradition. 'Part II. wherein the doctrine of the Trinity is shewed 'to be agreeable to Scripture and Reason, and Tran- 'substantiation repugnant to both.' XXII. 'Scrip- 'ture and Tradition compared, in a Sermon preached 'at Guildhall-Chapel, the 27th of November, 1687.' XXIII. 'A Discourse concerning the Nature and 'Grounds of the Certainty of Faith; in answer to 'John Serjeant's Catholick Letters.' Lond. 1688. 4to. XXIV. 'The Council of Trent examined and dis- 'proved by Catholick Tradition in the main points in 'controversy between us and the Church of Rome; 'with a particular Account of the Times and Occa- 'sions of introducing them. Part I. To which is 'prefixed a Preface, containing the true sense of the 'Council of Trent and the notion of Transubstantia- 'tion.' Lond. 1688. 4to. XXV. 'An Appendix, 'in answer to some passages of J. W. of the Society of 'Jesus concerning the Prohibition of Scripture in vulgar 'Languages in the Council of Trent.' Lond. 1688. 8vo. XXVI. 'No Catholick Tradition for Seven Sa- 'craments.' XXVII. 'Against the Doctrine of In- 'dulgences.'——On account of our learned Author's zeal against Popery, and his unanswerable confutation of it; we are told, that he received several threats, and more than once had notice of barbarous designs formed against himself; notwithstanding which, he undauntedly went on doing what he thought his duty (20).

(20) See his Life, p. 143.

[N] *A Letter to a Deist, in answer to several Objections against the Truth and Authority of the Scriptures.*] He styles it otherwise, 'A Letter of Resolution to a 'Person unsatisfied about the Truth and Authority of 'the Scriptures.' And he says in the Preface, that it 'was written for the satisfaction of a particular Person, 'who owned the Being and Providence of God, but 'expressed a mean Esteem of the Scriptures, and the 'Christian Religion.' 'Tis dated at the end, June 11, 1675, but was not published till 1677. Lond. 8vo. without the Author's name.

[O] *The Dissenters having attack'd a Sermon of his, preached in* 1680, *it occasioned his publishing The Unreasonableness of Separation.*] That Sermon was preached at Guildhall-Chapel, before the Lord Mayor &c. the first Sunday of Easter-term, on Phil. iii. 16. And the occasion of it, as he tells us himself (21), was this. The Dissenters growing loud in their groundless clamours against the Church of England, as Popishly affected; and one of the principal leaders of them (Mr Baxter) having published two pernicious books, the one called *A Plea for Peace*, but which far better deserved the title of a Plea for Disorder and Separation; the other, *The true and only way of Concord of all Christian Churches*, but fraught with such impracticable notions, and dividing principles, as though his whole design had been to prove, that there is no true way of concord among Christians: .... 'Since by the means 'of such books, (adds he) the Zeal of so many people 'was turned off from the Papists against our Church, 'I saw a plain necessity, that either we must be run 'down by the impetuous Violence of an enraged, but 'unprovoked Company of Men; or we must venture 'ourselves to try whether we could stem that Tide, 'which we saw coming upon us.' ..... He thought it therefore neither improper nor unseasonable to perswade Protestants to Peace and Union at any time, especially at such a time as that when things were in such a dangerous fermentation (22): And the whole drift of his Sermon was, to dissuade the Dissenters from the established Church to quit their needless and destructive Separation; shewing, that according to the judgment of divers even amongst themselves, a Conformity to our Church's worship was not unlawful, and by consequence their Separation must be sinful and dangerous, and what they ought therefore all to desist from, as they would consult the honour of God and Religion, the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church, and would prevent the great Designs of our other Enemies, and leave the Protestant Religion established here to posterity. But several of the Dissenters, especially those three of principal note among their leaders, Dr Owen, Mr Baxter, and Mr Alsop, instead of a thankful acknowledgment for his intended kindness, set themselves to write against him (23), and some of them in a very indecent manner. Which unsuitable return of theirs had only this effect, that it produced his excellent Vindication of our Church, intituled, XXVIII. 'The unreasonableness of Separation: or an 'impartial Account of the History, Nature, and Pleas 'of the present Separation from the Communion of 'the Church of England. To which several late 'Letters are annexed of eminent Protestant Divines 'abroad, concerning the Nature of our Differences, 'and the way to compose them.' Lond. 1681 and 1683. 4to.

(21) Preface to the Unreasonableness of Separation &c. p. 36. &c.

(22) On account of the discovery of the Popish Plot.

(23) J. Troughton wrote also against him. See Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 687. and 952.

[P] *And, about the same time, upon the contest that arose in the House of Lords, about the Bishops Right of voting in capital cases, he wrote his treatise of The Jurisdiction of the Bishops &c.*] That contest was occasioned by the prosecution of Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, as is abundantly manifest from our Historians, to whom the reader is referred (24). Many books were then written on both sides, concerning the point, whether the Bishops ought to be permitted to attend at that trial; and whether they can vote in the preliminaries in trials of treason. Denzil Lord Holles, in particular, wrote 'A Letter, ... shewing that the Bishops are not to be 'Judges in Parliament in Cases capital.' Printed in 1679. 4to. In opposition to whom Dr Stillingfleet published, XXIX. 'The grand Question concerning 'the Bishops Right to vote in Parliament in Cases 'capital, stated and argued from the Parliament-Rolls 'and the History of former Times; with an Enquiry 'into their Peerage, and the Three Estates in Parlia- 'ment.' 8vo. (25)... Bishop Burnet rightly observes, that 'Dr Stillingfleet gave upon this occasion a great 'proof of his being able to make himself the master 'of any argument which he undertook: For after 'the lawyers, and others conversant in parliament- 'records, in particular the Lord Hollis, who undertook 'the argument with great vehemence, had writ many 'Books about it, he published a treatise that discovered 'more skill and exactness in judging those matters than 'all that had gone before him. And indeed he put an end 'to the controversy in the opinion of all impartial men. 'He proved the right that the Bishops had to vote in 'those preliminaries beyond contradiction in my opi- 'nion, both from our records, and from our consti- 'tution (26).'... The writer of our Author's Life also observes, that this 'Anonymous Answer much sur- 'prized the world upon a double account. For first, 'it was not expected that a Divine, and one who, 'besides the business of a great parish, had been long 'engaged in Controversies of Divinity, and had his 'time thereby taken up in writing many excellent Books 'in his own profession, should have been so perfectly 'well versed in the ancient Constitution and Usages of 'Parliament, as well as the common and statute Laws 'of the land, as he here shewed himself to be. As 'neither in the second place, was it to be thought, 'he could have so dextrously changed his style, which 'is

(24) See History of England by Echard, Kennet, Oldmixon &c. particularly Burnet's History of his own Time, ed. 8vo. Vol. II. p. 90. &c.

(25) It is inserted in the Second Part of his Ecclesiastical Cases, ed. 1704. 8vo. p. 225, &c.

(26) Burnet's History of his own Time, ed. 1753. 8vo. Vol. II. p. 93.

Origines Britannicæ, or, The Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches [Q]; a book full of his uſual great Learning, and very extenſive reading. Having been ſummoned to appear before King James's Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, he drew up a Diſcourſe concerning the Illegality of that Commiſſion [R]; which however he did not publiſh till 1689 (s). Beſides his other preferments, he was Canon of the twelfth ſtall in the church of Canterbury (t); and Prolocutor of the lower Houſe of Convocation, for a long time together, in the reigns of King Charles and King James the Second (u). At the Revolution, due regard was paid to his merit: For he was advanced to the Biſhopric of Worceſter, vacant by the death of Dr William Thomas; to which he was conſecrated October 13, 1689 (w). In this eminent ſtation he behaved in the moſt worthy and exemplary manner; and endeavoured to reform and inſtruct his whole Dioceſe by his learned Charges [S], and to correct all Abuſes in his Courts, wherein he often preſided (x). As a member of the Upper Houſe of Parliament, he appeared to great advantage in ſeveral Debates there [T]. Soon after his promotion to his Biſhopric, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for reviewing the Liturgy; and he examined every word in the new Collects, then compoſed with the exacteſt judgment (y). In 1694, there was an intention of advancing him to the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury, vacant by the death of Archbiſhop Tillotſon [V]. His old adverſaries the Socinians ſpreading about their pernicious pamphlets [W], he thought it his duty

(s) It is printed in the Second Part of his Eccleſiaſtical Caſes, p. 61, &c.

(t) N. Battely's Edition of Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury, or *Cantuaria Sacra*, Part II. p. 128. edit. 1703. fol.

(u) Life, p. 76. and Kennet's Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. edit. 1719. p. 348.

(w) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis Eſq; Vol. I. p. 654.

(x) Life, p. 108, 111, &c. 129.

(y) See Kennet's Compl. Hiſtory, as above, p. 590. and Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1753. 8vo. Vol. II.

' is naturally much larger and more copious, into one ' ſo conciſe, and yet withal ſo ſubſtantial and argu- ' mentative as this was written in (27).'

(27) Life, p. 48, 49.

[Q] *Origines Britannicæ &c.*] The whole title is, XXX. ' *Origines Britannicæ, or, The Antiquities of the ' Britiſh Churches.* With a Preface concerning ſome ' pretended Antiquities relating to Britain, in Vindi- ' cation of the Biſhop of St Aſaph.' Lond. 1685. fol. The deſign of that book is to give as clear and diſtinct a view of the ſtate and condition of the Britiſh churches, from their firſt plantation to the converſion of the Saxons, as could be had at ſo great a diſtance, and by ſuch a degree of light as is left us concerning them (28). He hath divided the whole into *Five* Chapters. And in the firſt he treats of the firſt planting a Chriſtian Church in Britain by St Paul. Wherein he obſerves, that there was no Chriſtian Church planted in Britain during the reign of Tiberius; and that Gildas's words, which have been brought to prove it, are miſunderſtood. Next he examines and confutes the Tradition, concerning Joſeph of Arimathea and his brethren coming to Glaſtonbury, to plant Chriſtianity. And, after having proved, that there was a Chriſtian Church planted here in the Apoſtles time; he ſhews the great probability of St Paul's having been its founder. At the ſame time, he intermixes a great many curious obſervations, about the Antiquity of *Seals* in England; the *Saxon Charters*, which he affirms to be all ſuſpicious till the end of the ſeventh century, &c. In Chap. II. he treats of the ſucceſſion of the Britiſh Churches to the firſt Council of Nice. And, among other things, proves that the national converſion of the Scots under King Donald is fabulous, and that Proſper ſpeaks not of the Scots in Britain, but in Ireland. That Lucius was King of the *Regni*, part of Surrey and Suſſex. Of Dioclefian's perſecution in Britain; the ſtopping of it by means of Conſtantius; and the flouriſhing of the Britiſh Churches under Conſtantine. The reaſon of three Biſhops of Britain only being preſent at the Council of Arles; and of the great Antiquity of epiſcopal government here. Chap. III. is of the ſucceſſion of the Britiſh Churches, from the Council of Nice to the Council of Ariminum. Wherein he clears, the teſtimonies of Conſtantine's being born in Britain; and alſo the juſt Rights of the Britiſh Churches: There being no evidence that they were under the Roman Patriarchate. In Chap. IV. he enquires into the Faith of the Britiſh Churches; and clears them from the charge of Arianiſm and Pelagianiſm: Giving at the ſame time ſome account of Pelagius, Fauſtus, Germanus and Lupus, Banchor-monaſtery, the Liturgy of the Britiſh Churches &c. Chap. V. treats of the Declenſion of the Britiſh Churches; of the Picts and Scots; of the fabulous Antiquities of theſe; of the Roman Walls, King Arthur &c. . . . . To the whole is prefixed a long and learned Preface, wherein he rebukes the confidence of Sir George Mackenzie; for charging Biſhop Lloyd, with ' a degree of Leſe Ma- ' jeſty, in injuring and ſhortening the Royal Line of ' the Scotiſh Kings:' becauſe his Lordſhip had rejected the long fabulous bead-roll, or ſucceſſion of the Kings of Scotland, from Fergus I. till the fourth century (29).

(28) See the beginning of the Preface.

(29) See Biſhop Lloyd's Hiſtory of Church-government in Britain; and the article LLOYD (WILLIAM) above.

[R] *He drew up a Diſcourſe concerning the Illegality of that Commiſſion.*] The whole title of it was, XXXI. ' A Diſcourſe concerning the Illegality of the Eccle- ' ſiaſtical Commiſſion, in Anſwer to the Vindication ' and Defence of it: wherein the true notion of the ' Supremacy is cleared; and an Account is given of ' the Nature, Original and Miſchief of the Diſpenſing ' Power.' In an advertiſement prefixed to it, he ſays, that ' this Diſcourſe concerning the Illegality of the ' late Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, was written when the ' Author of it was ſummoned to appear before it; and ' was in continual expectation of undergoing its cen- ' ſure, for not complying with the orders of it.'

[S] *By his learned Charges.*] They are printed in the Firſt Part of his Eccleſiaſtical Caſes, and divided into XXXII.—Five Diſcourſes; wherein he treats of the duties and Rights of the Parochial Clergy; of the nature of the Truſt committed to them; of their particular duties; of their maintenance by Law; and of the Obligation to obſerve the Eccleſiaſtical Canons and Conſtitutions. To them is annexed, in the ſame volume, XXXIII. ' A Diſcourſe concerning Bonds of Reſignation of Be- ' nefices, in point of Law and Conſcience.' The Preface to which is dated Weſtminſter, July 10, 1695. This laſt Diſcourſe was for the moſt part the ſubſtance of his Charges at his Triennial Viſitation in the year 1693 (30).

(30) See his Life, p. 95.

[T] *He appeared to great advantage in ſeveral Debates there.*] But there are in print, only two of his ſpeeches made in the Houſe of Lords: namely, XXXIV. ' The ' Caſe of Viſitation of Colleges:' occaſioned by the proceeding of Dr Jonathan Trelawney, Biſhop of Exeter, as Viſitor of Exeter college; in the affair of Dr Arthur Bury Rector of that college, which by Appeal, or writ of Error was brought from the King's Bench before the Houſe of Peers. The other is, XXXV. ' The Caſe of Com- ' mendams, A. D. 1694-5.' relating to a Grant *ad retinendum*, made to Dr Thomas Teniſon, Biſhop of Lincoln, for holding the Vicarage of St Martin's in the fields together with his Biſhopric, only for a certain term. Upon the expiration of which, it was debated, whether the right of preſentation was in the Crown, or in the proper patron the Biſhop of London. Theſe two are printed in the Second Part of his Eccleſiaſtical Caſes (31): And in the ſame Volume are inſerted alſo XXXVI. ' A Diſcourſe of the Nature of ' our Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and the Law on which ' it ſtands.' And XXXVII. ' A Diſcourſe of the true ' Antiquity of London, and its State in the Roman ' Times.'

(31) P. 411. 437.

[V] *In 1694 there was an intention of advancing him to the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury.*] ' Many, ſays Biſhop ' Burnet (32), wiſhed that Stillingfleet might have ' ſucceeded, he being not only ſo eminently learned, ' but judged a man in all reſpects fit for the poſt. ' The Queen was inclined to him; ſhe ſpoke with ſome ' earneſtneſs, oftener than once, to the Duke of Shrewſ- ' bury on that ſubject: She thought he would fill that ' poſt with great dignity: She alſo preſſed the King ' earneſtly for him: But as his ill health made him not ' capable of the fatigue that belonged to the Province; ' ſo the Whigs did generally apprehend, that both his ' notions and his temper were too high.'

(32) Hiſtory of his own Time, edit. 1753. 8vo. Vol. III. p. 127, 128.

[W] *The Socinians ſpreading about their pernicious Pamphlets.*] They were commonly printed in Quarto, upon indifferent paper, and with a ſmall and cloſe letter; and were publiſhed from the year 1691 to 1606, or later. The firſt of them are ſome tracts of John Bidle. Uſually they are bound in three ſmall quarto volumes. . . . . What made the Socinians renew their attacks againſt

duty to caution the world againſt the dangerous tendency of their doctrine (z): But having, in one of his Diſcourſes againſt them, reflected upon ſome paſſages in Mr Locke's Eſſay concerning Human Underſtanding, it occaſioned a Controverſy between him and that great man, of which ſome Account is given below [X]. Beſides his Works already mentioned, he publiſhed a great many occaſional Sermons, preached before the King, the Houſe of Commons, the Lord Mayor, &c. [Y]. And likewiſe other ſmall pieces [Z]; ſome without his name [AA]. He was naturally of a ſtrong conſtitution, and in all probability might have enjoyed his health much longer, had he not impaired it by conſtant hard ſtudy; which at length brought the gout upon him, the common diſeaſe of a ſtudious ſedentary courſe of life; and, after above twenty years ſtruggle, fixing in his ſtomach, it proved fatal. He died at his houſe in Park-Street, Weſtminſter, March the 27th 1699, and his body being carried to Worceſter, was interred among his predeceſſors behind the Choir in that Cathedral: where a handſome monument is erected to his memory (aa) [BB]. Of

(z) See above, note [K].

(aa) Life, p. 147, 148.

againſt our learned Prelate, was his reprinting, in 1696, his *Diſcourſe concerning the true Reaſon of the Sufferings of Chriſt*; with a Sermon on 1 Tim. i. 15. Whereupon they publiſhed, *Conſiderations and Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity, &c.* in which they aſſert, That the Biſhop was utterly miſtaken, in thinking, that they deny the Articles of the new Creed, or Athanaſian Religion, becauſe they are Myſteries, or 'becauſe (ſay 'they) we *do not* comprehend them: We deny them, 'becauſe we *do* comprehend them. We have a clear 'and diſtinct perception that they are not Myſteries, 'but Contradictions, Impoſſibilities, and pure Non-'ſenſe.' . . . They attacked afterwards his *Vindication of the Trinity*, in a Tract of theirs, intituled, 'The 'Agreement of the Unitarians with the Catholick 'Church.' Wherein, they ſay, that 'He has heartily 'chode with the Socinians, for the *Terms:* and has en-'tirely yielded *the things*, in queſtion to the Unita-'rians (33).'

(33) P. 49.

[X] *But having, in one of his Diſcourſes againſt them, reflected upon ſome paſſages in Mr Locke's Eſſay concerning Human Underſtanding, it occaſioned a Controverſy between him and that great man* &c.] The Diſcourſe wherein Biſhop Stillingfleet attacked Mr Locke, was that *in Vindication of the Trinity*. And the faults he found in his Eſſay, were, his definition of Subſtance, and his notion of Ideas; thinking that they were prejudicial to the doctrine of the Trinity. Whereupon Mr Locke, who was impatient of oppoſition, and uneaſy at having his favourite Eſſay cenſured, publiſhed, in a ſort of heat, *A Letter to the right Reverend* Edward *Lord Biſhop of Worceſter, concerning ſome Paſſages relating to Mr* Locke's *Eſſay of Human Underſtanding: in a late Diſcourſe of his Lordſhip's, in Vindication of the Trinity*. Soon after, our Prelate publiſhed, XXXVIII. 'The 'Biſhop of Worceſter's Anſwer to Mr Locke's Letter, 'concerning ſome Paſſages relating to his Eſſay of '*Human Underſtanding*, mentioned in a late Diſcourſe 'in Vindication of the Trinity. . . . With a Poſtſcript 'in anſwer to ſome Reflections made on that Treatiſe 'in a late Socinian Pamphlet.' The Letter is dated, at the end, Worceſter, March 27, 1697, and the Poſt-ſcript, April 27, 1697.——Next Mr Locke came out with a *Reply to the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of* Worceſter's *Anſwer to his Letter, concerning ſome Paſſages relating to Mr Locke's Eſſay of Human Underſtanding: in a late Diſcourſe of his Lordſhip's, in Vindication of the Trinity*. Dated at the end, June 29, 1697. His Lordſhip rejoined, in XXXIX. 'The Biſhop of Worceſter's 'Anſwer to Mr Locke's Second Letter; wherein his 'Notion of Ideas is proved to be inconſiſtent with it-'ſelf, and with the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith.' This is dated at the end, Sept. 22, 1697. Mr Locke had the laſt word, in his long *Reply to the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Worceſter's Anſwer to his Second Letter: Wherein, beſides other incident matters, what his Lordſhip has ſaid concerning Certainty by Reaſon, Certainty by Ideas, and Certainty of Faith; the Reſurrection of the ſame Body; the Immateriality of the ſoul; the Inconſiſtency of Mr Locke's Notions with the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, and their Tendency to Scepticiſm; is examined.*

[Y] *He publiſhed a great many occaſional Sermons* &c.] XL. One of the firſt he publiſhed, was a moſt excellent and eloquent Sermon, preached before the Houſe of Commons, at St Margaret's Weſtminſter, Oct. 10, 1666, being the Faſt-day appointed for the late dreadfull Fire in the city of London; upon Amos iv. 11. . . In 1673, what he had publiſhed to that time, were collected into one Volume *folio*. After that, he printed about Twenty more, which were alſo collected into volumes; ſo that they made four volumes 8vo in 1696. An edition of Fifty of his Sermons came out in 1707, fol.

[Z] *And likewiſe other ſmall pieces.*] Among theſe we muſt reckon, XLI. A Preface to a Sermon of Dr Ford, Rector of Old Swinford, intituled, 'The Reſtor-'ing of Fallen Brethren &c.' preached on Mid-Lent-Sunday, 1696, at the publick Cenſure of ſome Offend-ers (34).

(34) See his Life, p. 104.

[AA] *Some without his name.*] Namely, XLII. 'A 'Diſcourſe concerning the Unreaſonableneſs of a new 'Separation on account of the Oaths. With an An-'ſwer to the *Hiſtory of Paſſive Obedience* ſo far as relates 'to them.' Lond. 1689. 4to. XLIII. 'An Anſwer 'to a Paper delivered by Mr Aſhton, at his Execution 'to Sir F. Child, Sheriff of London.' Lond. 1690. 4to. XLIV. 'A Letter to Dr. B. [everidge] on refuſing the 'Biſhoprick of B. and W.' [Bath and Wells] Lond. 1691. 4to. (35).

(35) Life, p. 92.

In 1735, his ſon Dr James Stillingfleet publiſhed XLV. 'Miſcellaneous Diſcourſes on ſeveral occaſions.' Written by his father the Biſhop.—Whoſe Works, before that had been collected into Six Volumes fol. Lond. 1710, with his Life prefixed. The contents of the Miſcellaneous Diſcourſes, are, 1. Letter of Dr [Barlow] Biſhop of [Lincoln] concerning a vow of reſignation of his Biſhoprick in 1676. 2. Biſhop Stillingfleet's Anſwer to him, on that ſubject. 3. Letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in anſwer to the Biſhop of S . . . about Bonds of Reſignation. 4. About the power of diſſolving a contract *de præſenti*, made without conſent of Parents, Dec. 7, 1677. 5. Speeches —at Serjeants-inn, in the great cauſe of Emerton and Hyde, July 12, 1682.—6. At the ſame place, about the Biſhop of Waterford's will, February 26, 1692-3.—7. In the Houſe of Lords, in the great cauſe of the Earls of Montague and Bath, February 17, 1693-4.—8. At the opening a Commiſſion of charitable uſes, at the Town-hall in Worceſter, Auguſt 14, 1694.—9. At the opening a ſecond commiſſion there, Sept. 26, 1695.—10. Anſwer to Sir F. W's Objections at the Town-hall there, October 17, 1695.—11. Reaſons for the Decree, June 25, 1696. 12. Letter to Dr Barlow Biſhop of Lincoln, about the ancient Codex Canonum Eccleſiæ Romanæ, November 14, 1674. 13. Letter to the Biſhop of London, concerning the Right of Juriſdiction during the Suſpenſion of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Auguſt 19, 1680. 14. Of the Antiquity and Legality of Archdeacons Viſitations. 15. Diſcourſe at the Viſitation of the Cathedral at Worceſter, Nov. 26, 1695. 16. Letter to the Archbiſhop about the Power of the Univerſities to judge of Hereſy, Dec. 28, 1695. 17. Letter to John Evelyn Eſq; about the Invocation of Saints, 1668. 18. Letter to a Lady concerning Vows of Virginity, May 8, 1670 (36). 19. Anſwer to a Letter about Merit, Veneration of Images &c. Invocation of Saints, Adoration of Chriſt in the Euchariſt, 1687. 20. To his brother G. in anſwer to a Nonconformiſt's Paper proving Kneeling at the Sacrament to be Idolatry. 21. Dr Burthogge's Letter to him. 22. His Anſwer to Dr Burthogge about Original Sin, and the Covenant with Adam, and the meaning of Geneſis iii. 15. 23. Dr Whitby's Letter to him. 24. His Letter to Dr. Whitby at Sarum, of the Doctrine of the Millennium as held by the Fathers. 25. Caſe of reading King James's Declaration in 1688. 26. Letter to the Archbiſhop about the King's Injunctions, 1694. 27. Notes on the ſmall Tithe bill, 1694. 28. A Sermon deſigned for the Thankſgiving-day A. D. 1694, but not preached by reaſon of his falling ill. 29. Epiſtola de Prophetia Danielis, ad J. Marſham Eq. 1681.

(36) This is alſo printed in the Univerſal Magazine for November 1748.

[BB] *Where a handſome monument is erected to his memory.*] The inſcription upon it was compoſed by his chaplain, the learned Dr R. Bentley, and is as follows.

H. S. E.

Of his great and extenſive Learning he hath left ſuch evident and laſting Proofs, that it need not be further mentioned. And as to his other qualifications, he was tall, graceful, and well-proportioned; his countenance comely, freſh, and awful; in his converſation chearful and diſcreet, obliging and very inſtructive, always procuring eſteem and reſpect from thoſe who converſed with him. His Apprehenſion was quick and ſagacious; his Judgment exact and profound; his Memory very tenacious; no man ſooner diſcerning the ſtrength of a cauſe, or determining truer as to the merits of it: Nor was his inſight into perſons leſs quick and juſt, he ſoon perceiving their capacities and abilities, as well as their deſigns and intereſts *(bb)* [*CC*]. He had a noble Library, collected at a vaſt expence of time, pains and money: After his deceaſe, it was purchaſed by Dr Narciſſus Marſh, Archbiſhop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland, to make a public Library in Dublin; and he built a handſome Edifice for that purpoſe. But a conſiderable number of MSS. relating chiefly to our own Nation and Conſtitution, in the Biſhop's poſſeſſion, were bought by the late Earl of Oxford, and are now part of the moſt valuable Harleian Collection *(cc)*. Whilſt our Prelate was Rector of Sutton he married Andrea, eldeſt daughter of William Dobyns of Wormington in Glouceſterſhire Eſq; by whom he had two daughters, which both dyed in their infancy, and a ſon named Edward [*DD*]. After her deceaſe, (for ſhe lived but a little while) he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nicholas Pedley of Huntington, Serjeant at law, by whom he had ſeven children, of which two only ſurvived him, namely James Rector of Hartlebury and Canon of Worceſter, and Anne married afterwards to Humphrey Tyſhe of Gray's Inn Eſq; *(dd)*.

(bb) Life, p. 138.

(cc) Ibid. p. 135, 136.

(dd) Ibid. p. 23, 24.

H. S. E.
Edvardus Stillingfleet S. T. P.
Ex Decano Eccleſiæ Pauliuæ Epiſcopus Vigornienſis,
Jam tibi quicunque hæc legis
Niſi et Europæ et literati Orbis hoſpes es
Ipſe per ſe notus
Dum rebus mortalibus interfuit
Et ſanctitate morum et oris ſtaturæque dignitate
Et conſummatæ eruditionis laude
Undique venerandus
Cui in humanioribus literis Critici in divinis Theologi
In recondita Hiſtoria Antiquarii in Scientiis Philoſophi
In Legum peritia Juriſconſulti in civili prudentia Politici
In Eloquentia univerſi
Faſces ultro ſubmiſerunt
Major unus in his omnibus quam alii in ſingulis
Ut Bibliothecam ſuam cui parem Orbis vix habuit
Intra pectus omnis doctrinæ capax
Geſtaſſe integram viſus ſit
Quæ tamen nullos Libros noverat meliores
Quam quos ipſe multos et immortales edidit
Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Defenſor ſemper invictus
Natus eſt Cranborniæ in agro Dorceſtrenſi
XVII Aprilis MDCXXXV patre Samuele Generoſo
In matrimonio habuit Andream Gulielmi Dobbyns Gen. Filiam
Atque ea defuncta
Elizabetham Nicolai Pedley equitis
Eodem hic ſecum ſepulchro conditam
Foeminas quod unum dixiſſe ſatis eſt
Tanto marito digniſſimas
Obiit Weſtmonaſterii XXVIII Martii MDCXCIX
Vixit annos LXIII. menſes undecim
Tres liberos reliquit ſibi ſuperſtites
Ex priori conjugio Edvardvm ex ſecundo Jacobum et Annam
Quorum Jacobus Collegii hujus Cathedralis Canonicus
Patri optimo bene merenti
Monumentum hoc poni curavit.

[*CC*] *As well as their deſigns and intereſts*] To which may be added theſe further particulars of his character from Biſhop Burnet (37) . . . 'Stillingfleet was a man 'of much more learning [than Tillotſon] but of a more 'reſerved, and a haughtier temper. . . . . He was a 'great man in many reſpects. He knew the world 'well, and was eſteemed a very wiſe man . . . . . 'He applied himſelf much to the ſtudy of the law and 'records, and the original of our conſtitution, and was 'a very extraordinary man.' . . . . And Archbiſhop Tillotſon, in a Letter to Frederick Spanheim, calls him the Glory of our Church . . . . *De quo Eccleſia noſtra merito gloriatur* . . . (38).

(37) Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. I. 8vo. P. 264, 265.

(38) Life of Abp Tillotſon, by Dr Birch, p. 256.

[*DD*] *Edward*] He was born at Sutton in 1660, and educated at St Paul's ſchool in London. From thence he was ſent to St John's college in Cambridge, of which he became Fellow. Nov. 30, 1688, he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and on the 21ſt of June, 1692, he was created Doctor of Phyſic at Cambridge, and practiſed for ſome time at King's Lynne. But marrying in 1692, he loſt both Fellowſhip and Profeſſorſhip; and, what was worſe, his Father's favour. However, going into orders, he obtained from him the Rectory of Newington-Butts, which he exchanged for the Rectories of Wood-Norton and Swanton in Norfolk, in 1698. He dyed in 1708, leaving a ſon named Benjamin, who was afterwards of Trinity college in Cambridge; and three daughters, of whom the eldeſt is married to John Lockcr, Eſq; Barriſter at law. In his perſon he was crooked, but had a lively and ingenious countenance, and an eaſy temper, free from ambition: though he wanted not abilities either of parts, or of learning, to have made a more conſpicuous figure But the misfortune of loſing his father's favour, hindered his advancement (39).

(39) Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-College by J. Ward, LL. D. edit. 1740. fol. P. 282, 283.

STOW [JOHN], this induſtrious man, who hath preſerved ſo many things from oblivion, muſt not be forgotten in a work of ſuch a nature as this. He was the ſon of Thomas Stow, of St Michael's Cornhill in London [*A*], merchant-taylor, and born there about the year 1525 *(a)*. We have no account of the place of his education, nor of the manner in which he ſpent the younger part of his life; only find that he was brought up to his father's buſineſs of a taylor *(b)*. In 1544, he came into great danger, from an unjuſt accuſation given againſt him by a prieſt: but the falſehood of it was happily diſcovered, and the accuſer deſervedly puniſhed. He probably lived at firſt in Cornhill: but in 1549, we find him dwelling within Aldgate, where now ſtands a pump, between Leadenhall-Street and Fanchurch-Street *(c)* [*B*]. He afterwards removed into the pariſh of St Andrew's Underſhaft, in

(a) The Life of John Stow, prefixed to his Survey of London by J. Strype. Lond. 1720.

(b) Ibid. p. 2.

(c) Ibid. p. 3.

[*A*] *He was the ſon of Thomas Stow of St Michael's Cornhill*, &c.] This Thomas Stow was buried at St Michael's in Cornhill, in 1559. His wife Margaret dyed about October 1568, and was buried in the cloiſter of the ſaid church by her huſband. They had four ſons, our *John* the eldeſt, another John, Thomas, and William; and three daughters, Joban, Margaret, and Alice (1).——Our Author's grandfather, named alſo Thomas, was a citizen and tallow-chandler of London; who dying about 1526, was buried in the little green Churchyard of St Michael aforeſaid, by his father and mother, ſiſters and brothers, and alſo his own children; as mentioned in his will (2). By that will it appears, that he was a perſon of good ſubſtance and credit; as was alſo his Son, our John's Father.

(1) Life, p. 2.

(2) See our Author's Survey of London, edit. 1720. Book III. p. 145. where this will is inſerted.

[*B*] *Between Leadenhall-Street and Fanchurch-Street.*] This we learn from the following ſtory, which be pleaſed to take in his own words. . . . In the reign of King Edward VI, there was 'a Commotion of the Commons in Norfolk, Suffolk, Eſſex, and other ſhires. 'By means whereof ſtreight orders being taken for the 'ſuppreſſion of rumours, divers perſons were appre-

'hended

in Lime-Street Ward: and, by his knowledge in the hiſtory and antiquities of that city, was very ſerviceable to his own Ward, in ſettling the bounds of it, when they had been encroached upon by that of Biſhops-Gate *(d)* [C]. Very early he applied himſelf to his moſt beloved ſtudy of the Hiſtory of England; and ſo wholly devoted himſelf to it, neglecting his buſineſs and the care of his family, that at laſt he brought himſelf into ſome ſtraights. About the year 1560, he formed the deſign of compoſing his Annals *(e)* [D]; and forſaking his trade *(f)*, employed himſelf intirely in collecting materials for that work. He therefore diligently peruſed all writers fit for his purpoſe, whether printed or manuſcript; and became an unwearied ſearcher into records, regiſters, charters, and other original inſtruments: travelling on foot to ſeveral cathedral churches, and other chief places in the kingdom, to ſearch and examine records *(g)*. Not contented with having the peruſal of ſuch things, he was greedy of making himſelf poſſeſſor of them, as of a great treaſure. So that, by the year 1568, he had amaſſed together a great quantity of old Books, and Manuſcripts, of all ſorts; eſpecially Chronicles, and Hiſtories, both on parchment and paper *(h)*. And, what added much to the value of his library, it was not only ſtored with antient Authors, but original charters, regiſters, and chronicles of particular places *(i)* [E]. Such books as were neceſſary for his purpoſe, and that he could not purchaſe, or otherwiſe obtain, he took the pains of tranſcribing himſelf; particularly Leland's Collections, whoſe Deſcription of Britain, or Itinerary, he appears alſo to have been poſſeſſed of *(k)*. He lived indeed in a ſeaſon, when he had the beſt opportunity of making ſuch collections; namely, upon the diſperſion of the Libraries of Religious Houſes, when valuable Books could be plentifully picked up, and at a cheap rate. But after he had eagerly proſecuted for ſome time the ſtudy of our Engliſh Hiſtory and Antiquities; finding, how little preſent advantage it was like to bring him, and urged by the neceſſity of procuring a maintenance and proviſion for his family, he began to return to his trade, and laid aſide his books. He had now much leſſened his paternal eſtate, neglected his buſineſs; and, inſtead of meeting with applauſe and rewards, found himſelf only expoſed to the cenſures of critics, and other evil-diſpoſed perſons *(l)*. His caſe being made known to Dr. Matthew Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was not only a great-lover and judge, but alſo a generous patron, of all Antiquarian ſtudies, he perſuaded our Author to continue them, and encouraged him by ſeveral benefactions [F]. In the unſettled times he lived in, when great dangers were perpetually apprehended from Papiſts; he, being looked upon as no great friend to the Reformation, but an admirer of Antiquity in Religion as well as in Hiſtory, came into ſome trouble, in 1568. For, an information being given againſt him to the Council, as if he was a ſuſpicious perſon, and had many dangerous Books of Superſtition in his cuſtody; Dr Grindal, Biſhop of London, his dioceſan, was ordered to cauſe his ſtudy to be ſearched. There were found in it, great collections of his own for the Engliſh

(d) Life, p. 3.

(e) Ibid. p. 3, 4.

(f) Ibid. p. 14.

(g) See his Annales, edit. 1631. p. 811. It ſeems, he could never ride.

(h) See Life, p. 4.

(i) Ibid. p. 14.

(k) Ibid. p. 15, 19.

(l) Ibid. p. 4.

' hended and executed by marſhal law; amongſt the ' which the Bayliff of Rumford in Eſſex was one, a man ' very well beloved: He was early in the morning of ' Mary Magdalen's day (then kept holiday) brought ' by the Sheriffs of London and the Knight-Marſhal, ' to the *Well within Ealdgate:* there to be executed on ' a gibbet ſet up that morning, where being on the ' ladder, he had words to this effect; ' Good people, " I am come hither to die, but know not for what " offence, except for words by me ſpoken yeſternight " to Sir Stephen, Curate and Preacher of this pariſh " [St Katharine Cree-church] which were theſe: He " aſked me, What news in the country? I anſwered, " Heavy news. Why, quoth he? It is ſaid, quoth I, " that many men be up in Eſſex, but, thanks be to " God, all is in good quiet about us: And this was all, " as God be my judge &c." Upon theſe words of the ' priſoner, Sir Stephen, to avoid reproach of the people, left the city, and was never heard of ſince ' amongſt them to my knowledge. I heard the words ' of the priſoner, for he was executed *upon the pavement* ' *of my door*, where I then kept houſe (3).'

(3) Survey of London, ed. 1720. Vol. I. book. 2. p. 66.

[C] *Was very ſerviceable to his own Ward, in ſettling the bounds of it,* &c.] Biſhopſgate-ward had encroached upon it, by taking in three houſes, and ſome land near London-wall, that lay weſt of the chapel of St Auguſtines Papey. But Mr Stow proved, that they were neither in the Ward of Biſhopſgate, nor Aldgate, but in that of Limeſtreet: And that he did, by old Leaſes, and Grants; and eſpecially by the Regiſter-book of the Fraternity of St Auguſtine de Papey (4), from whence it appeared, That the Maior and Aldermen of London, 6 Ed. VI. had granted to that Fraternity, ' certain ' grounds, both Eaſt and Weſt, of a brick wall that the ' Maſter and Wardens of the ſame had made, to cloſe ' in the chapel of St Auguſtines, called Papey Chapel, ' ſituate in the pariſh of All-ſaints in the Wall, *in the* ' *Ward of Limeſtreet*; for which they were to yield to ' the city 4d. ſterling every Michaelmas.' ——And again, when once Aldgate-ward had claimed this plot of ground, Mr Stow ſhewed them a fair Ledger-book, ſome time belonging to the Priory of the Holy Trinity within Aldgate, wherein that ground was not ſet down as belonging to Aldgate, but to Limeſtreet ward (5).

(4) See his Survey of London, Book II. p. 73, 87. and Cotton. Libr. Vitellius, F. 16.

(5) Life, p. 3, and Survey of Lond. Book II. p. 88.

[D] *He formed the deſign of compoſing his Annals.*] The reaſon he aſſigns, for falling upon the ſtudy and pains of examining and collecting of his Engliſh Hiſtory, was the confuſedneſs of our late Engliſh Chronicles (6), and the ignorant handling of antient Affairs; which made him leave his own peculiar gaines, and conſecrate himſelf to the ſearch of our famous Engliſh Antiquities (7).

(6) Eſpecially R. Grafton's.

(7) Preface to his Summary; and Annales.

[E] *It was not only ſtored with antient Authors, but original Charters, Regiſters, and Chronicles* &c.] He was poſſeſſed of the Regiſters of Bermondſey, St Edmundsbury, of the New Abbey near the Tower, of St Bartholomew Smithfield, of the Friers Minors of London; in Latin. And he had, in Engliſh, a Regiſter of the Knights of the Garter, a Regiſter of the Maiors of London. He had alſo old Records of London, Records of St Aſaph, Chronicles of St Albans, Arnold's Chronicles, Annals of the Monaſtery of Hyde. . . . . Beſides the following Chronicles, and old Engliſh Hiſtorians, Gildas, Nennius, Henry of Huntindon, William of Malmeſbury, Marianus Scotus, Ralph of Coggſhall, John Everſden, Nicolas Trivet, Florence of Worceſter, Simeon of Durham, Roger de Houeden, and others; which all then remained in manuſcript (8).

(8) Life, p. 14, 19.

[F] *And encouraged him by ſeveral benefactions.*] This he acknowledges, in the following paſſage of the dedication of his Annales, to Archbiſhop Whitgift. . . . . ' Neither doe I doubt but they may have free paſſage ' in the world, if they be countenanced under your ' honourable name and protection. Unto whom I offer, ' and with all dutifull affection I dedicate both myſelfe ' and them: being hereunto induced, both for that your ' worthy predeceſſor, and my eſpeciall benefactor Archbiſhop PARKER animated me in the courſe of theſe ' ſtudies, which otherwiſe I had long ſince diſcontinued; ' and alſo that your great love and entire affection to ' all good letters in generall, and to the Antiquities in ' particular hath been ſo ſingular, that all which like ' and love good ſtudies, doe juſtly eſteem you their ' principall and gratious patrone.'

Chronicles;

Chronicles; 'wherein he ſeemed to have beſtowed much travel.' There were alſo found in it, many MS. Chronicles; a great quantity of curious Miſcellaneous Tracts; old printed Popiſh Books; and others more modern (m). What was done to him, we do not find. But, being looked upon with a jealous eye, he was very near being entirely ruined, in 1570. For his younger brother Thomas, who had been his ſervant; and, after having defrauded him of his goods, ſought alſo to deprive him of his life, preferred above a hundred and forty articles againſt him, before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion. A far leſs number would have ſerved to have diſpatched a man out of the world, if they could have been proved. But the witneſſes againſt him could not prove any of them; and, withal, they were perſons of a moſt infamous character, ſome having been detected of perjury, others burnt in the hand for felony, and the like: ſo that he was acquitted (n) [G]. His troubles did not abate his ardor for his beloved ſtudies; wherein he was aſſiſted and encouraged not only by the Archbiſhop abovementioned, but alſo by the greateſt men of his time in that way: Particularly William Lambarde Eſq; Robert Bowyer Eſq; Keeper of the Records in the Tower, and the firſt digeſter of them into ſome order; the learned Camden, who allowed him an annuity of 8 l. a year during life, for a copy of Leland's Collections; and others, the moſt eminent perſons in his time (o). In 1565, he firſt put out his 'Summary of the Chronicles 'of England [H], from the coming in of Brute unto his own time;' which, with additions and improvements, was reprinted ſeveral times ſince [I]. In 1575, he loſt his beſt patron Archbiſhop Parker; notwithſtanding which he proſecuted his ſtudies; and among other things, aſſiſted Dr David Powell in his Hiſtory of Wales, publiſhed in 1584, as the learned Doctor acknowledges in his preface. About the ſame time he was engaged in another laborious work, his Survey of London, of which we ſhall give an account below. He was, in 1585, one of the two collectors for a great muſter in Lime-Street Ward; which, as our Author obſerves (p), ſhews him to have been a man of good eſteem in the place. But he was then beginning to be poor: For, we find him the ſame year preſenting a petition to the Mayor and Court of Aldermen, wherein he ſet forth, 'That he had for the ſpace of 'twenty-five years paſt (beſides his Chronicle, dedicated to the Earl of Leiceſter,) ſet forth 'divers Summaries, dedicated to the Lord Maior, Aldermen and Commoners of that 'city: In all which he had eſpecially noted the memorable acts of famous citizens, by 'them done, to the great benefit of the commonwealth, and honour of the ſame city. . . . 'That he minded ſhortly to ſet forth a far larger Summary, or Chronicle of that city and 'citizens thereof, than before had been publiſhed. And foraſmuch as the ſearch of Records 'could not but be chargeable to him; as heretofore for many years it had been altogether 'of his own charges; beſides his other travails and ſtudy; he now humbly craved their aid, 'in conſideration of the premiſes, to beſtow on him the benefit of two Freemen, ſuch as 'they ſhould like, to be admitted into the Freedom of the city. Whereby he might be 'helped ſomewhat towards his charges.' Undoubtedly, this requeſt of his was complied with. Such another petition he preſented to them, in 1589, wherein he ſaid, that he was of the age of threeſcore years and four; and had for the ſpace of almoſt thirty years laſt paſt, beſides his Chronicles, ſet forth divers Summaries, dedicated to them &c. He therefore petitioned them to beſtow on him ſome yearly Penſion, or otherwiſe; whereby he might reap ſomewhat towards his great charges (q). Whether he had a penſion granted him, we do not find; unleſs it was in conſideration of his being *the City's Chronicler*, a place which he appears to have enjoyed (r). But to proceed to the reſt of his learned labours: He had a great hand in the improvements made to the ſecond edition of the large Chronicles, publiſhed by Raphael Holinſhed in 1587 [K]. Our moſt famous poet, Geffrey Chaucer, was alſo

(m) Life, p. 4.
(n) Ibid.
(o) Ibid. p. 5, 6,—11.
(p) Strype, Life, p. 3.
(q) Life, p. 7.
(r) Ibid. p. 12.

[G] *So that he was acquitted.*] At this juncture, malecontents, perſons diſaffected to the Proteſtant religion, and great numbers of Popiſh emiſſaries, ſwarmed in this kingdom; being ſent over from Rome, to cauſe diſturbances here; and had actually raiſed a dangerous rebellion in the north. This is the reaſon, why ſo many innocent perſons, ſuſpected to be of the Romiſh religion, were brought into trouble; and among the reſt Mr Stow: it behoving the government to ſtand upon their guard, and to take all proper meaſures to ſecure themſelves.

[H] *He put out his Summary of the Chronicles of England.*] The title of it was, 'Summarie of Engliſhe 'Chronicles, conteyning the true Accompt of Years, 'wherein every Kyng of this Realme of England began 'theyre Reigne, how long they reigned, and what 'notable Thynges hath been doone durynge their 'Reynes, wyth alſo the Names and Yeares of all the 'Baylyffes, Cuſtos, Maiors, and Sheriffes of the Citie 'of London ſens the Conqueſte,' 8vo. He undertook it, at the inſtance of Robert Dudley Earl of Leiceſter; and how he came to be firſt known to him, he informs us in the following words . . . 'Edmond Dudley, in the 'time of his impriſonment in the Tower, compiled one 'notable booke, which he intituled *The Tree of the 'Commonwealth*, dedicated unto King Henry VIII. 'but never came to his hand. A copie whereof faire 'written (reſerving the original to myſelfe) I gave 'unto the honourable Lord Robert Earle of Leiceſter, 'about the yeare 1562. At whoſe requeſt and earneſt 'perſwaſion I then firſt collected my Summary of the 'Chronicles of England, and dedicated the ſame, with 'the continuation and encreaſe thereof, from time to 'time, to my great charges to his honor, in reward 'whereof I alwaies received his harty thanks, with 'commendations (9).' His inducement for dedicating it to that Earl, was, as he tells him in the Dedication, 'becauſe of his uſual generous acceptation of many 'Works preſented unto him by others as well as him-'ſelf; and becauſe of his Lordſhip's goodly Inclination 'to all ſorts of Knowledge, and eſpecially the great 'Love he bore to old Records of Deeds done by famous 'and noble Worthies.'

(9) The Annales of England, ed. 4to. 1605. p. 818.

[I] *Which, with additions and improvements, was reprinted ſeveral times ſince.*] Namely, in the years 1570, 1575, 1590. Continued by Edmond Howes, and reprinted in 1607, 1610, 1611, and continued with matters foreigne and domeſtical unto 1618.——There was alſo his Summarie of Chronicles *abridged*, printed in 1566. Continued to, and reprinted in 1567, 1573, 1579, 1584, 1587, 1598, 1604. Theſe ſeveral editions were in the late Earl of Oxford's noble collection.

[K] *He had a great hand in the improvements made to the ſecond edition of Holinſhed's Chronicles.*] This is fully manifeſt from the margin of thoſe Chronicles, where the name of John Stow ſo frequently appears. But from page 1268 to the end, was chiefly continued by him and Abraham Fleming &c.——He acquaints us particularly (10), that he had cauſed ſeveral curious Pieces to be inſerted therein. Namely, 'A Declaration 'of

(10) See: 'Annales, ed. 1605. 4to. p. 1171, 1180, 1184, 1186.

also 'corrected, and twice increased, through Mr Stow's painful labours, in the reign of 'Queen Elizabeth: first in the year 1561; and again beautified with notes by him, col-'lected out of divers records and monuments, which he delivered to his friend Thomas 'Speight (s),' the editor of that ancient bard, in 1597 (t). His curious and valuable *Survey of London*, after having cost him many years of close application, was first published in 1598, and reprinted in his life-time in 1603 [*L*]. He had much set his heart on the publication of his large Chronicle or History of England, which he had been above forty years collecting out of some hundreds of ancient Authors, Registers, Chronicles, Lives, and Accounts of particular Cities and Towns. But he lived only to publish an Abstract of it (u), under the title of *Flores Historiarum*, or Annals of England [*M*], besides his Summaries above-mentioned. From his papers, Edmond Howes published afterwards that folio Volume, which goes under the name of Stow's Chronicle [*N*]. But, even this doth not

(s) So Mr Stow himself informs us, &c. his Survey of London, edit. 1720. Vol. II. Book VI. p. 5.

(t) See above, the article CHAUCER.

(u) The Printer was unwilling to publish the whole Work. See Dedication of this Abstract.

'of the favourable dealing of her Majesty's commission-'ers appointed for the examination of certeine traitors, 'and of tortures unjustlie reported to be done upon 'them for matters of religion (11). A true and perfect 'declaration of the treasons practised and attempted by 'Francis Throckemorton (12). A true and plaine 'declaration of the horrible treasons practised by Wil-'liam Parrie (13). A true and summarie report of the 'declaration of some of the Earle of Northumberland's 'treasons (14). The Dutch Embassador's speech to 'Queen Elizabeth (15). A declaration of the causes 'mooving the Queene of England to give aid to the 'defense of the people afflicted and oppressed in the 'Low Countries (16).'

(11) Holinshed's Chronicles, p. 1357, &c.

(12) Ib. p. 1370.

(13) p. 1382.

(14) p. 1404.

(15) p. 1411.

(16) p. 1414.

[*L*] *His Survey of London . . . . was first published in* 1598, *and reprinted in* 1603.] He intituled it, 'A Sur-'vay of London, contayning the originall, antiquity, 'increase, moderne estate, and description of that 'citie, written in the yeare 1598 by John Stow citizen 'of London. Also an Apologie (or Defence) against 'the opinion of some men concerning that citie, the 'greatnesse thereof. With an Appendix containing in 'Latine *Libellum de situ & nobilitate Londini*, written 'by William Fitz-Stephen in the raigne of Henry II.' 4to. He says, in the Dedication, that He 'had 'attempted the Discovery of London, his native Soil 'and Country, at the desire and persuasion of some 'of his good Friends; as well because he had seen 'sundry Antiquities himself touching that place, as 'also for that, through search of Records to other pur-'poses, divers written helps were come to his hands, 'which few others had fortuned to meet withal (17).' ——The second edition, also in quarto, came out in 1603. In the dedication to which, he confesses, that, in the former edition, he 'lacked his desire to the 'Accomplishment of some special parts, which some 'others of better ability promised to perform:' [viz. James Dalton Esq;] but he dying before he could accomplish his promise, our Author 'out of his own old 'Storehouse added to this work many rare notes of 'Antiquity;' chiefly about the Politick government of the city. He intended to have made greater improvements, but complains of his being then visited with much sickness; so that his feet, which had been wont to bear him many a mile, refused once in four or five months to convey him from his bed to his study. ——After his decease, one A. M. i. e. Antony Monday, some time the Pope's scholar at Rome, but who had turned Protestant; undertook to make *additions* to the *Survey*, from Mr Stow's papers and best Collections, which he pretended He had delivered to him in his life-time; and used importunate persuasions with him to correct what he found amiss, and to proceed in perfecting so worthy a work. Having been twelve years about it, he put out a new edition in 1618, 4to. But his additions were chiefly of some epitaphs, a continuation of the lists, and little more, except transcripts out of our Author's Summary and Annals.—— In 1633, a fourth edition came out, in folio, 'com-'pletely finished by the study and labour of A. M. 'H. D. (18) and others. Whereunto, besides many 'additions, were annexed divers alphabeticall tables.' ——This was much outdone by the Edition published by the most industrious Mr Strype, in 1720, in two very large volumes folio; and reprinted in 1756, with very great improvements.——On this Survey were founded the subsequent Accounts of London, by Edward Hatton, R. Seymour, and W. Maitland.

(17) He spent eight years in searching out of ancient Records concerning Antiquities both for London and Southwark. Life, p. 13.

(18) Antony Monday, Henry Dyson.

[*M*] *He lived only to publish an Abstract of it, under the title of* Flores Historiarum, *or Annales of England.*] It was first published in 1600, in a thick quarto in black letter (*), being nothing else but his Summary greatly enlarged: and dedicated to Archbishop Whitgift. The dedication is dated the 24th of November, 1600; and remains in the subsequent edition of 1605, though the Archbishop was then dead.——His earnest Desire of seeing his large Chronicle in print, before his death, he could not forbear expressing, at the conclusion of the last mentioned edition, in these words (19) . . . 'I desire 'thee to take these and other my labours past in good 'part, like as I have painfully (to my great costs and 'charges) out of old hidden histories, and records of 'Antiquitie, brought the same to light, and for thy 'great commoditie bestowed them upon thee: so shalt 'thou encourage me (if God permit me life) to publish 'or leave to posteritie, *a farre larger Volume*, long since 'by me laboured, at the request and commandment 'of the reverend Father *Matthew Parker*, Archbishop 'of Canterbury; but he then deceasing, my worke was 'prevented, by printing and reprinting (without war-'rant, or well-liking) of Raigne Wolfes collection, 'and other late commers, by the name of *Raphael* 'Hollingshead his Chronicles.' By which it appears, that he was forestalled by Holinshed's Chronicles, and did not a little resent it.——Mr Strype informs us (20), that if Mr Stow "had lived but one year longer, he intended to have published his long labours: But after his death, there was not a man to be found, to take the small pains to review his papers, and fit them for the press: Many indeed were talked of to do it, both persons of Quality among the laity and clergy, (for the world had great and earnest expectation to see Stow in print) but when they were spoke to, to take the good work in hand, some of them said, That they thought the giving out of their Names was rather done by secret enemies, on purpose to draw them into capital displeasure, and to bring their names and lives into a general question. Others said, That they who did such a work, must flatter, which they could not, neither wilfully would they leave a scandal unto their posterity. Another said, he could not see, how in any civil action a man should spend his travel, time, and money worse, than in that which acquires no regard or reward, except backbiting and detraction. And one amongst the rest swore an oath, and said, He thanked God that he was not yet mad, to waste his time, spend two hundred pounds a year, (which it seems Stow had done) trouble himself and all his friends, only to gain assurance of endless reproach, loss of liberty, and bring all his days in question. Yet at last one Edward (21) Howes undertook it, and effected it: But it happened just so to him, having been intolerably abused and scandalized for his labour."

(19) p. 1438.

(20) Preface to his Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. XI. See Ed. Howes's Epistle to the Lord-Maior and Aldermen of London, before the Index to Stow's Annales, ed. 1631.

(21) His name was Edmond.

[*N*] *From his papers, Edmond Howes published afterwards that folio Volume, which goes under the name of Stow's Chronicle.*] He published it first in 1615; and put out another edition in 1631; both in black letter, and the latter especially upon very bad paper. Who first set him about it he thus mentions in his Dedication of the last edition to King Charles I. . . 'May it there-'fore please your Majesty to pardon my defect, and 'graciously accept into your most royall Patronage, these 'my *thirty* years labours of impartiall Truth, which 'with all faithfulness I have composed, according to 'my oath and promise made to the late most reverend 'Prelate, Dr *Whitgift*, Lord Archbishop of Canter-'bury; by whose especial instruction and encourage-'ment I undertooke this general Worke, in honor of 'my Prince and Country.'——In his Preface, he hath one particular relating to the dissolution of the Abbeys, which we shall lay here before the Reader, because it is very little known.——'The generall plausible project, '(says he) which caused the Parliament consent unto 'the Reformation or alteration of the Monasteries, was 'that the King's Exchequer should for ever be enriched, 'the kingdome and Nobility strengthened and encreased,

(*) There was an edition of the Summary, under the title of Annales, &c. 1604. 4to.

not contain all that 'farre larger work' which Mr Stow mentions (*w*), and intended to have publiſhed; leaving it in his ſtudy, orderly written, ready for the preſs (*x*). It came into the hands of Sir Symonds Dewes (*y*), and afterwards (as one might ſuppoſe) into the poſſeſſion of the late Earl of Oxford; but it is not in the Britiſh Muſæum, with others of our Author's manuſcripts [*O*]. Having ſpent his patrimony, and the beſt part of his eſtate in theſe ſtudies and labours; he was forced, in the latter part of his life, to have a collection made for his relief. And, for that purpoſe, King James I. granted him a license, or brief, dated the 8th of May 1603, which was renewed the 26th of November 1604, authoriſing him, or his deputy, to repair to churches, or other places, to receive the gratuities and charitable benevolence of well-diſpoſed people [*P*]; in recompence of his painful labours, and for encouragement to the like (*z*). Together with his poverty, he was very much afflicted with pain in his feet, probably the gout, and alſo the ſtone. At length having arrived to eighty years of age, he departed this life April 5, 1605, and was buried the 8th in his pariſh church of St Andrew's-Underſhaft, where his widow erected a decent monument to his memory (*aa*). Mr Stow's Perſon and Temper are thus deſcribed by Mr Edmond Howes (*bb*), who perfectly knew him. 'He was tall of ſtature, leane of body and 'face, his eyes ſmall and chriſtaline, of a pleaſant and cheerefull countenance, his ſight 'very good, his memory excellent; very ſober, mild, and courteous to any that required 'his inſtructions; and retained the true uſe of all his ſenſes unto the day of his death. He 'always proteſted, never to have written any thing, either for malice, feare, or favor, nor 'to ſeek his own particular gaine, or vaineglory, and that his only pains and care was to 'write Truth.' As he was a great Lover of Truth, ſo he was very inquiſitive to find it out: And his good Judgment, Learning, and Skill in Hiſtory and Antiquities, qualified and enabled him not to be put off with Frauds and ſuperſtitious Fables, commonly believed and related by men of leſs accuracy; as is plain from many inſtances in his writings (*cc*). On all occaſions he expreſſed a great diſlike for immorality of every kind, injuſtice, wrongs, frauds, unfaithfulneſs, falſhood, and treachery; which ſhewed an honeſt and good mind. And he ſpared not to expoſe the more ſcandalous ſorts of men that fell in his way; as lewd and unclean Prieſts, unfaithful Executors, abuſers of charitable Donations, falſe Jurymen, counterfeit Phyſicians, and other Cheats, and Impoſtors, Extortioners and cruel Oppreſſors, violators of the Monuments of the dead, and exalters of themſelves above their neighbours (*dd*). As to his Religion, he was undoubtedly at firſt, a favorer, as well as a profeſſor of Popery: but theſe words of his, under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 'That 'Doctrine is more pure, now, than it was in the Monkiſh world,' imply that he had then altered his mind. Perhaps being a lover of Antiquity, and an admirer of the old Religious buildings and monuments, he was prejudiced againſt the Reformed Religion, becauſe of the horrible havock and deſtruction thoſe that pretended to it, made of them in his days. And indeed it might render him the leſs affected to the Religion in his time *reformed*, while he took notice how ignorantly, nay ridiculouſly, ſome that profeſſed and preached it, ſhewed their zeal (*ee*) [*Q*]. Upon the whole, he appears throughout to have been an honeſt and well meaning man; and his Chronicle, or Annales, as far as they go, are ſtill the beſt and exacteſt we have extant.

(*w*) Epiſtle Dedicatorie, and Preface, to his Annales, edit. 1600.

(*x*) See Stow's Annales, edit. 1631. p. 811. b.

(*y*) Life, p. 8. 15. 20.

(*z*) Life, p. 12, 13.

(*aa*) See a print of it in his Life.

(*bb*) See Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 811.

(*cc*) Life, p. 16.

(*dd*) Ibid. p. 23.

(*ee*) Life, p. 21, 22.

'and the common ſubjects acquitted and freed from all 'former Services and Taxes; to wit, that the Abbots, 'Monks, Fryers and Nunnes, being ſuppreſt, that 'then in their places, ſhould be created forty Earles, 'threeſcore Barons, and three thouſand Knights, and 'forty thouſand Souldiours, with ſkilful Captaines, 'and competent maintenance for them all, ever out of 'the ancient Churches revenews, ſo as in ſo doing, 'the King and ſucceſſors ſhould never want of Treaſure 'of their owne, nor have cauſe to be beholding to the 'common Subjects, neither ſhould the people be any 'more charged with Loanes, Subſidies, and Fifteenes. 'Since which time, there have been more ſtatute 'Lawes, Subſidies, and Fifteenes, than five hundred 'yeeres before. And not long after that, the King had 'Subſidies granted, and borrowed great ſums of money, 'and dyed in debt, and the forenamed religious houſes 'were utterly ruinated (22).'——

(22) Preface, p. 9.

[*O*] *With others of our Author's manuſcripts.*] He tranſlated Giraldus's Itinerary of Wales, Florent. Wigorn. Aſſer Meneven, with continuation, Alured Rievall. Nic. Trevet, &c. which were all in Sir Symonds Dewes's library, in Mr Stow's own hand-writing (23).

(23) Catalog. MSS Angliæ, &c. Vol. II. col. 387.

[*P*] *To receive the gratuities and charitable benevolence of people.*] But even upon this there was but little gathered, if we may judge by the collection made in the one pariſh of St Mary Woolnoth, which amounted only to 7*s.* 6*d.* Beſides, that he hardly lived long enough to have the collection compleated. It is ſtrange, as Mr Strype obſerves (24), that the city of London, to which he had done ſuch ſervice and honour, in writing ſuch an elaborate and accurate Survey thereof; nor the wealthy Company of Merchant-Taylors, of which he was a worthy and creditable member; nor laſtly the State, in grateful remembrance of his diligent and faithful pains, in compoſing an excellent Hiſtory of the Kingdom; neither of them had allotted him ſome honorary penſion during his life.

(24) Life, p. 14.

[*Q*] *How ignorantly, nay ridiculouſly, ſome that profeſſed and preached it, ſhewed their zeal.*] He gives us ſome inſtances of it, in Sir Stephen, already mentioned (25), Curate of St Katharine Cree-church pariſh, where Mr Stow then lived. That Curate, in a Sermon at St Paul's, inveighed ſeverely againſt a long Maypole, called a *Shaft*, in the next pariſh to his, named thence St Andrew *Underſhaft*, calling it an *Idol*. Which ſo inflamed the zeal of many of the hearers, becauſe all Idols were ordered by publick authority to be taken away; that a great number of the neighbours went, the ſame afternoon, and violently pulled it down from the place where it hung upon hooks, and then ſawed it into divers pieces, each houſekeeper taking a piece, as much as hung over his door or ſtall, and afterwards caſting the pieces into one common heap, burnt them. Mr Stow heard this Sermon, and ſaw the effect of it. ——The ſame preacher, taking occaſion from that Church's name, *Underſhaft*, as ſuperſtitiouſly given to it, declared it as his judgment, that the names of Churches ſhould be altered; nay and that the names of days in the week might be changed, the fiſh-days to be kept on any days except Fridays and Saturdays. And further, that Lent ſhould be obſerved at any other time, than between Shrovetide and Eaſter.——Another practice of this Sir Stephen was, oftentimes to forſake the pulpit, and getting up into a high elm that grew in the middle of the church-yard, to preach from thence to the people; and returning into the church, he would ſay or ſing the Engliſh ſervice, not at the altar as was uſual, but upon a tomb on the north ſide of the church (26). Such were the irregular practices of the Methodiſts, or Zealots, of thoſe times, which ſerved only to expoſe the Reformation.

(25) Note [*B*].

(26) See his Survey of London, Book II. p. 66. and Life, p. 22.

STRYPE

STRYPE [JOHN], Author of ſeveral Volumes relating chiefly to the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of England: a moſt faithful and induſtrious Writer; was of German extraction, but born in Stepney-pariſh near Spital-Fields in London (*a*) November 1, 1643 (*b*). After having had his Education in Grammar learning for near ſix years, in St Paul's School (*c*), he was admitted, in 1661, in Jeſus-college, but removed ſoon after to Catharine-hall, in Cambridge, where he took the degree of Batchelor of Arts in 1665, and that of Maſter in 1669 (*d*). His firſt preferment, was the Donative, or perpetual Curacy, of Theydon-Boys in the county of Eſſex; conferred upon him the 14th of July 1669: But he quitted it a few months after, upon his being appointed Miniſter of Low-Leyton in the ſame county, where he made ſeveral improvements [*A*], and which he kept as long as he lived (*e*) By his being ſeated here, he came to have an opportunity of procuring the valuable Manuſcripts of Sir Michael Hickes Knight, once of Rokholt's in this pariſh, and Secretary to William Lord Burleigh; which were afterwards the foundation of moſt of his Books (*f*). They are very numerous; he having publiſhed no leſs than *Thirteen* Volumes in folio; full of deep and laborious reſearches: beſides *three* Volumes in octavo &c. And as he rendered himſelf chiefly conſiderable as a Writer, therefore we ſhall view him almoſt entirely in that light. His works relate more eſpecially to the Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England; as will appear by the following particular account of them, in which we ſhall have more regard to the order of time they belong to, than the order in which they were publiſhed. The firſt, in that reſpect, were his 'Eccleſiaſtical Memorials; relating chiefly 'to Religion, and the Reformation of it, and the Emergencies of the Church of England, 'under King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary the Firſt [*B*].' The next Books

(*a*) From a MS. Letter of his.

(*b*) Wood's Faſti, edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 327. Mr Strype's Picture, prefixed to Vol. I. of his Eccleſiaſtical Memor.; and Letter from Dr H. Newcome.

(*c*) See his edition of J. Stow's Survey of London, Book I. p. 164. col. 2.

(*d*) From the Univerſity Regiſters.

(*e*) Newcourt, Repertorium, Vol. II. p. 583, 555, 382.

(*f*) See N. Salmon's Hiſtory and Antiquities of Eſſex, p. 5. and Mr Strype's numerous References in the margins of his Books; with his Preface to the Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 7.

[*A*] *Upon his being appointed Miniſter of Low-Leyton, ... where he made ſeveral Improvements.*] There was ſomething very ſingular in this caſe, which we ſhall preſent the Reader with, from original Papers, that have been kindly communicated to us by a friend. Though he enjoyed this preferment above ſixty-eight years; and, what is very remarkable, adminiſtered the ſacrament in this church ſixty-ſix Chriſtmaſs-days ſucceſſively; yet he was never inſtituted nor inducted thereto. For the living being very ſmall, the three patrons complimented the Pariſh with the choice of a Miniſter. Accordingly, by the direction of the Inhabitants, Mr Strype preached to them, in order for their approbation to be choſen their Lecturer, Preacher, or Curate; and being approved of by the majority of the Pariſhioners, was, in 1669, elected to be their Lecturer or Curate: as his predeceſſors from time immemorial had been: ſo it is expreſſed in thoſe Papers. Soon after Mr Strype's election, the Pariſhioners entered into a ſubſcription for his maintenance, which was found among his books, and began thus. 'Dec. 9, 1669. 'We the Inhabitants of the Parriſh of Lowe-Leyton, 'haveing made Choice of Mr John Strype to be our 'Miniſter to ſucceed Mr Cox, doe hereby promiſſe to 'pay him yearely and every yeare (dureing our tyme 'heere as pariſhioners belonging to the ſaid parriſh) 'the following ſomes ſubſcribed to our names to be 'paid him quarterly, or other wayes as he ſhall thinke 'more convenient to demand it, provided he continues 'the uſſual Cuſtom of his Prediceſſor in preaching 'twiſſe every Sonday. I William Hickes doe promiſſe 'to pay eight pounds.' Then follow ſixty-one others, who promiſed to pay, ſome 3l. ſome 2l. ſome 1l. and others leſſer ſums; to the amount in all of 69l. 0s. 10d.——The 11th of November, 1674, he was licenſed by Dr Henchman, biſhop of London, to preach and expound the word of God in the pariſh church of Low-Layton, and to perform the full office of Prieſt and Curate there, during the Vacancy of the Vicarage: which Licenſe, and no other Inſtrument, was exhibited at the Epiſcopal Viſitations, Sept. 11, 1677, Oct. 12, 1715, and Aug. 11, 1720.——It is ſomewhat unaccountable, that Mr Strype could eſcape the Sagacity of the Officers, and enjoy a Living ſo many years as he did, ſo near London, without diſturbance or moleſtation; eſpecially at a time when a Compliance with the Rules, Orders, and Diſcipline of the Church was ſo ſtrictly enjoined, and ſo carefully enquired into, as it was during the reign of King Charles II. Indeed, in his latter days, his uncommon Merit might be his Protection with the Biſhops of London, if he could remain unnoticed by the Lord Chancellor's officers, or ſome hungry Clergyman; which he luckily did to the laſt.

As to the great Repairs and Improvements made by him. The Houſe belonging to this Living was in the moſt ruinous condition, and inhabited only by the meaneſt of people. Wherefore, at Eaſter 1677, Mr Strype applied to the general Veſtry of the Pariſh, and acquainted them with a Promiſe they had made him at his firſt coming among them, which was, to rebuild the Preacher's houſe at the Charge of the Inhabitants: Whereupon the Veſtry appointed Matthias Goodfellow and Thomas Harvey, Gentlemen, to take a view of the old Houſe, and to conſider the charge of rebuilding it; which being done, the view was at the next veſtry preſented to them, with a plan for erecting the intended new houſe. Upon which a voluntary ſubſcription was agreed on, and made by ſeveral of the Inhabitants towards the rebuilding of the Houſe, which amounted to the ſum of 79l. 19s. beſides the timber and utenſils that belonged to the old Houſe, and new materials preſented and ſent in by the Inhabitants, and a licenſe granted from the Crown for cutting Timber in Walwood in the ſame pariſh for the uſe of the houſe and buildings, obtained at the requeſt of the Inhabitants. Thus furniſhed with materials, Mr Strype undertook to rebuild the Houſe; the charges of which, with the out-houſes and fencing the ground belonging to the ſame, amounted in the whole to 216l. 9s. 3d. That is, he expended, out of his own pocket, 140l. 10s. 3d. beſides the contributions aforeſaid; as appears by an account entered by himſelf in one of this Pariſh's Regiſters. The Houſe is of Brick, containing thirty feet in front, and twenty-four in depth; with an additional building on the Eaſt ſide for Offices, being twenty feet in front, and twelve in depth. And in the yard a ſtable and ſtraw-houſe, containing ſixteen feet in front, and twelve in depth; with a wood-houſe and loft over it, ſeventeen feet in length, and thirteen feet and a half in depth. ——Alſo in 1679, Mr Strype, by a collection in the pariſh, and his own expence, did repair the roof of the upper Chancel of the Church, which was ready to fall down, the two arches that then were there being very defective: They being taken down, the raiſing piece was alſo found to be rotten; whereupon two new pillars were erected, on which reſted a new raiſing piece. For theſe pillars and raiſing piece, were obtained three ſtrong oaks out of Walwood, in this pariſh. The charge of theſe repairs, beſides the timber, amounted to about 70l. In conſideration of which, he was allowed what advantage could be made by the Pews and Burials in the Chancel; and enjoyed the ſame till ſome diſpute aroſe between him and the lord of the manor, touching the nominating a Pariſh-Clerk. Mr Strype alſo repaired the Chancel-porch at his own charge (1). . . . . Notwithſtanding which, his Executors were ſued by his Succeſſor for Dilapidations: But very little or nothing could be recovered, the Plea being, That he had never been Inſtituted, nor Inducted; and that the Houſe was built, and ought to be repaired by the Pariſh.

(1) Newcourt, ubi ſupra, p. 381.

[*B*] *Eccleſiaſtical Memorials*, &c.] The reſt of the title of Vol. I. is as follows. . . . 'All which being new, 'and ſuch as have hitherto eſcaped our Writers and 'Hiſtorians, will communicate much more light to 'thoſe great Tranſactions in this Kingdom: And moreover diſcover further the Inclinations and Influences 'of the reſpective Princes: The Embaſſies and Correſpondencies with foreign Potentates and States, 'chiefly with reſpect to Religion: The Oppoſitions 'made

Books of his we ſhall mention, according to our method, are the Lives of the four firſt Proteſtant Archbiſhops; Archbiſhop Cranmer [C]; Archbiſhop Parker [D]; Archbiſhop Grindal [E]; and Archbiſhop Whitgift [F]. We have placed theſe four Lives together, as

'made to it: The Troubles and Perſecutions of the 'Profeſſors of it: The Tempers, Practices, and Events 'of the Two Cardinals, Wolſey and Pole, and other 'Prelates and Great Men of both Parties, in the re'ſpective reigns: Beſides, Accounts of Convocations, 'Royal and Epiſcopal Viſitations, Eccleſiaſtical Con'ſtitutions, Books from time to time ſet forth; with 'various other Matters worthy of Note and Obſerva'tion. In Three Volumes. With a large Appendix 'to each Volume, containing Original Papers, Records, '&c.' The Title of Vol. II. is, 'Hiſtorical Memorials, 'chiefly Eccleſiaſtical, and ſuch as concern Religion 'and the Reformation of it, and the Progreſs made 'therein, under the Reign and Influence of King Ed'ward VI. containing alſo many new Diſcoveries of 'the Life, Acts, and Government of that Prince.' With a Repoſitory of Originals. And the Title of Vol. III. is, 'Hiſtorical Memorials, Eccleſiaſtical and 'Civil, of Events under the reign of Queen Mary I. 'Wherein are brought to light various Things concern'ing the management of Affairs, during the Five Years 'of her Government. And, more particularly, The 'Reſtoring of the Pope's Authority, and the Popiſh 'Religion in this Kingdom: And the rigorous Methods 'of Burning, and other Severities, for the Replanting 'of it, uſed towards ſuch as adhered to the Religion 'Reformed under King Edward VI.' With a Catalogue of Originals. Lond. 1721. fol.——Mr Strype informs us, in his Preface, that 'Theſe Memorials, 'reſpecting chiefly Religion, and the Reformation of it 'in this kingdom, had been compoſed by him and fitted 'for the preſs divers years before. But he thought fit 'to lay them aſide for a time; and to begin rather with 'what he had writ of the Lives and Acts of the Four 'Firſt Proteſtant Archbiſhops of Canterbury; as ſhew'ing therein, the beginning, progreſs, oppoſition, and 'eſtabliſhment of the ſaid happy Reformation in a con'tinued Hiſtory, under the influence of thoſe moſt 'worthy Prelates. Nor did he think it convenient to 'burden thoſe Books, which were large enough of 'themſelves, by inſerting thoſe *Memorials* into them, 'which would have rendered them too bulky: But 'rather to compile them into other Volumes by them'ſelves, in due time to follow the reſt. This gave 'occaſion to their being ſuppreſſed till then. But they 'being a faithful Collection of many important matters 'which went before, accompanied, or immediately 'related to, that great work, [the Reformation] and 'well worthy to be known, He was willing and de'ſirous, that they might now be recommended to the 'world; and that they might be the more correctly 'ſet forth by himſelf, and have his review, before his 'death, which his great Age ſuggeſted could not be 'far off..... He did not intend, when he took this 'work in hand, to write a compleat Eccleſiaſtical 'Hiſtory under thoſe Three of our Kings, and of all 'the occurrences and events of Religion and the Church 'in their reigns. For that had been done, or endea'voured, by ſome Hiſtoriographers already. His were 'only *Eccleſiaſtical Memorials*; and intended but to ſup'ply what had been omitted by them, or to rectify ſome 'Miſtakes, or Miſrepreſentations of Perſons and Things: 'Or to fill up and enlarge matters, more briefly or 'imperfectly related in our publiſhed hiſtories. His 'deſign was only to communicate to the world what 'he had of this ſort of Hiſtory, out of his ſtore, and 'to digeſt theſe notices in their proper places chrono'logically from year to year, as they occurred. And 'chiefly to bring to light ſuch further particulars, as 'he had found in State-papers, and Letters, and Re'cords, and many original MSS of the beſt ſort, after 'long and diligent converſe with them.' They were compiled from Tranſcripts by him taken, out of the *Cotton*, *Bennet-college*, and Biſhop *More*'s Libraries; out of the *Paper-houſe* at Weſtminſter; out of the Earl of *Oxford*'s Library, and that of the *Inner-Temple*; the *Heralds* Office; numerous MSS of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, ſome time belonging to the famous Martyrologiſt, *John Fox*; divers notable State-letters, or of more private correſpondence between perſons of the higheſt rank and quality in Church and Court, preſerved in the houſe of Sir *William Hicks*, Bart..... Our Author gives the following Account of his Exactneſs and Induſtry (2). ... 'My Diligence will in part appear, in that I have 'made no uſe of Tranſcribers and *Amanuenſes*: or, that 'I ſaw not the Originals myſelf, but left it to the Care 'of others to take out thence: who oftentimes make 'Miſtakes, Omiſſions, and falſe Writing of Letters and 'Words, to the ſpoiling and corrupting of the true 'Senſe, ſometimes by Negligence or too much Haſte, 'and ſometimes for want of ſkill, and not knowing well 'the Manner of old Writing in the Shape of the Letters, 'or the Abbreviations commonly uſed in times paſt. 'For the prevention of which Inconveniences, I writ all 'from the MSS *with mine own pen*, and with as much 'care as I could; that whatſoever I tranſcribed might 'be exactly taken, both as to the Letter and Spelling.' He alſo declares, that he had avoided partiality and prejudice, and ſet down things as he found them.

(2) Preface, p. 8.

[C] *The Life of Archbiſhop Cranmer.*] This was publiſhed at London, in 1694. fol. with this title, 'Memorials of the moſt Renowned Father in God, Thomas Cranmer, ſome time Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Wherein the Hiſtory of the Church, and the 'Reformation of it, during the Primacy of the ſaid 'Archbiſhop, are greatly illuſtrated; and many ſingular 'Matters relating thereunto, now firſt publiſhed. In 'three Books. Collected chiefly from Records, Regiſters, authentick Letters, and other Original Manu'ſcripts.' At the end, is an Appendix of original Papers; and Obſervations of Mr Henry Wharton on the Memorials.

[D] *The Life of Archbiſhop Parker.*] This came out in 1711. fol. and was intituled, 'The Life and Acts 'of Matthew Parker, the firſt Archbiſhop of Canterbury 'in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Under whoſe pri'macy and influence the Reformation of Religion was 'happily effected; and the Church of England reſtored, 'and eſtabliſhed upon the Principles whereon it ſtands 'to this day. Wherein are related the ſaid Arch'biſhop's Actions in eccleſiaſtical Commiſſions and 'Synods: His Viſitations of the Dioceſes, Colleges, 'and Hoſpitals within his Province, with his Injunc'tions and Regulations: Characters and Accounts of 'Biſhops by him conſecrated: His Endeavours for 'Uniformity: His diligence in retrieving and publiſh'ing many *Saxon*, and other ancient hiſtorical MSS 'of this Nation: His procuring a more correct Tranſ'lation of the holy Bible: His Government of his own 'Dioceſs of Canterbury: His ſober thoughts, counſels 'and cares for Religion and this Church: And many 'particulars of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of thoſe Times, 'hitherto unknown, or very obſcure, are diſcovered 'and brought to light. Compiled faithfully from Re'cords, Regiſters, State-papers, Orders of Council, 'Authentic Letters, and ſundry other original MSS. 'In four Books. To which is added, An Appendix, 'containing various Tranſcripts of Records, Letters, 'Inſtruments, Ordinances, Commiſſions, Diſcourſes, 'Relations, Intelligences, and other ſecret Papers, 'above an hundred in number; for the aſſerting or 'illuſtrating the foregoing Hiſtory. Among which 'will be found the *Latin* Life of this Archbiſhop, en'tituled *Matthæus*, ſo much and ſo long wanted in the 'Editions of the Britiſh Antiquities.'

[E] *Archbiſhop Grindal.*] The title of this Archbiſhop's Life, is, 'The Hiſtory of the Life and Acts 'of the moſt Reverend Father in God Edmund Grindal, 'the firſt Biſhop of London, and the ſecond Arch'biſhop of York and Canterbury ſucceſſively, in the 'reign of Queen Elizabeth. Wherein is ſhewed, that 'moſt Reverend Prelate's pious and uſeful Labours, 'both in the Reformation and Government of the 'Church of England, while he preſided over it, and 'how well he merited of it &c. To which is added 'an Appendix of original MSS.' Lond. 1710. fol.

[F] *The Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift.*] This was publiſhed in 1718. fol. and bears this title. 'The Life 'and Acts of the moſt Reverend Father in God, John 'Whitgift D. D. the third and laſt Lord Archbiſhop 'of Canterbury, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; 'who, under her Majeſty, in that Station, governed 'the Church of England for the ſpace of twenty years. 'Wherein is interwoven much of the Hiſtory of the 'Affairs of this Church; viz. Nominations and Con'ſecrations of Biſhops; Bills and Petitions in Parlia'ment about Religion, and for Reformation of cor'ruptions and abuſes in the Church; Tranſactions in 'Convoca-

as naturally following one another. But, to return to ſome other works of our Author, which are partly anterior in point of time to the two laſt mentioned Primates: His 'Annals of the Reformation of the Church of England,' are in four Volumes folio: The firſt of which was publiſhed in 1709, and reprinted in 1725, with large Additions both in the History and Appendix [G]. The ſecond came out in 1725 [H], the third in 1728 [I], and the fourth in 1731 [K]. Another very large and laborious work of our moſt induſtrious Author, was a new edition of J. Stow's Survey of London, in two Volumes in folio [L]. The three Volumes in octavo publiſhed by him, as abovementioned, were, The Lives of Sir John Cheke [M], Sir Thomas Smith [N], and Dr John Ælmer, Biſhop of London [O]. He alſo publiſhed, A Sermon preached at the Aſſizes at Hertford, July 8, 1689,

'Convocations, and eccleſiaſtical Commiſſions; the 'Diligence of Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits; Methods for 'the reſtraint of them; the endeavours of thoſe they 'called *Puritans*, to ſet up a new Church-diſcipline; 'and the proſecution of ſome of them; Notices of 'the firſt Separatiſts; Viſitations of Dioceſes, and the 'ſtate of them; Matters of the civil and eccleſiaſtical 'Courts; Occurrences in the Univerſities, and obſervations upon divers Heads and Members thereof; 'Accounts of Prelates, and other learned Clergymen 'and Writers in thoſe times; Books and Writings of 'note; ſome further diſcovery and account (beſides 'what hath been printed) of that memorable *Conference* 'at *Hampton-Court* before King James the Firſt, with 'the iſſue thereof, and the effects it produced. The 'whole digeſted, compiled, and atteſted from Records, 'Regiſters, original Letters, and other authentick MSS, 'taken from the choiceſt Libraries and Collections of the 'kingdom. In four Books. Together with a large Appendix of the ſaid Papers, to the number of CXXIX.'

[G] *His Annals of the Reformation of the Church of England are in four Volumes folio: The firſt of which was publiſhed in* 1709, *and reprinted in* 1725.] The title will inform the Reader of the contents of this Volume; being as follows. 'Annals of the Reformation and 'Eſtabliſhment of Religion, and other various Occurrences in the Church of England; during the firſt 'twelve years of Queen Elizabeth's happy reign. 'Wherein account is given of the reſtoring of Religion from its Corruptions introduced under Queen 'Mary; of filling the Sees with Proteſtant Biſhops; 'of the famous Synod aſſembled in the year MDLXII; 'of the workings and endeavours of the Papiſts; and 'of the firſt appearances of the Diſſenſion from the 'Church eſtabliſhed. Compiled faithfully out of Papers of State, authentick Records, publick Regiſters, 'private Letters, and other original Manuſcripts. Together with an Appendix or Repoſitory, containing 'the moſt important of them.'

[H] *The Second came out in* 1725.] This Volume 'commences at the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign: And endeth at the concluſion of the year 'of our Lord MDLXXX. Beſides an account of the 'Reformation, it comprehends other matters, relating 'to the ſtate of Learning, and civil Affairs of remark, 'happening in this kingdom within that period: 'Tending to the rectifying Miſtakes, and ſupplying 'Defects in our Hiſtory of thoſe times. All taken 'from original Letters and Papers of State &c. With 'an Appendix of original Papers &c.'

[I] *The third in* 1728.] It reaches from the year 1581 to 1588, and 'contains Accounts of the Government and Inſpection of the Biſhops in their reſpective 'Dioceſſes; as matters requiring their care, fell out 'each year: Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſions: The buſy 'actings of Papiſts and Puritans: The Difficulties and 'Dangers the State as well as the Church met with 'from time to time: occaſioned chiefly from the endeavours to overthrow both, by the power and practices of ſuch as favoured *Mary* Queen of Scots: Of 'whom many ſpecial tranſactions; and chiefly of her 'ſentence and death; and the conſequences thereof, 'are ſhewn: And the *Spaniſh* Invaſion in 1588. Both 'ſerving to enlighten thoſe two great Criſes of Queen 'Elizabeth's reign. Together with divers other political Affairs of note interſperſed. The Hiſtory is 'alſo improved by notices given concerning the ſtate 'and events of the Church of *Ireland*; Occurrences 'and Differences that fell out in our Univerſities; Remarks of many perſons of rank and quality in Church 'and State: Books of learning and note, Libels, Pamphlets &c. publiſhed yearly. Collected diligently 'and faithfully from Records, Papers of State, Original Letters of Privy Counſillors, Ambaſſadors, Biſhops, learned men in the Univerſities, as elſewhere: 'And from other choice MSS. reſerved in our publick 'Libraries, or more private Archives. Together with 'an Appendix: Containing many choice Records, and 'Papers of value; tranſcribed from originals: Referred to in the work; in order to the vindication, 'proof, and illuſtration of the Hiſtory.'

[K] *And the fourth in* 1731.] At the concluſion of the Preface to his Third Volume, he had ſaid, that he 'muſt call that Volume his laſt (though indeed it 'reached not by divers years to the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign) becauſe it was the laſt Concluſion of 'his Labour therein; his great Age and frequent Infirmities diſabling him from going further in that 'work.' . . . . However, he lived to publiſh the Fourth Volume, in 1731; but being then arrived to the Eighty-eighth year of his age, his Weakneſs and Infirmities hindered him from digeſting it even in the ſame manner as the former Volumes. So that it is only a Collection of Original Papers.

[L] *A new Edition of J. Stow's Survey of London, in two Volumes in folio.*] It was publiſhed in 1720, and what improvements our Author made in it, we may learn from the Title, which is as follows. 'A Survey 'of the Cities of London and Weſtminſter: Containing the Original, Antiquity, Increaſe, modern Eſtate 'and Government of thoſe Cities. Written at firſt 'in the year MDXCVIII. By *John Stow*, citizen and 'native of London. Since reprinted and augmented 'by the Author; and afterwards by A. M. H. D. 'and others. Now laſtly, corrected, improved, and 'very much enlarged: And the Survey and Hiſtory 'brought down from the year 1633, (being near Fourſcore years ſince it was laſt printed) to the preſent 'time; by *John Strype*, M. A. a native alſo of the 'ſaid City. Illuſtrated with exact Maps of the City 'and Suburbs, and of all the Wards; and likewiſe of 'the Out-pariſhes of London and Weſtminſter: Together with many other fair Draughts of the more 'eminent and publick Edifices and Monuments. In 'Six Books. To which is prefixed, the Life of the 'Author, writ by the Editor. At the end is added, 'An Appendix of certain Tracts, Diſcourſes and Remarks concerning the State of the City of London. 'Together with a Perambulation, or Circuit-walk four 'or five miles round about London, to the Pariſh 'Churches: Deſcribing the Monuments of the Dead 'there interred: With other Antiquities obſervable in 'thoſe places. And concluding with a Second Appendix, as a ſupply and review.'

[M] *The Life of Sir John Cheke.*] It has this title, 'The Life of the learned Sir John Cheke, Knight, 'firſt Inſtructor, afterwards Secretary of State to King 'Edward VI, one of the great Reſtorers of good Learning and true Religion in this Kingdom. A Work 'wherein many remarkable points of Hiſtory, relating to the State of Learning and Religion in the 'times of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and 'Q. Mary I, are brought to light. To which is added, 'A Treatiſe of Superſtition writ by the ſaid learned 'Knight, and now firſt publiſhed.' Lond. 1705. 8vo.

[N] *Sir Thomas Smith.*] And this has the following title. 'The Life of the learned Sir Thomas Smith 'Knight, Doctor of the Civil Law; Principal Secretary of State to King Edward the Sixth, and Queen 'Elizabeth. Wherein are diſcovered many ſingular 'Matters relating to the State of Learning, the Reformation of Religion, and the Tranſactions of the 'Kingdom, during his time. In all which he had a 'great and happy Influence. With an Appendix, 'wherein are contained ſome Works of his, never before publiſhed.' Lond. 1698. 8vo.

[O] *And Dr John Ælmer, biſhop of London.*] This he intitled, 'Hiſtorical Collections, relating to the 'Life and Acts of Biſhop Aylmer.' Lond. 1701. 8vo. It contains a particular account, of the Puritans book,

1689, on 1 Sam. xii. 7. Lond, 1689. 4to. and two other Sermons [P]: and collected together the Second Volume of Dr Lightfoot's Works, tranſlating ſeveral pieces therein from the original Latin, and making large Additions to the Doctor's Life, written by the Publiſher of the firſt Volume, Dr George Bright (g). Beſides his preferments already mentioned, he had the Sine-Cure of Terring in Suſſex, given him by Archbiſhop Tenniſon; and was Lecturer of Hackney till about the year 1724, when he reſigned that Lecture. In the latter and infirm part of his life, he lived with Mr Harris an Apothecary at Hackney, who had married his grand-daughter; where he died December 13, 1737, at the uncommon age of ninety-four. So that his intenſe application to his ſtudies did not ſhorten his days! His Faithfulneſs was equal to his induſtry [Q], and the world is greatly indebted to him for preſerving ſeveral valuable Materials, which would otherwiſe have been loſt. He kept a literary correſpondence with the moſt learned and eminent perſons in his time; particularly with Archbiſhops Tenniſon, and Wake; the Biſhops Atterbury, Burnet, Nicolſon &c. as appeared by an exact Diary he had made of his own life, and which was in the hands of Mr Harris. But that Gentleman being dead, and the family diſperſed, This, with many other curious Papers, is either loſt or miſlaid.

(g) Wood Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 187. He alſo publiſhed his Genuine Remains, and Opera poſthuma.

Of Diſcipline; of Thomas Cartwright, the firſt broacher and head of Puritaniſm; of Campion the Jeſuit, and other civil and eccleſiaſtical Affairs, which were more ſlightly treated of in other works of our Author (3), and by the reſt of our Hiſtorians.

(3) See Preface to his Life of Archbp Parker.

[P] *And two other Sermons.*] The one intituled, 'Leſſons proper for fallible men, in a Sermon preached 'at the Lecture of St Auguſtin's Hackney, Sept. 21, '1707, on Prov. xiv. 12.' Publiſhed at requeſt, Lond. 1708, 8vo.——The other, 'Short Rules for Chriſtian 'Practice, delivered at Hackney-Church on Sunday 'May 31, 1724, on Phil. iv. 8. The Farewell Sermon 'of the Lecturer there.' Lond. 1724, 8vo. Publiſhed at the deſire of the Pariſhioners.

[Q] *His Faithfulneſs was equal to his Induſtry.*] We may judge of his Faithfulneſs, by the following Account he gives (in the Preface to Vol. I. of his Annals) of the Method he had purſued in that work.—'I have 'choſen, ſays he, commonly to ſet down Things in 'the very words of the Records and Originals, and of 'the Authors themſelves, rather than in my own, 'without framing and dreſſing them into more modern 'language. Whereby the Senſe is ſure to remain entire 'as the Writers meant it. Whereas, by affecting too 'curiouſly to change and model Words and Sentences, 'the Senſe itſelf, I have obſerved, often to be marred 'and diſguiſed.' And he further declares, That 'in 'this Work he had purſued Truth with all Faithfulneſs 'and Sincerity (4).'——Thus alſo, in the Preface to Vol. II. he ſays, ... 'In this whole Undertaking 'I have uſed all Faithfulneſs and Impartiality: and ſet 'down things according as I found them in the Originals, whether Letters, Records, Regiſters, Papers of 'State, or other MSS, being the imports of them, and 'often the ſame words. So that the Reader may the 'readier depend upon the Truth of what I offer (5).'——And to the ſame purpoſe in the Preface to Vol. III. ... 'What I have entred in my Copies, and prepared 'Writings for the preſs, were always reviewed by me, 'and carefully compared with the Records and Originals by me tranſcribed. And moreover I have ever 'been very careful and punctual in all my Collections 'thence. Whereof I have many Volumes (now bound 'up) taken by my own pen, and with mine own eyes, 'and made uſe of no other Tranſcribers or *Amanuenſes*. 'Unleſs what ſome learned Friends abroad, and in the 'Univerſities, had communicated to me.' ... He adds, 'I have for many long years together, converſed with 'Hiſtorical MSS (falling within the *Sæculum Reformatum*) whether Records, Regiſters, Inſtruments, Letters 'of Stateſmen, as well as other private Letters of the 'Court and Nobility, together with very many antient 'printed Books of thoſe Times (having met with ſome 'ſpecial Advantages that way) more than many men 'alive have done. And when afterwards I was purpoſed, for the publick Good, to digeſt and publiſh 'ſome of theſe Pains of mine, I ever made it my 'Reſolution to be juſt, faithful and impartial in what 'I ſhould deliver, and recommend unto the World 'from thence.'——See alſo the Prefaces to his Lives of the four firſt Proteſtant Archbiſhops.——Upon the whole, as Dr Birch rightly obſerves (6), 'His Fidelity and Induſtry will always give a value to his numerous Writings, however deſtitute of the graces, and 'even uniformity of ſtyle, and the art of connecting 'facts.'

(4) Preface to Vol. I. p. 2 and 3.

(5) Preface to Vol. II. p. 3.

(6) Life of Abp Tillotſon, p. 329.

C

SUTTON [THOMAS], Eſq; Founder of Charter-houſe Hoſpital near London, was deſcended of an ancient and genteel family (a) of his name in Lincolnſhire; in which County he was born at a place called Knaith, in the year 1532. He received the firſt part of his education at Eton School (b), whence he was probably ſent to Cambridge, and matriculated as a member of St John's College on the 27th of November 1551 [A]. However, without taking any degree (c), he removed thence to Lincoln's-Inn with a view, as it ſhould ſeem, of ſtudying the law (d). But finding a ſedentary way of life not agreeable to his active genius, he reſolved to form the compleat gentleman, by travelling abroad. In the execution of this deſign, he ſpent the whole time of Queen Mary's reign in foreign parts, and making the tour of Holland, France, Spain, and Italy, he became a maſter of the languages of thoſe ſeveral countries. Returning home in 1562, he entered into the poſſeſſion of a handſome fortune, which had been left to him by his Father [B], who died during his abſence.

(a) Which bears for Arms; Or, on a Cheveron between three annulets, Gules, as many creſcents, Or. Camden's funeral certificates in the Heralds office.

(b) By the advice and direction of Dr Cox, Preceptor to King Edward VI, and not long before Chief Schoolmaſter of that ſchool.

(c) He probably quitted the Univerſity on the acceſſion of Q. Mary in 1553.

(d) Stow's Ann. by How, p. 940.

[A] *He was matriculated of St John's college, Cambridge.*] That he was ſome time at one of the Univerſities appears from the teſtimony of *Percival Burrel*, Preacher at Charter-houſe in 1629 (1). Mr Wood's ſilence upon the Article is a ſtrong preſumptive proof Mr Sutton was not of Oxford; and that worthy Antiquarian, the late Mr Thomas Baker, of St John's college in Cambridge, being applied to by Dr Philip Bearcroft (2), returned the following anſwer, 'I have turned 'our matriculation book very carefully from the year '1544, where it firſt begins, to the year 1551, and 'cannot meet with your Founder, Thomas Sutton, 'either at Magdalene or Jeſus college, or indeed at 'any college except St John's, where I find Thomas 'Sutton matriculated, Nov. 27, 1551, thus; *Thomas 'Sutton coll. Joh. Quadrantarius (cenſus) Nov.* 27, 1551. 'The time agrees pretty nearly with his age, for he 'might have been admitted a year or two ſooner; 'they are not always matriculated the firſt year. But '*Quadrantarius* is a greater objection, which ſuits not 'well with his birth and quality; and yet we have had 'Gentlemen admitted Sizars.' After theſe objections, Mr Baker proceeds to ſhew, that, if he were not of this college, he was not of that Univerſity, being neither of Magdalene nor Jeſus, notwithſtanding he was a benefactor to both. This being confirmed by expreſs informations from thoſe colleges, induced Dr Bearcroft (3) to aſſign him to St John's college, wherein we have followed him.

(1) In a Commemoration ſermon preached that year, entituled The Engliſh Centurion, &c. a copy of which, and perhaps the only one remaining, is in the Bodleian Library.

(2) Then Preacher at Charter-houſe.

(3) Hiſtorical Account of Thomas Sutton, Eſq; and of the foundation in Charter-houſe, in the preface, p. 11, 12, 13. Edit. 1737. 8vo.

[B] *He became poſſeſſed of a handſome fortune left him by his Father.*] His Father's name was Richard; he died at his houſe in the pariſh of St Swithin in Lincoln, having been ſteward of the courts to that city (4). Though his death happened July 27, 1558, yet his will, wherein he left his wife and ſon joint executors, was not proved till the 22d of February, 1562. The will

(4) And therefore probably of the profeſſion of the common law.

abſence. He was now about thirty years of age, and being in all reſpects an accompliſhed gentleman, he was firſt retained by the Duke of Norfolk [C], and after ſome time became Secretary to the Earl of Warwick [D], and occaſionally alſo to his brother the Earl of Leiceſter. In 1569, the former of theſe Noblemen being Maſter-General of the Ordnance, appointed his Secretary Maſter of the Ordnance at Berwick [E], in which poſt he diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly upon the breaking out of the Rebellion in the North by the Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, ſo that by the recommendation of his two juſt-mentioned noble Patrons, he obtained a Patent the ſame year for the office of *Maſter-General of the Ordnance in the North* for life; and in 1573 he commanded one of the five Batteries, which obliged the ſtrong caſtle of Edinburgh to ſurrender to the Engliſh [F]. While he was thus acquiring that glory which is the peculiar purchaſe of military exploits, he grew not leſs diſtinguiſhed by an extraordinary acceſs of wealth: ſoon after his arrival in the North, he had purchaſed of the Biſhop of Durham the manors of Gateſhead and Wickham, famous for coal-mines in that biſhopric; and in 1570 obtaining a leaſe from the Crown for the term of ſeventy-nine years, theſe proſpered ſo faſt, that on his coming up to London in 1580, he brought with him the quantity of two horſe-loads of money, and was reputed to be worth fifty-thouſand pounds *(e)*. About the middle of the year 1582 he married Elizabeth daughter of John Gardiner Eſq; of Grove-place in the pariſh of Chalfont-St Gyles in Buckinghamſhire, and widow of John Dudley of Stoke-Newington in Middleſex Eſq; a near relation of the Earl of Warwick; this Lady brought him a very conſiderable eſtate, and among the reſt a moiety of the manor of Stoke-Newington *(f)*, which being near London, he made that houſe his country ſeat, and purchaſing in the city a large houſe near Broken Wharf, in the pariſh of St Mary Somerſet [G], he took up the buſineſs of a merchant, which his ready caſh enabled him to follow with ſuch great credit, and ſo much to his advantage, that he ſoon became one of the chief merchants of London, and is ſaid to have had no leſs than thirty agents abroad, and his riches flowing in with every tide *(g)*. Mr Sutton was likewiſe one of the chief victuallers of the Navy *(h)*, and ſeems to have been maſter of the Barque called *Sutton*, of ſeventy tons and thirty men, in the liſt of volunteers attending the Engliſh fleet againſt the Spaniſh Armada *(i)* in 1588 [H]. He is likewiſe ſaid

(e) The depoſition in Chancery, after his deceaſe, of his ſervant John Thompſon. Cauſæ Franciſcæ Popham et Executt. Thomæ Sutton.

(f) Mr Dudley had left her Executrix and co-partner in his fortunes with their ſole child, a daughter. Charter-houſe, evidence-houſe.

(g) Dom. Carthuſ. p. 50. by Sam. Herne. edit. 1677. 8vo.

(h) This was by private contract, no public office nor commiſſioner for this purpoſe being at that time eſtabliſhed.

(i) Cotton Library, Julius, F. VI. 107.

will was nuncupative, and thus reduced for the probate to writing: 'Be it known to all men by theſe preſents, 'that Richard Sutton, of the pariſh of St Swithin within 'the city of Lincoln, gentleman, the 27th day of July 'in the year of our Lord God 1558, being of perfect 'remembrance, made his laſt will and teſtament nuncupative, in manner and form following: Firſt he 'bequeathed his ſoul to Almighty God his Maker and 'Redeemer, and willed his body to be buried in the 'pariſh-church of St Swithin aforeſaid. Item, he bequeathed to Thomas Sutton, his ſon, his leaſe of 'Cockrington, and all the years which were then to 'come and undetermined in the ſame. Item, the reſidue of his goods, not bequeathed, he gave to Elizabeth Sutton, his wife, and Thomas Sutton, his ſaid 'ſon, whom he made his executors, theſe being witneſſes, John Hall, William Wilſon, Joan Cook, and 'Joan Ryall, with others. *Probatum fuit apud Lincoln* (5).' By the probate it appears, that the execution was granted to Mr Sutton alone, the whole being truſted to his management by his good mother. She was a daughter of the honourable family of the Stapletons in Yorkſhire, whoſe lineal Anceſtor was Sir *Bryan Stapleton of Carleton*, Knight of the Garter in the time of King Richard II. Alſo Sir Miles Stapleton, created at the foundation of that order, was of this family (6). The leaſe of Cockrington, which was held of the biſhopric of Lincoln, was of very conſiderable value, and beſides this, Mr Sutton, we ſee, had a moiety of the perſonal eſtate.

(5) Regiſter of the biſhopric of Lincoln.

(6) Mr Sutton's legacy, in his will, of a hundred marks to his couſin William, ſon of Sir Richard Stapleton, and letters of the widow of this Sir Richard, dated from Carleton. Charter-houſe evidence-houſe.

[C] *Retained in the ſervice of the Duke of* Norfolk.] Mr Sutton makes a grateful acknowledgment of the favours he received from this Patron in his laſt will, wherein he leaves him a legacy of 400l. Beſides which, he bequeathed his manors of Littlebury and Hadſtock in Eſſex to his Grace's ſon, the Earl of Suffolk, on the payment of 10000l. (7). Theſe manors lie contiguous to that of the Lord Audley, whoſe daughter and heir the Earl of Suffolk married, and built that remarkably magnificent houſe, called Audley Inn (8).

(7) Hiſtorical Account, p. 106.

(8) Gen. Hiſt. of England.

[D] *He was ſecretary to the Earl of Warwick.*] Among the papers in the Charter-houſe evidence-houſe, there appears a grant, on the 12th of November, 1569, of an annuity of 31l. 6s. 8d. out of the manor of Walkington in Yorkſhire, from Ambroſe Earl of Warwick, and dame Anne, his wife, to their well-beloved ſervant, Thomas Sutton, for life; and they afterwards leaſed the whole manor to him for twenty-one years, at the rent of 26l. per annum.

[E] *Maſter of the ordnance at Berwick.*] This was a poſt of particularly great truſt at this time, Berwick being a frontier-garriſon to Scotland, then in confuſion through inteſtine broils, on account of Mary Queen of Scots and the Romiſh religion (9). How well Mr Sutton filled his poſt Mr Camden will inform us; whoſe account of Berwick from his own ſurvey, during Mr Sutton's maſter-generalſhip of the ordnance in the North, is this; 'The Kings of England, ſays he, have ſeveral 'times fortified it with new works; but eſpecially Queen 'Elizabeth, who lately, to the terror of the enemy, 'and the ſecurity of the burghers, hath drawn it into 'a leſs compaſs than before, and ſurrounded it with a 'firm wall of Aſler work; which is again ſtrengthened 'with a deep ditch, baſtions, and counterſcarp; ſo 'that its fortifications are ſo ſtrong and regular, that 'no beſiegers can hope to carry it hereafter, not to 'mention the valour of the inhabitants, *and the ſur-*'*prizing plenty of all warlike ſtores* (10).' Wherever Mr Sutton's eye and purſe were concerned, there was plenty; and they were of ſervice to his Sovereign, in furniſhing the Northern garriſons; and to himſelf, in the concluſion, by an ample recompence from the Crown (11).

(9) Gen. Hiſt. of England.

(10) Camden's Britannia, in Northumberland.

(11) Bearcroft's Hiſt. Account, &c. p. 8.

[F] *Edinburgh caſtle ſurrenders to the Engliſh.*] It is probable, that, as Maſter-General of the Ordnance, he attended the Earl of Suſſex, Preſident of the North, into Scotland, with an army in 1570, though he is not expreſsly named in Camden's Annals for that year. But in the year 1573 he is named (12) as one of the chief of thoſe fifteen hundred men, who marched into Scotland to the aſſiſtance of the Regent, the Earl of Morton, by order of Queen Elizabeth, and laid ſiege to Edinburgh caſtle.

(12) Camden and Stow's Annals for 1573, and Churchyard's Poems.

[G] *His houſe near Broken Wharf.*] It is thus deſcribed by Mr Stow (13): 'By this *Broken Wharf* remaineth 'one large building of ſtone, with arched gates, which 'meſſuage I find in the forty-third Year of Henry III. 'pertayning to Hugh Bygot, and in the eleventh of 'Edward II. to Thomas de Brotherton, the King's 'brother, Earl of Norfolk, &c.'

(13) In his Survey of London, edit. by Strype, Vol. I. p. 3. and 17.

[H] *He attended the Engliſh fleet againſt the Spaniſh Armada.*] It is very probable that he was the principal inſtrument in the defeat of that Armada. For Sir Francis Walſingham having, by the help of a Popiſh Prieſt, his ſpy, procured a copy of the King of Spain's letter, giving an account of his mighty preparations to the Pope; the Invaſion was hindered for a whole year by our merchants, who, at the inſtance of Sir Francis, gathered up the chief bills of the Bank of Genoa; and drawing their money out of it juſt as King Philip had ordered bills upon that bank to ſet his fleet out to ſea; thoſe bills were through neceſſity proteſted, ſo that patience became the only remedy; his Majeſty was obliged to wait the arrival of his Plate-Fleet from the Indies for the neceſſary ſupplies; and

England

(k) Brother to the Duke of Norfolk, Mr Sutton's firſt maſter.

(l) Mr Herne in Domus Carthuſiana, p. 52. makes Mr Sutton to have married the Lady Popham, (and ſo to have enjoyed the wealth of the great rich Popham,) which miſtake was apparently occaſioned by this marriage of his wife's daughter to Lord Chief Juſtice Popham's ſon.

ſaid to have been a Commiſſioner for Prizes under Lord Charles Howard (*k*), High Admiral of England, and going to ſea with Letters of Marque, he took a Spaniſh ſhip worth twenty thouſand pounds. In 1590 having married his wife's daughter, by Mr Dudley, to *Francis Popham* Eſq; ſon and heir to the Lord Chief Juſtice of that name (*l*), being himſelf without iſſue, and paſt all hopes of children by Mrs Sutton, he contracted his great dealings into ſo narrow a compaſs as permitted him to quit London [*I*], and to reſide at one or other of his country ſeats, for he had purchaſed ſeveral good eſtates. On the 27th of May, 1594, he ſurrendered his Patent of *Maſter of the Ordnance in the North* (*m*), and on the 20th of June following he conveyed in truſt all his eſtates in Eſſex to found an Hoſpital at *Hallingbury-Bouchers* in that county, but with a power of revocation during his life. On the 17th of December the ſame year he alſo made his Will [*K*], wherein, among other diſpoſitions, he bequeathed to Queen Elizabeth two thouſand pounds, 'in recompence of 'his overſights, careleſs dealings, and forgetfulneſs in her Majeſty's ſervice;' and there is a remarkable inſtance of his charity to his poor neighbours the following year [*L*]. On the 17th of June, 1602, he buried his Lady, who died at Balſham in Cambridgeſhire [*M*]. Hitherto he had lived in a munificent open hoſpitality [*N*], but this loſs depriving him of that

(m) The reſignation was made in the Court of Chancery. Sexta pars Patentium, &c. in the Appendix to the Hiſt. Account, &c. p. 214.

(14) Welwood's Memoirs, p. 9, 10. and Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 313.

England had thence time to prepare for the reception of the Invincible Armada (14). Mr Sutton was at this time the chief and richeſt merchant in London, and, conſidering his obligations to the Crown, together with his known loyalty, no doubt can be made but he was alſo the chief of thoſe merchants who drained the bank of Genoa, according to a ſtrong tradition which prevails at Charter-houſe. The truth of this ſtory has indeed been called in queſtion (15), as being inconſiſtent with the account that the ſtoreſhips provided for this expedition by the Spaniards were burnt on their coaſts by a fleet ſent for that purpoſe under the command of Sir Francis Drake. But this is far from being irreconcileable to the former account; and it is hoped the Reader will excuſe a cenſure, which he muſt needs ſee has been too haſtily paſſed, though certainly not with any thought of heightening the juſt renown of the Founder of the Royal Exchange, by an inſinuation that he had not a rival in the Founder of the Charter-houſe, in making his wealth ſerviceable to the Crown and Kingdom by draining the foreign banks.

(15) In this Work, under Sir Tho. Greſham's article, Vol. IV. p. 2385, in remark [*G*].

[*I*] *He quitted London*] Though the leaſe of his large houſe at Broken Wharf did not expire till 1599 (16), yet it is certain he had quitted it in 1594. For Stow thus continues the deſcription of it; 'Within the gate 'of this houſe (now belonging to the city of London) 'lately, to wit in the years 1594 and 1595, is builded 'one large houſe, of great height, called an engine, 'made by Bevis Bullmar, gentleman, for the convey-'ing and forcing of Thames-water, to ſerve in the 'middle and weſt parts of the city (17).'

(16) Hiſtorical Account, p. 12.

(17) Stow's Survey, Vol. I. B, p. 217.

[*K*] *He made his will.*] In this will he gave 3000l. to build his intended hoſpital and free-ſchool, as alſo twenty ſcholarſhips to *Peter-houſe*, and twenty ſcholar-ſhips to *Jeſus-college* in Cambridge, of 50s. per annum each, and ten fellowſhips to each of them, of 5l. per annum each, and as to the reſt, much the ſame legacies as in his laſt will. The reaſon of Mr Sutton's favour to Peter-houſe in this will was his friendſhip with Dr *Perne*, Maſter of that college, who was alſo Rector of *Balſham*, the manor of which Mr Sutton at that time held by a leaſe from his friend, Biſhop Cox. And though this benefaction never took place, yet from theſe words of Dr Perne's Will, dated Feb. 25, 1588, 'Item, I give 20l. towards building the Eaſt end of 'Peter-houſe, with a fair gate in the middle, like unto 'St John's gate-houſe, with the help of my Lord of Can-'terbury (Dr Whitgift), Mr Smith, Mr Sutton of Aſheton, 'Sir Walter Dixie, and Sir Thomas Ramſaye.' Mr Sutton, I ſay, by this paſſage, appears to have been a benefactor to Peterhouſe, ſince we find him in deeds about this time ſtiling himſelf of Aſheton, as he did afterwards of Bal-ſham, and laſtly of Caſtle-camps, after the purchaſe of that noble manor (18), which was the ancient ſeat of the Veres, Earls of Oxford, held by Hugh Vere (ſays the old Inquiſition record) that he might be Chamberlain to the King. However it is moſt certain, that Henry I. granted this office to Aubrey de Vere in theſe words, 'Chief Chamberlain of England in fee, and hereditary, 'with all the powers, privileges, and honours belong-'ing thereto, with as much freedom and worſhip as 'Robert Mallet had it (19).'

(18) Hiſtorical Account, &c. p. 14, 15.

(19) Camden's Britannia, in Cambridgeſhire.

[*L*] *A remarkable inſtance of his charity.*] This year, 1595, our Hiſtorians obſerve, that grain was ſold at ſuch an exceſſively dear rate, as occaſioned ſeveral commotions among the people. In this exigency, Mr Sutton took order to have ſuch of his poor neighbours as were induſtrious ſupplied with corn for their families, very much under the market price. As a proof of this, his hiſtorian has given us the following note of his own hand-writing to his ſteward.

Corn to be ſold to the labouring poor of Balſam, now barley is at 2s. 8d. per buſhel, for thirty weeks.

John Symonds, by the Week, half a buſhel, 6d.

And thus did he proceed through all his poor neigh-bours, to the number of forty-nine, allotting to each their portion according to their family wants (20).

(20) Hiſtorical Account, p. 16.

[*M*] *He loſt his lady.*] In a letter to Mr Sutton from Balſham, May 30, this year, ſhe complained of a violent cold, and that ſhe was never worſe in her life (21). Her bowels were buried at Balſham, and the corpſe, embalmed, brought to their houſe at Stoke-Newington, and thence carried in a handſome funeral proceſſion to the pariſh-church, attended by her relations, and forty poor women, houſekeepers in Newington and Hackney, and ſixteen ſervants, all in mourning (22). It was de-poſited with her firſt huſband, Mr Dudley, in a vault near which, againſt the South wall of the church, ſhe had raiſed a noble marble monument, with the figure of Mr Dudley in armour, and of herſelf, and, behind her, of her daughter, all on their knees, with Latin epitaphs, to be ſeen in Stow (23). As there are ſeveral evidences in Charter-houſe of her good-nature, charity, and diſcretion, ſo Mr Sutton appears to have had a great value for her. In his firſt will, executed in her life-time, he made a very large and ample proviſion for her, and addreſſes himſelf to Queen Elizabeth, 'humbly 'beſeeching her to ſtand a good and gracious Lady to 'his poor wife.' She had the honour, in the time of Mr Dudley, to be well known to, and even to have received viſits from the Queen: in one of which her Majeſty, taking a jewel of great value from her hair, made a preſent of it to their daughter, Miſs Anne Dudley (24). Mr Sutton alſo, in his laſt will, bequeathed to this daughter's huſband, Sir Francis Popham, Knt. the ſum of two thouſand marks. As alſo to Frances, Mary, Elizabeth, Jane, and Anne, daughters of the Lady Anne Popham, 100l. a-piece, to be paid at the day of their marriage, or when they ſhould accompliſh the age of eighteen years. He alſo left to the wife and children of John Gardiner, his late wife's nephew, 100 marks, to be equally divided amongſt them.

(21) Charter-houſe evidence-houſe.

(22) Hiſtorical Account, p. 17.

(23) Stow's Survey, by Strype. Vol. II. Circuit walk, p. 131.

(24) Mr Dudley was apparently a relation to the Earl of Leiceſter, for whom Queen Elizabeth is ſaid to have had a particular affec-tion. Gen. Hiſt. of England.

[*N*] Mr Burrel obſerves, that Mr Sutton's houſe was an open hoſpital while his wife lived; and, as an inſtance of it, Dr Bearcroft has given us a tranſcript of the following letter from her to Mr Sutton.

'Good Mr Sutton,

'I ſend you here incloſed a letter from *John Hutton*, 'which came by the Carrier; and all is well at Balſham, 'I thank God: and here is another letter, which I 'opened before I looked on the ſuperſcription, which 'came by another; it toucheth a widow, wherefore I 'need not to write to you in her behalf, for I know you 'have great care of the poor for God's cauſe, though ſhe 'were a meer ſtranger. I ſend here a Note for Lenten 'ſtores; if you intend to ſtay here this Lent, you muſt 'encreaſe it for *Haberdeen* and *Lynge*; and ſo praying 'God bleſs us both, I commit you to his keeping.

'Your Loving
'Obedient Wife,
'Elizabeth Sutton.'

Newington, Jan. 27, 1600.

Twenty great Eels.
Four Salmons, good and great.

A barrel

that which gave every thing elſe its chief reliſh (*n*), he retired more from the world, and leſſening his family by the diſmiſſion of ſeveral of his ſervants (*o*), he lived in a private frugal manner, being reſolved to diſpoſe of his great eſtate in ſome important Charity [*O*]. But before he had fixed upon any particular plan for carrying that deſign into execution, he was greatly alarmed in the year 1608 with the news of a deſign to raiſe him to the Peerage, in the view of laying him thereby under an obligation to make King Charles I, then Duke of York, his Heir. Upon the firſt notice that came to his ears of this project, he immediately put a ſtop to it [*P*]; and having received a letter from Mr Joſeph Hall (afterwards Biſhop of Norwich) exciting him to come to ſome determination in his intended Charity [*Q*], he

(n) Mr Burrel calls it the loſs of his moſt valuable Jewel in the world. Commemoration Sermon, P. [illegible]

(o) No leſs than ſixteen attended the Funeral of his Wife in mourning. Hiſt. Account, p. 154.

A barrel of Lowborne Herrings, of the bigger boyle.
Forty Stockfiſh, good, and ready beaten.
A cade of Sprats and a cade of red Herrings, them that be good.
Six pounds of Figs, and three pounds of Jordan almonds (25).

(25) Charterhouſe evidence-houſe.

[*O*] *He reſolved upon ſome important charity.*] To this purpoſe it is atteſted by Dr Fuller, as what he could confidently affirm from the mouth of one that heard it of a credible witneſs, who heard it himſelf, and told it the Doctor; 'That Mr Sutton uſed often to repair into 'a private garden, where he poured forth his prayers 'to God, and was frequently overheard to uſe this 'expreſſion; *Lord, thou haſt given me a large and liberal 'eſtate, give me alſo a heart to make uſe thereof* (26).' We have already mentioned his reſolution to be bountiful before the death of his wife: and from the year 1504 to the act of parliament for an hoſpital in 1610, there was a deed of gift always ſubſiſting for one, but with a power of revocation: and his conſtant reply to them that aſked him, how he would diſpoſe of his great eſtate, was, that his *bread muſt be caſt upon the waters* (27), but he could not eaſily determine when or how; he had various projects of his own and of his friends to ruminate on (28).

(26) Fuller's worthies in Lincolnſhire.

(27) Alluding to Eccleſiaſtes, chap. xi. ver. 1.

(28) Hiſtorical Account, &c. p. 19, 20.

[*P*] *He immediately put a ſtop to it.*] The project was laid before King James by Sir John Harriſon, who had propoſed it to Mr Sutton; but as ſoon as he heard what was doing at court, he diſpatched the following letter to the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, and the Lord Treaſurer Saliſbury, both feoffees for his intended hoſpital.

'May it pleaſe your Lordſhips,
'I underſtand that his Majeſty is poſſeſſed by Sir 'John Harrington, or by ſome other by his means, 'that I intend to make his Highneſs's ſon, the Duke 'of Yorke, my heir; whereupon, as it is reported, his 'Highneſs propoſeth to beſtow the honour of a Baron 'on me; whereof as I am moſt unworthy, ſo I vow to 'God and your Lordſhips, I never harboured the leaſt 'thought or proud deſire of any ſuch matter. My 'mynde, in my younger times, hath been ever free 'from ambition; and, now I am going to my Grave, 'to gape for ſuch a thing were meer dotage in me, ſo 'unworthie alſo, as I confeſs unto your Lordſhips. 'That this Knight hath been often tampering with me 'to that purpoſe, to entertayne honour, and to make 'the noble Duke my heire, is true; to whom I made 'that anſwer, as, had he either wit or honeſtie, (with 'reverence to your Lordſhips be it ſpoken) he never 'would have engaged himſelf in this buſineſs, ſo egregiouſly to delude his Majeſty, and wrong me. My 'humble ſuite unto your Lordſhips is, that, conſidering 'this occaſion hath brought me into queſtion, and in 'hazard of his Highneſs's diſpleaſure, having never 'given Sir John Harrington, or any man lyvinge, either 'promiſe or ſemblance to do any ſuch act, but upon his 'motions grew into utter diſlike with him for ſuch idle 'ſpeeches, your Lordſhips will vouchſafe me this favour, 'to informe his Highneſs aright, how things have proceeded directly without my privitie; and withall, that 'my truſt is in his gracious diſpoſition, not to conceit 'the worſe of me for other men's follies; but that 'I may have free liberty, with his Princely leave, 'wherein I reſt moſt aſſured, to diſpoſe of my own, 'as other his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects. And ſo, moſt 'humbly recommending my dutye and ſervice to your 'Lordſhips, for the increaſe of whoſe honours and 'happineſs I ſhall ever pray, I reſt,

'Your Lordſhip's
'Poor Beadeſman,
'Thomas Sutton.'

Dr Bearcroft has likewiſe given a tranſcript of the following letter to Mr Sutton from Sir John Harrington, which both fixes the time of the affair, and throws full light into it. It is dated June 13, 1608, and runs thus:

'Sir,
'Your ſtrange meſſage, firſt by my Man, after by 'my Son, now ſeconded with your ſpeech to myſelf, did 'greatlie trouble me, That I have undone you, overthrown your eſtate, diſturbed your deſignes; that no 'man dare buy any land of you, be your Feoffee, nor 'take any truſt from you, ſo as that which you had 'ordained to good uſes, and to redeem your ſins, was 'now ſo incombered, as you were ſkant maſter of 'your own; and all by means of a bruit among your 'friends, raiſed, as you ſuppoſe, by me, that you 'have made Duke Charles your Heir, and the King 'your Executor.
'Far be it from me to abuſe or miſreport either ſo 'princelie and pious an intention, as I know his Ma'jeſtie hath to further all good works, or ſo godlie a 'purpoſe, as you pretend to do ſome; but God cannot 'be mocked, though we may diſſemble with men.
'The letter is ſtill extant, which was my warrant. 'I have ſpoken nothing but within compaſs of that, 'and that very ſparinglie to your private friends. In 'which letter, ſeeing you yourſelf would needs in your 'ſenſe read a Caveat, to refuſe honour becauſe of age, 'which, in my conſtruction, was an incouragement to 'take the honour due to your abilities and years; I 'have been ſince, and will be ſilent about it. For the 'ſuite you would make to his Majeſtie, which I ſhall 'not ſo much as gueſs at, I will ſay what I thinke: 'you will make no ſuite but ſuch as will find favour 'and expedition; and, ſeeing you ſuppoſe I wronged 'you before, I would be glad to make you any amends 'now, by any endeavour of mine. Onlie my old ſuite 'you may not forget, to be a Benefactor to *Bath* (*) 'Church in your life time; for Almes in one's life 'time is like a light borne before one, whereas Almes 'after death is like a candle carried behind one. Do 'ſomewhat for this church; you promiſed to have ſeen 'it e're this: Whenſoever you will go to bathe, my 'lodgings ſhall be at your commandment. The Baths 'would ſtrengthen your ſinews; the Alms would comfort your ſoule.
'The Tower, the Quyre, and two Iſles are already 'finiſht by Mr *Billet*, Executor to the worthie Lord 'Treaſurer *Burleigh*. The walls are up ready for co'vering.
'The leade is promiſed by our bountiful Biſhop, 'Dr Montagu. Timber is promiſed by the Earl of 'Shrewſbury, the Earl of Hartford, the Lord Say, Mr 'Robert Hopton, and others.
'There lacks but monie for workmanſhip, which if 'you would give, you ſhould have many good prayers 'in the Church now in your life time, when they may 'indeed do you good, and when the time is to make 'friends of the mammon of iniquity, as Chriſt told us, 'that we may be received into everlaſting tabernacles, 'to which God ſend us; to whoſe protection I leave 'you, &c.

(*) Sir John Harrington's eſtate lay near this city, and continues ſtill in the ſame name.

'From Greenwich this
'15th day of June,
'1608.'
'John Harrington (29).'

(29) Charterhouſe evidence-houſe.

I don't find that Mr Sutton complied with this laſt requeſt; which indeed could not be expected by Sir John Harrington, who had given him ſo much offence by his impertinently forward application to the King.

[*Q*] *A Letter from Biſhop Hall, &c.*] This letter is penned with ſuch admirable force, and maſterly ſpirit, as will amply reward the Reader's patience for the length of it, as follows:

'Sir,
'I trouble you not with reaſons of my writing, or 'with excuſes; if I do ill, no plea can warrant me; if 'well,

(p) Historical Account &c. p. 34, in the Appendix to which the Act is inſerted, p. 215 to 228.

he ſoon after, on the 10th of March 1609, petitioned the King in Parliament for an Act to empower him to erect an Hoſpital at the aforementioned *Hallingbury-Bouchers* (p) in *Eſſex*.

' well, I cannot be diſcouraged with any cenſures. I ' crave not your pardon, but your acceptation: it is no ' preſumption to give good counſel, and preſents of ' love fear not to be ill taken of ſtrangers: my pen ' and your ſubſtance are both given us for one end, to ' do good: theſe are our talents, how happy are we if ' we can improve them well! ſuffer me to do you good ' with the one, with the other you may do good to ' many, and moſt to yourſelf. You cannot but know, ' that your full hand, and worthy purpoſes, have filled ' the world with much expectation: what ſpeak I of ' the world, whoſe honeſt and reaſonable claims yet ' cannot be contemned with honour, nor diſap- ' pointed without diſhonour! The God of Hea- ' ven, who hath lent you this abundance, and given ' you theſe gracious thoughts of charity, of piety, looks ' for the iſſue of both; and will eaſily complain of too ' little, or too late. Your wealth and your will are ' both good; but the firſt is only made good by the ſe- ' cond; for if your hand were full and your heart ' empty, we who now applaud you, ſhould juſtly pity ' you; you might have riches, not goods, not bleſſings; ' your burthen ſhould be greater than your eſtate, and ' you ſhould be richer in ſorrow, than in metals. For ' (if we look to no other world) what gain is it to be ' keeper of the beſt earth? that which is the common ' Coffer of all the rich Mines, we do but tread upon, ' and account it vile, becauſe it doth but hold and hide ' thoſe treaſures; whereas the ſkilfulleſt metalliſt, that ' findeth and refineth thoſe precious veins for public ' uſe, is rewarded, is honoured: the very baſeſt ele- ' ment yields gold. The ſavage Indian gets it; the ' ſervile Apprentice works it; the very Midianitiſh ' Camel may wear it; the miſerable Worldling ad- ' mires it; the covetous Jew ſwallows it; the un- ' thrifty Ruffian ſpends it; what are all theſe the better ' for it? Only good uſe gives praiſe to earthly poſ- ' ſeſſions: herein therefore you owe more to God, ' that He hath given you a heart to do good; a will ' to be as rich in good works as great in riches; to be ' a friend to this mammon is to be an enemy to God; ' but to make friends with it is Royal and Chriſtian: ' His enemies may be wealthy, none but his friends ' can either be good, or do good: *Do et Accipe*, ſaith ' the Wiſe Man.

' The Chriſtian, who muſt imitate that high pattern ' of his Creator, knows his beſt riches to be bounty. ' God who hath all, gives all; and reſerves nothing: ' and for himſelf, he well conſiders, that God hath ' not made him an Owner, but a Servant; and a Ser- ' vant of Servants, not of his Goods, but of the Giver: ' not a Treaſurer, but a Steward, whoſe praiſe is more ' to have laid out well, than to have received much. ' The greateſt gain therefore that he affects, is an even ' reckoning, a clear diſcharge: which ſince it is ob- ' tained by diſpoſing, not by keeping, he counts re- ' ſervation loſs, and juſt expence his trade and joy. ' He knows that *Well done faithful ſervant* is a thouſand ' times more ſweet a note, than *Soul take thine eaſe*; ' for that is the voice of the Maſter recompencing, this ' of the Servant preſuming; and what follows to the ' one but his Maſter's joy? and what to the other but ' the loſs of his ſoul? Bleſſed be that God who hath ' given you a heart to forethink this, and in this dry ' and dead age, a will to honour him with his own, ' and to credit his Goſpel with your beneficence. Lo! ' we are upbraided with barenneſs: your name hath ' been publickly oppoſed to theſe challenges, as in whom ' it ſhall be ſeen, that the truth hath friends that can ' give. I neither diſtruſt nor perſuade you, whoſe re- ' ſolutions are happily fixed on purpoſes of good; ' only give me leave to haſten your pace a little, and to ' excite your Chriſtian forwardneſs to begin ſpeedily, ' what you have long and conſtantly vowed. You ' would not but do good, why not now? I ſpeak ' boldly, the more ſpeed the more comfort; neither ' are the times in our diſpoſal, nor our ſelves.

' If God had ſet us a day, and made our wealth ' inſeparable, there were no danger in delaying; now ' our uncertainty either muſt quicken us, or may de- ' ceive us. How many have meant well, and done ' nothing, and loſt the Crown with lingering? whoſe ' deſtinies have prevented their deſires, and have made ' their good motions the Wards of their Executors, ' not without miſerable ſucceſs: to whom that they ' would have done good is not ſo great a praiſe, as it is ' diſhonour, that they might have done it: their wrecks ' are our warnings; we are equally mortal, equally ' fickle. Why have you this reſpite of living, but to ' prevent the imperious neceſſity of death? It is a ſoful ' and remedileſs complaint, the end of our days hath ' overrun the beginning of our good works. Early be- ' neficence hath no danger; many joys: for the con- ' ſcience of good done, the prayers and bleſſings of the ' relieved, and the gratulations of ſaints, are ſo many ' perpetual Comforters, which can make our life plea- ' ſant, and our death happy; our evil days good, or ' good better: all theſe are but loſs with delay; few ' and cold are the prayers for him that may give, and ' in lieu our good purpoſes foreſolved, are become our ' Tormentors. Upon our death-bed, little difference ' is betwixt good deferred, and evil done: good was ' meant, who hindered it? will our conſcience ſay; ' there was time enough, means enough, need enough, ' what hindered? Did fear of envy, diſtruſt of want? ' alaſs! what bugs are theſe to frighten men from ' heaven; as if the envy of keeping were leſs than be- ' ſtowing; as if God were not as good a Debtor, as a ' Giver. *He that gives to the Poor lends to the Lord*, ſays ' Solomon. If he freely gives us what we may lend, ' and grace to give, will he not much more pay us ' what we have lent? and give us becauſe we have ' given? That is his bounty, this is his juſtice. O! ' happy is the man that may be a Creditor to his ' Maſter! Heaven and Earth ſhall empty, before he ' want a royal payment. If we dare not truſt God ' while we live, how dare we truſt men when we are ' dead? Men that are ſtill deceitful, light upon the ' balance, light of truth, and heavy of ſelf-love: how ' many Executors have proved the Executioners of ho- ' neſt Wills? how many have our eyes ſeen, that after ' moſt careful choice of truſty Guardians, have had ' their children and goods ſo diſpoſed, as if the parent's ' ſoul could return to ſee it, I doubt whether it would ' be happy? how rare is that man, who prefers not ' himſelf to his dead friend, profit to truth? who will ' take no advantage of the impoſſibility of the account? ' Whatever therefore men either ſhew, or promiſe, ' happy is that man, that may be his own Auditor, ' Surveyor, Executor: as you love God and yourſelf, ' be not afraid of being happy too ſoon.

' I am not worthy to give ſo bold advice, let the ' Wiſe Man of Sirach ſpeak for me; do good before ' thou die, and according to thine ability ſtretch out ' thine hand, and give: defraud not thyſelf of thy ' good day; and let not the portion of thy good deſires ' paſs over thee. Shalt thou not leave thy travels to ' another, and thy labours to them that will divide ' thy heritage? Or let a Wiſer than he ſpeak, viz. ' Solomon: *Say not to morrow I will give, if thou now ' have it: for thou knoweſt not what a day will bring ' forth.* It hath been an old rule of liberality, he ' gives twice, who gives quickly; whereas ſlow bene- ' fits argue unchearfulneſs, and loſe their worth, who ' lingers his receipts, is condemned as unthrifty; he ' who knoweth both ſaith, *It is better to give than to ' receive.* If we are of the ſame ſpirit, why are we ' haſty in the worſt, and ſlack in the better? Suffer ' yourſelf, good Sir, for God's ſake, for the Goſpel's ' ſake, for the Church's ſake, for your Soul's ſake, to ' be ſtirred up by theſe poor lines to a reſolute and ' ſpeedy performing of your worthy intentions: and ' take this as a loving invitation ſent from Heaven ' by an unworthy meſſenger. You cannot deliberate ' long of fit objects for your beneficence, except it be ' more for multitude than want: the ſtreets, yea the ' world is full. How doth Lazarus lie at every door? ' How many ſons of the Prophets in their meanly ' provided colleges, may ſay not *mors in olla*, but ' *fames*? How many Churches may juſtly plead that ' which our Saviour bad his diſciples, *The Lord hath ' need*? And if this infinite ſtore hath made your choice ' doubtful, how eaſy were it to ſhew you, wherein you ' might oblige the whole Church of God to you, and ' make your memorial both eternal and bleſſed, or if ' you had rather, the whole commonwealth.

' But now I find myſelf too bold, and too buſy, in ' thus looking to particularities. God ſhall direct you, ' and if you follow him, ſhall crown you. Howſoever, ' if good be done, and that betimes, he hath what ' he deſired, and your ſoul ſhall have more than you ' can deſire. The ſucceſs of my weak, yet hearty

' counſel,

(q) The Letters Patents with licence of mortmain bear date June 22 in the 4th year. It is inserted in Hist. Account, p. 37 to 72.

Essex [*R*]. The Petition was accordingly granted, but in a little time changing his mind as to the situation, he purchased of the *Earl of Suffolk Howard-house, or the late dissolved Charter-house near Smithfield* [*S*], for the sum of thirteen thousand pounds, where he founded the present Hospital of Charter-house in 1611 (*q*). He designed to be himself the first Master of it; but soon after the grant, being seized with a slow fever, and perceiving his end to approach, he hastened, and by a deed, dated on the 30th of October that year, nominated the Reverend *John Hutton*, Master of Arts, and Vicar of Littlebury in Essex, to

'counsel, shall make me as rich, as God hath made 'you with all your abundance.

'*God bless it to you, and make both our reckonings chearful in the day of our common Audit.*'

(30) Hist. Account, p. 34.

Dr Bearcroft observes (30) that Mr Sutton received this truly Christian letter most kindly, and when he had well considered it, thinking he perceived the finger of Heaven in it, he blessed God for the return of his prayer, in the garden, and determined to quicken his pace; and soon after, viz. on the 10th day of March, 1609, petitioned the King, as is mentioned above, which date is certainly right; but the Doctor did not sufficiently advert, that Mr Hall's letter, which preceded it, could not therefore be written, as he had said before, when that worthy Divine was of *Waltham* in *Essex*, who was not presented to that living till the year 1612 (31).

(31) See Bishop Hall's article.

[*R*] *Hallingbury-Bouchers, in Essex.*] It is sometimes called *Little Hallingbury*, and is now part of Charter-house possessions. It is twenty-five miles from London, and three from Bishop-Stortford, on the borders of Hertfordshire, from which it is divided by the Lesser Stower, a very pleasant and healthy situation. Dr *Fisher*, who was presented by Mr Sutton to the Rectory in 1610 (32), lived to have it put under sequestration for malignancy, by the House of Commons, in 1644, and to enjoy it again on the Restoration, and died possessed of it, in 1669, in a good old age.

(32) With these memorable words: What I desire in return is your prayers, and the due performance of your office. Hist. Account &c. p. 35.

[*S*] *The late dissolved Charter-house near Smithfield.*] The first foundation of this house may be said to have had its rise from Dr Ralph Stratford, Bishop of London, who, upon the breaking out of the plague in the year 1347, purchased three acres of land, lying without the walls of London on the North part, between the lands of the Abbot of Westminster and of the Prior of St John of Jerusalem, and inclosed them with a brick wall, and consecrated the ground for a burial-place for the poor and needy. Whereupon, as the plague raged with greater violence in 1349, Sir *Walter de Manny*, in imitation of the Bishop's pious example, purchased, of the Master and Brethren of St Bartholomew Spittle, a piece of ground called *Spittle-croft*, containing thirteen acres and a rod, contiguous to those three acres lately dedicated for a burial-ground by the Bishop of London, and caused it to be consecrated by that Prelate to the same use; and there were buried in that year more than fifty thousand corpses in these thirteen acres and a rod of ground (33). Sir Walter built a chapel soon after, called New Church Haw, for masses for their souls, intending to add a college, with a Superior and twelve Chaplains, and obtained a bull of Pope Clement VI. for the uniting of three ecclesiastical benefices, not exceeding the value of 100l. sterling in the book of tenths, for the more ample endowment thereof. But, going abroad soon after to the wars, these thirteen acres and a rod, together with the chapel, were purchased of him by Dr Stratford's successor in the see of London, Michael de Northburgh, who also at his death bequeathed 2000l. for the founding, building, and finishing a convent of Carthusians there, and all his leases whatsoever, for the space of four years, and all his rents and tenements within the city of London, some few excepted, and all his reversions there whatsoever for ever, for the better endowment thereof; and to the Convent, when finished, his two best silver basons for the service of the altar, and a silver pyx enamelled for the host, as also a silver vessel for holy water, and a silver bell, together with his two best vestments to officiate in, and all his divinity books. In the mean time Sir Walter de Manny advancing in years, the hero reassumed the saint, and, with the consent of the Bishop of London, to whom Michael de Northburg bequeathed the patronage and care of his foundation, took on him the care of erecting and endowing a double monastery of Carthusians in *New Church Hawe* in 1371, to be called *The House of the salutation of the mother of God* (34). He likewise gives the three acres adjoining, consecrated by Bishop Stratford, for the burial-ground, of which it seems he had obtained a grant. The donation was confirmed by a bull of Pope Urban VI. on the 12th of December, 1378 (35). The words of the bull are, *Bonæ memoriæ Michael Episcopus Londinensis & idem miles [Walter de Manny] convexitum duplicem monachorum ordinis Carthusiensis fundaverunt.* The Reader may see an account in *Froissard* of Sir Walter de Manny, who was a native and Lord of the town of Manny in the province of Hainault, and attended Philippa of Hainault into England, on her marriage with King Edward III; who in the fifth year of his reign knighted him, granting him robes out of the great wardrobe as a Banneret, and afterwards made him a Peer of the realm, and a Privy Counsellor, and Knight of the Garter (36). He died in the latter end of the year 1371: King Edward and his royal family of heroes, with the nobility, honoured the funeral with their presence, attending the corpse to the chapel of the new erected Carthusian monastery (37), where it was solemnly interred in the midst of the choir, and an alabaster tomb, like that of Sir John Beauchamp's at St Paul's, by his own appointment erected for him: by his will, bearing date Nov. 30, 1371, he bequeathed an old debt of 1000l. due to him from the King, and the moiety of 100l. per annum, due to him for many years past from the Prince of Wales, as Governor of Hardelagh-castle, for the better endowment of the monastery. The co-founder of which, Michael de Northburgh, was originally a Dominican Fryar, and became Chaplain and Confessor to King Edward III, as also one of his Council, and attended on his Majesty at the taking of the city of Caen, the famous battle of Cressy, and the taking of Calais (38). On the death of Dr Stratford in 1354, he was advanced to the see of London, which he enjoyed till the ninth of September, 1361, when he died of the plague at Coptford in Essex (39); and in his will, bearing date May 23d preceding, besides his legacy already mentioned for the foundation of the monastery, he bequeathed a thousand marks, to be put into a chest standing in the Treasury of St Paul's, London, out of which any poor man might, for a sufficient pledge, borrow 10l. the Dean and principal Canons 20l. or as far as forty marks, the Bishop of London 40l. a nobleman or citizen 20l. for one year: but if the money was not then returned, the preacher at St Paul's cross was to give notice, that the pledge for it would be sold within fourteen days, if not redeemed in the mean time, and the surplusage, if any, to be returned to the owner (40). Mr Sutton's gift of 1000l. to the chamber of London (41) seems to be done in imitation of this bequest of his predecessor in the first foundation of Charter-house; which being dissolved by Henry VIII, the scite was granted on the 12th of June, 1542, unto *John Bridges* and *Thomas Hall* for their joint lives, in consideration of the safe keeping of the King's tents and pavilions, *&c.* which had been then for some time there; but on the 4th of April, 1545, it was given to Sir Edward North, Chancellor of the court of Augmentations in perpituity, and valued in the grant at 50l. per annum (42). Sir Edward was made a Baron by Queen Mary in the first year of her reign, and Queen Elizabeth, on her accession to the throne, did his Lordship the honour to reside for some days at Charter-house, where his Lordship died Dec. 31, 1564; whereupon his son Roger, Lord North, sold Charter-house to the Duke of Norfolk for 2500l. on the 31st of May following, except that part on the East side of the chapel, which was then the mansion-house of Lord North, and is now Rutland-court, and the houses adjoining on to Goswel-street. The Duke of Norfolk made Charter-house his residence in town, till his commitment to the Tower in 1569 (43), whence being enlarged in 1570, he was remitted to Charter-house, but under custody; and being sent again to the Tower in 1571, was tried, condemned, and beheaded in 1572, for high-treason (44); but, his family being restored in blood and to the estate, Charter-house came again to the share of Lord Thomas Howard, the Duke's second son, but eldest by his second Dutchess, Margaret, daughter of Lord Audley. On the accession of King James II, this Lord Thomas Howard was created Earl of Suffolk; and of him Mr Sutton bought Charter-house.

(33) This appeared from a Stone Cross, some time standing in Charter-house yard, with this inscription, A. D. MCCCXLIX. Regnante magna pestilentia consecratum fuit hoc Cœmeterium in quo & infra septa præsentis Monasterii sepulta fuerunt mortuorum corpora plusquam quinquaginta millia; præter alia multa abhinc usque ad præsens, Quorum animabus propitietur Deus. Amen.

(34) His charter bears date March 28, anno regni Edvardi Tertii 45. It is preserved in Charter-house evidence-house, from which a copy is printed in the Histor. Account, p. 267, et seqq.

(35) Mr Herne, in Domus Carthusiana, Mr Newcourt, in his Repertorium, and Mr Stevens in Continuation of the Monasticon, mistaking the author of this bull to be Pope Urban V, ascribe the foundation entirely to Walter de Manny, without mentioning Bishop Michael.

(36) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 149.

(37) Weaver's Funeral Monuments.

(38) Robert de Avesbury, who recites letters of Michael, giving an account of these three actions, p. 136, et seqq. the last letter bears date Sept. 14, 1346.

(39) Godwin de Presul, p. 244.

(40) Dugdale's Hist. of St Paul's, p. 34.

(41) See remark [*U*]

(42) The annual revenues at the dissolution amounted to 642l. 4s. 6d. 13 Ma. pars patentium 36 Henry VIII. m. 29.

(43) Camden's Annals, Eliz. 1569.

(44) State Trials, Duke of Norfolk, Vol. I. p. 104.

that

that Poſt. On the firſt of November he ſigned an irrevocable deed of gift of the Eſtates ſpecified in the Letters Patents to the Governors in truſt for the Hoſpital [T]. On the ſecond of that month he made his laſt Will, wherein he bequeathed ſeveral other conſiderable benefactions [U]; after which, his fever ſtill encreaſing, put a period to his life on the 12th of December following, in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age (r). He expired at his houſe in Hackney near London, and his bowels were buried in that pariſh church; but his body was embalmed and kept in his houſe till the 28th of May, 1612, when it was conveyed with the moſt ſolemn proceſſion to Chriſt-Church in London [W], and depoſited there, whence it was brought, on the ſhoulders of the poor brethren of his foundation, to Charter-houſe chapel, the building and all other things being ready for the complete eſtabliſhment of the Hoſpital (s), on the 12th of December, 1614, the Anniverſary of Mr Sutton's birth, and

(s) Which conſiſted of a Maſter, a Preacher, a Schoolmaſter and Uſher, forty Scholars, eighty Penſioners, with a Steward, Receiver, Regiſter, Porter, Gardiner, and other neceſſary inferior ſervants. Hiſt. Account, p. 155 to 160.

[T] *The Eſtates ſettled upon the Hoſpital, &c.*] We ſhall give a liſt of them as follows. In Cambridgeſhire, the manors of Balſham and Caſtle-Camps. In Eſſex, the manors of Southminſter, Hallingbury-Bouchers, Cold-Norton, and Much-Stumbridge. In Lincolnſhire, the manors of Dunſby and Büſlingthorp. In Wiltſhire, the manors of Salthrop, Blackgrove, Chilton, Elcombe, Watleſcote and Uffcot. In Middleſex, a meſſuage and lands in Hackney and Tottenham. No exact rental of theſe lands of that time, is now to be found; but if we will take the word of Lord Chief Juſtice Coke (45), a Feoffee, and a chief Director of the foundation of the Hoſpital, theſe lands, now part of its poſſeſſions, produced then per ann. 3500 l.; to which, if we add, in Eſſex, the manors of Littlebury and Hadſtock bequeathed to the Earl of Suffolk, on the payment of 10000 l. In Lancaſhire, the manor of Tarbocke, and the impropriate Rectory of Huyton, left by Mr Sutton to deſcend to his Heir at Law, and which coſt 9300 l. In Lincolnſhire, the impropriate Rectory of Glentham, a Leaſe bequeathed to the Poor of the City of Lincoln. In Yorkſhire, Lands in Cottingham, a Leaſe bequeathed to the Poor of the town of Beverly. Which computed together, at 1500 l. per ann. make Mr Sutton's Eſtate in land at his death to amount to 5000 l. per ann. To which add, paid for Charter-houſe, 13000 l. Received from the perſonal eſtate, 4741 l. 9 s. 9 d. We have a view of Mr Sutton's whole fortune. In land, per ann. 5000 l. Total in money, 6410 l. 9 s. 9 d. The greateſt Eſtate in the poſſeſſion of any private Gentleman, till theſe preſent times, when the Indian wealth diſperſed through Europe, the public funds, Paper credit, and other modern methods, have given ſome perſons opportunities of amaſſing prodigious riches.

(45) In the Preface to the Tenth Volume of his Reports.

[U] *His laſt Will.*] It is very long, occaſioned by the prodigious number of legacies bequeathed in it. The firſt of which is 10 l. to each of Biſhop Cox's children, then living, manifeſtly in gratitude for the kindneſs of that Biſhop, who, as is obſerved above, was the worthy Patron of his youth. And this was apparently the true reaſon of another, of 500 marks to Jeſus College in Cambridge, which bears a particular relation to the Biſhopric of Ely. Beſides that, Dr Duport, ſon-in-law to Biſhop Cox, was then Maſter thereof. The College purchaſed with this legacy the impropriate Rectory, with the perpetual advowſon of the Vicaridge of Elmſtead (46) near Colcheſter in Eſſex. Mr Sutton left another legacy of 500 l. for the promotion of learning, to Magdalen-College, in the ſame Univerſity. This being a Lincolnſhire College, the county in which he was born, the benefaction is thus entered in the College-regiſter, "A. D. 1615. Thomas Sutton Eſquire, Founder of Sutton's Hoſpital in London, gave the College 500 l. towards the purchaſing an Inn in Cambridge, which, with the addition of 160 l. from the College, was laid out in the purchaſe of the White Bull Inn, then valued at 40 l. per ann." He likewiſe bequeathed 1000 l. to the Treaſury, or chamber of the City of London, to be lent yearly to ten young merchant men, not having any great ſtock of their own; that is, to each 100 l. without paying any thing for the ſame, to be choſen by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and the Dean of St Paul's, for the time being; ſo that none have, or continue the ſaid 100 l. above one year. There is another legacy of 100 l. to the poor Fiſhermen of Oſtend. The motive to which would have been very puzzling, had not Dr Bearcroft cleared it up from a paſſage in Mr Sutton's former Will, made in 1695, in which are theſe words: Alſo I give to the Fiſhermen of the town of Oſtend in the Low Countries, in recompence of two prizes, viz. fly-boats loaden with barrelled cod, ſalt, and other things, which I bought at Newcaſtle upon Tyne about the ſixteenth year of the Queen's Majeſty's (Elizabeth's) reign, of the Prince of Orange's Captains, two hundred pounds. I deſire the ſame men, or their children, to have the ſame, if the true Owners may be found out, if not, then I will the ſame two hundred pounds to be given among the pooreſt Fiſhermen of that town. Mr Sutton, it is plain from this account, came fairly by theſe prizes, having bought them of the men that had taken them in open war; but however, he was now willing the poor ſufferers, if it might be, ſhould taſte of his bounty, and have ſome amends for their loſs: The Doctor alſo obſerves, that the ſum is leſſened to 100 l. in his laſt Will, by reaſon that Oſtend had then been lately reduced to almoſt an heap of rubbiſh and ſand in the famous three years ſiege thereof, and ſo many of the inhabitants deſtroyed, that Mr Sutton doubted, that there were but a very few of the poor Fiſhermen left, and therefore ordered, that if there ſhould not be found a competent number of them to receive the 100 l. ſome other of the poorer ſort of inhabitants ſhould come in for ſhares. We muſt not omit another legacy of 20000 l. which was bequeathed to his Truſtees to be diſpoſed of according to their diſcretion. Whereupon theſe Truſtees (Abbot Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Andrews Biſhop of Ely) by a letter (47) dated at Lambeth, June 26, 1613 (48), directed his Executors (Richard Sutton of London Eſq; and John Law a Proctor in the Arches) to pay 10000 l. into the receipt of the King's Exchequer, towards repairing Berwick bridge, by the help of which, that bridge, then intirely decayed, was rebuilt. Mr Sutton alſo bequeathed 100 marks to the town of Berwick, to be diſtributed among the poor there, by the diſcretion of the chief Governor and Preacher for the time being, to be paid within one year after his deceaſe. Theſe, with the reſt of the legacies to the number of upwards of threeſcore, amount at leaſt to the ſum of forty thouſand pounds.

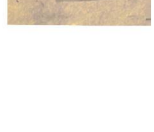
(46) It is recorded by Dr Sherman thus: Thomas Sutton (Craſſus ille Armiger) Fundator Domus Hoſpitalis vocate, The Charter-houſe, London, Rectoriam impropriatam de Elmeſtead (Olim Portionem Monaſterii S. Ogithæ) juxta Colcheſtriam Collegio dono dedit una cum perpetua advocatione Vicarii. Latin Hiſtory of Jeſus College, MS.

(47) The letter is in Charter-houſe Aſſembly-book, A. p. 347.

(48) That is, two years after his deceaſe, he having deſired in his Will, that every thing in it ſhould be performed within that time.

[W] *A ſolemn proceſſion, &c.*] The ceremonial was as follows. The Governors of the hoſpital; the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, George Abbot; the Lord Elleſmere, Lord Chancellor; the Biſhop of London, Dr John King; Biſhop of Ely, Dr Launcelot Andrews; the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke; Sir Henry Hobart, Attorney-General; Dr John Overal, Dean of St Paul's; Dr George Montaigne, Dean of Weſtminſter; Henry Thoreſby, Jeffery Nightingale, Richard Sutton, Eſqrs; John Law, Thomas Browne, Gent. the Rev. Mr John Hutton, Maſter of the hoſpital; being met at the houſe in Hackney, where the corpſe lay, elected Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, Lord Privy Seal, and Sir George Altham, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, Governors of the hoſpital, in the place of Robert Cecil, Earl of Saliſbury, Lord High Treaſurer, and Sir Thomas Forſter, one of the Juſtices of the Common Pleas, deceaſed; and Mr Thomas Heyward, a gentleman much employed by Mr Sutton in law matters, and whoſe wife is a legatee in his will, the Regiſter of the hoſpital; and then, joining the Earl of Northampton, the Earl of Suffolk, Sir James Altham, Sir John Crooke, Sir Francis Popham, and many other knights and gentlemen aſſembled there, after a handſome collation, they honoured the funeral with their preſence. The proceſſion was under the direction of Mr Camden, Clarencieux King at Arms (49). A hundred old men in black cloaks preceded the corpſe; Mr Simon Baxter, Mr Sutton's only ſiſter's eldeſt ſon, was chief Mourner; and then followed the Lords and Gentlemen, with their Attendance, all in mourning, through a vaſt croud of ſpectators, to Chriſt-Church, adjoining to Chriſt's hoſpital, in London, where the corpſe was depoſited, with the funeral ſervice, to be removed to Charter-houſe when the chapel ſhould be finiſhed, and a vault and tomb prepared for it. The whole funeral expences, as appears from the executors accompts, amounted to 2218 l. 10 s. 3 d. of which the mourning cloth coſt 1355 l. 2 s. 4 d. and the tomb 514 l. 19 s. 10 d. and 30 l. was given at the burial to the poor (50).

(49) Who attended thereat with John Raven, Richmond Herald. Fun. Cert.



(50) Charter-houſe evidences houſe.

there

there interred in a vault on the north ſide, under a magnificent tomb, with an inſcription [*X*], which is inſerted below. In regard to his character: as to his perſon, he was ſtrong-built and compact, of a middle ſtature, with a good complexion and agreeable mien; neither nice nor negligent in his apparel, but modeſt and clean, enjoying a good ſtate of health till the decays of old age broke in upon it. His public character is ſeen in the courſe of this memoir. In his private character he was a very affectionate tender huſband, an exact but kind maſter, a good natured honeſt man, ſober and religious both at home and abroad, very compaſſionate and very grateful (*t*).

(*t*) Hiſtor. Account, p. 207.

After his death his heir at law, Simon Baxter, Eſq; [*Y*], attempted, by a forcible entry, to take poſſeſſion of Charter-houſe, and laying claim to the whole Eſtate ſettled upon the Hoſpital, endeavoured to ſet aſide the Donation: but after many proceedings at law, it was at length, by the verdict of the Grand Jury of the Judges of England, in 1613, found that the Foundation, Incorporation, and Endowment of the Hoſpital, was ſufficient, good and effectual in law (*u*). The odium of this ſuit fell heavily upon Sir Francis, afterwards Lord Bacon [*Z*], who was then Sollicitor-General, and the chief promoter of it (*w*): notwithſtanding which, he was elected a Governor not many years afterwards (*x*).

(*u*) The caſe is in the tenth Vol. of Reports by Lord Coke.

(*w*) Perhaps in oppoſition to his Rival Lord Coke, who exerted himſelf greatly in favour of the Donation.

(*x*) In June 28, 1619, but removed June 21, 1621, being then diſqualified by a cenſure of the Houſe of Lords, for that or any other place of Truſt.

[*X*] *With an inſcription.*] In theſe terms:

Sacred to the glory of God,
In grateful memory of
THOMAS SUTTON, Eſq;

Here lieth buried the body of Thomas Sutton, late of Caſtle-Camps in the county of Cambridge, Eſq; at whoſe only coſts and charges this hoſpital was founded, and endowed with large poſſeſſions, for the relief of poor men and children: he was a gentleman born at Knayth in the county of Lincoln, of worthy and honeſt parentage; he lived to the age of ſeventy-nine years, and deceaſed the 12th of December, 1611.

The 12th of December is now, by order of the Governors, the commemoration-day, when, after morning ſervice and a ſermon in the chapel, there is a Latin oration in the hall, by one of the ſcholars, in praiſe of the founder.

(51) The manor of Tarbocke, on which was a fair ancient houſe, and large demeſnes, plentifully ſtored with timber, and the impropriate rectory of Huyton, in the ſame county.

(52) He is the ſecond Baronet created by King James, May 22, 1611. Sir Richard Bacon, of Redgrave in Suffolk, being the firſt. Salmon's Chron. Hiſtory under that year.

[*Y*] *Simon Baxter, Eſq;*] He was Mr Sutton's nephew, being the eldeſt ſon of his only ſiſter Dorothy, and therefore attended his funeral as chief Mourner. Mr Sutton by his will had left him an eſtate in Lancaſhire, which coſt him 9300l. (51), beſides a legacy of 300l. in money: but being ſoon reduced, partly by the expences of the law-ſuit, he ſold the land eſtate to Sir Richard Molyneux, Bart. (52) of Sefton in Lancaſhire, for 15000l. on the 20th of July, 1615, having received his legacy of 300l. before, viz. on the 16th of February, 1614.

[*Z*] *Falls heavily upon my Lord Bacon.*] Mr Baxter, in a petition to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to procure him the payment of his legacy, declares, That, being ſeduced by wicked counſel, he yielded his conſent to have his name uſed to bring an action againſt the hoſpital; by means whereof he had ſpent a great part of his eſtate, and was likely to pay great ſums of money, for his ſeducers, in a manner to his undoing. And that Sir Francis Bacon was chief counſellor of Mr Baxter, is gathered from his being a profeſt enemy to this deſign of Mr Sutton, as is evident from a letter of advice which that great Lawyer wrote to King James on the breaking out of the diſpute in law, which is very artfully calculated to intereſt his Majeſty on his client Mr Baxter's ſide, by inſinuating, that if he ſucceeded in his ſuit, all would be referred to his Majeſty's good pleaſure in theſe words: *But if there be right and birthright planted in the heir, and not remediable by the courts of equity, and that right be ſubmitted to your Majeſty, whereby it is in your pleaſure and grace what to do: then do I wiſh, that this rude maſs, and chaos of a good ſeed, were directed rather to a ſolid merit and durable charity, than to a blaze of glory, that will but crack a little in talk, and quickly extinguiſh.* Dr Teniſon indeed remarks (53), that, as his Lordſhip did not manifeſt himſelf in this advice againſt the charity, but the manner of diſpoſing it, ſo it was not well done of thoſe who have publickly defamed him, by declaring their jealouſies of bribery by the Heir. But, in anſwer to this, it is obvious, that in this addreſs common prudence made ſuch a conduct abſolutely neceſſary, ſince otherwiſe it would have been too plain a diſcovery of his own mal-practice, and an expoſing of himſelf to his Majeſty. The Doctor obſerves, that the event ſhewed that his Lordſhip was miſtaken, when he called it a ſacrifice without ſalt: and it has been further vindicated againſt every particular article of the charge by Dr Bearcroft, who juſtly anſwers the concluſion of this advice, which is couched in theſe words: 'Thus 'have I briefly given my opinion touching the employ-'ment of this charity; whereby that maſs of wealth, 'which was in the owner's hands little better than a 'ſtack or heap of muck (*), may be ſpread over 'your kingdom to many fruitful purpoſes, your Majeſty 'planting and watering, and God giving the increaſe. 'If Mr Sutton's maſs of wealth, ſays Dr Bearcroft, 'was a heap of muck (which by the way is but a coarſe 'unſavoury expreſſion to his Majeſty, and very juſtly 'found fault with by an eminent critic) (54), how 'much more decent, and to what great advantage, 'does the thought appear in theſe beautiful lines of 'Mr Pope (55),

'*In heaps, like ambergris, a ſtink it lies;*
'*But, well diſpoſed, is incenſe to the ſkies.*

'It produced very good corn in that moſt judicious chá-'rity of furniſhing all his poor neighbours at leſs than 'half price (56).' However, no doubt Mr Sutton, as a man, had his failings, of which the inſinuation, in the cloſe of this advice, of his being ſomewhat of a miſer, may perhaps be thought not altogether without grounds, from his great privacy of life after the death of his Lady; which is not ſufficiently palliated by ſaying *he practiſed ſelf-denial to give the more nobly away* (57); ſince it may as well be retorted, that the ſelf-denial proceeded from no ſuch principle; it being evident that he was always much diſpoſed to a ſparing frugality; appointing his ordinary expences at firſt to the half of his income, and, when that was much increaſed, to a third, and giving about an eighth in charity (58).

(53) Introduction to Bacon's Remains, p. 68.

(*) Dr Teniſon ſeems, for the ſake of his Hero, to have ſlipt into the like abuſive language againſt this benefaction, calling it an heap of alms.

(54) La maniere de bien penſer dans ouvrage d'eſprit.

(55) In his Poem on Riches.

(56) See remark [*L*].

(57) Hiſtor. Account, p. 154.

(58) Ibid. p. 153.

SWIFT [Dr JONATHAN], a polite writer of exquiſite humour, in the preſent century, was deſcended from a younger branch of an ancient family of the name in Yorkſhire [*A*], the laſt heir of which, *Bernam Swift*, Eſq; was created, by King Charles I, a Peer of Ireland, with the title of Viſcount *Carlingford* (*a*), on the 20th of March 1627; but dying without male iſſue, the title became extinct, and the family inheritance deſcending to his daughters [*B*], was thereby divided from the name of Swift for ever. Some of the younger branches,

(*a*) The Doctor takes notice, that his family was not undiſtinguiſhed in *its* time. Letter to Lord Bolingbroke, dated Dublin, Oct. 31, 1729, in the ſeventh Vol. of his Works, printed at Dublin in 1733, in eight Volumes, 8vo.

[*A*] *Deſcended from an ancient family in Yorkſhire.*] We have this account of the family in *Guillim* (1). 'Godwin Swift, of Goodridge in the county of Here-'ford, Eſq; of the ſociety of Gray's-Inn, deſcended of 'the family of the Swifts in Yorkſhire. The arms are, 'Or, a chevron nebule, argent and azure, between 'three bucks in full courſe, vert.' This bearing puts me in mind of the hiſtory of the family of the *Greenhats* in the Tatler (2), where the Dean's particular turn of wit and humour is ſo exactly hit off. One is the more apt to think that Mr Obadiah Greenhat had the *three bucks vert* in his eye, when Lord Orrery (3) is found obſerving, that our Dean had been himſelf the *herald to blazon the dignity of his coat.*

(1) Display of Heraldry, p. 91. of the atchievements, p. 137. edit. 16-9.

(2) Vol. II. No. 59.

(3) In his Remarks, p. 5. edit. 1752. 8vo.

[*B*] *By his daughter.*] There were two of theſe; one of whom married Robert Fielding, Eſq; common-

branches, from the ſame ſtem, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their loyalty in the grand rebellion of 1641 (b), among whom was our Author's grandfather, the Reverend Mr *Thomas Swift* [C], who was poſſeſſed of a paternal eſtate near Roſs at *Goodrich* in Hereford-ſhire, of which place he was Vicar (c), and held alſo another Church-benefice (d). He married Mrs *Elizabeth Dryden*, aunt to *John Dryden* the Poet, and by her had ten ſons and ſix daughters. Of the ſons ſix ſurvived him, *Godwin*, *Thomas*, *Dryden*, *William*, *Jonathan*, and *Adam*, who were all, except *Thomas*, bred to the law. *Godwin*, who was a Barriſter of Gray's Inn, having married a relation of the old Marchioneſs of Ormond, was made Attorney-General to the old Duke in the Palatinate of Tiperary in Ireland. That kingdom was then ne[ar]ly without Lawyers, by reaſon of the rebellion which had forced almoſt every man, of what-ever condition, to take up arms, and made him a ſoldier. *Godwin* therefore reſolved to attempt the acquiſition of a fortune there, and the ſame motive induced his four brothers, who were Attorneys, to go with him. Godwin ſoon became wealthy, and the reſt obtained ſomewhat more than a genteel competence, though *Dryden* and *Jonathan (e)*, who died ſoon after their arrival, had little to bequeath. This laſt, at the age of about three and twenty, and before he went to Ireland, had married Mrs *Abigail Erick* of Leiceſterſhire (f), who, about two years after, was left a widow, with one child, a daughter, and pregnant with another. She had brought her huſband but a ſmall fortune, and now her whole ſubſiſtence was an annuity of twenty pounds, which he had purchaſed for her in England, immediately after his marriage (g). In this diſtreſs, ſhe was taken, with her daughter, into the family of Godwin, her huſband's eldeſt brother; and on the 30th of November, 1667, about the ſeventh month of her widowhood, ſhe was delivered at Dublin of a ſon (h), whom ſhe called Jonathan, in memory of his Father (i); and who became afterwards the celebrated Dean of St Patrick's, the ſubject of the preſent memoir. It happened, by whatever accident, that he was not ſuckled by his mother, but put to a nurſe, who took ſo ſtrong an affection for him, that when he was about a year old, finding it neceſſary to viſit a relation, from whom ſhe expected a legacy, and who lay dangerouſly ſick at Whitehaven in Cumberland, ſhe croſſed the ſea to that place of her nativity; and having contrived a way of conveying the child on ſhipboard unknown to his mother and his uncle, ſhe carried him with her. Here he continued three years (k): for when the matter was diſcovered, his mother ſent orders not to hazard a ſecond voyage till he ſhould be better able to bear it (l). And the woman gave other teſtimonies of her affection to her nurſling, having taught him to ſpell before her return [D], ſo that at five years of age he was able to read any chapter in the Bible (m). In the mean time, Mrs Swift, about two years after her huſband's death, had quitted Ireland, and retired to Leiceſter, leaving her children to the care of their uncle aforementioned [E], who kindly undertook the charge, and ſent his nephew,

(c) Lord Orrery's (now Earl of Cork) Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr Swift, p. 5. edit. 1753.

(d) Hawkeſworth's Account, &c. p. 2.

(e) Jonathan was an agent at Dublin, Lord Orrery, as before.

(f) Her family was deſcended from Erick the Foreſter, who raiſed an army to oppoſe William the Conqueror, by whom he was vanquiſhed, and afterwards made Commander of his Forces. Hawkeſworth, p. 3.

(g) Ibid.

(h) Ibid.

(i) Lord Orrery, p. 6.

(k) Ibid. p. 4.

(l) Hawkeſworth, p. 3.

(m) Idem, ibid.

ly called handſome Fielding, and the other the Earl of Eglington in Scotland. Fielding ſoon diſſipated his wife's patrimony; and that of her ſiſter being transferred to the family of Lord Eglington (4), the principal eſtate of the Swifts was finally ſeparated from the name, as is mentioned above.

(4) Hawkeſworth's account of the life of Jonathan Swift.

[C] *His grandfather Mr Thomas Swift.*] This gentleman's father, *William Swift*, was rector of St. Andrews in Canterbury, and married the heireſs of *Philpot*, who contrived to keep her eſtate, which was very conſiderable, in her own hands. She is ſaid to be extremely capricious and ill-natured, and to have diſinherited her ſon Thomas, an only child, merely for robbing an orchard when he was a boy. However this be, it is certain, that, except a church or chapter leaſe which was not renewed, Thomas never poſſeſſed more than a hundred pounds a year. This little eſtate, which lay at Goodrich, he mortgaged for three hundred broad pieces of gold, and, having quilted them into his waiſtcoat, he ſet out for *Ragland Caſtle*, whither his Majeſty King Charles I. had retired after the fatal battle of *Naſeby*. The governor, who knew him well, aſked what was his errand: I am come, ſays Swift, to give his Majeſty my coat, at the ſame time pulling it off and preſenting it: The governor told him his coat was worth little; why then, ſaid Swift, take my waiſtcoat (5); this was ſoon found to be an uſeful garment by its weight; and it is remarked by Lord Clarendon, that the King received no ſupply more ſeaſonable or acceptable than theſe three hundred broad pieces during the whole war, his diſtreſs being then very great, and his reſources cut off (6). The zeal and activity of this gentleman for the royal cauſe expoſed him to much danger and many ſufferings; he was plundered more than thirty times by the parliament's army, he was ejected from his church livings, his eſtate was ſequeſtred, and himſelf thrown into priſon (*). His eſtate however was afterwards recovered, and part of it ſold to pay the money due upon the mortgage, and ſome other debts; the remainder, being about one half, deſcended to his heir, and is now poſſeſſed by his great grandſon, Deane (7) Swift, Eſq; eldeſt grandſon of Godwin, eldeſt ſurviving ſon and heir of Thomas, whoſe ſecond ſon, named alſo Thomas, was bred at Oxford, and took orders. He married the eldeſt daughter of Sir William Davenant, but died young, and left only one ſon, whoſe name alſo was Thomas, and who died in 1752, rector of Puttenham in Surry, a benefice which he had poſſeſſed threeſcore years (8).

(5) Dr Swift's ſketch of his own life.

(6) Hiſt. of the rebellion and civil wars, &c.

(*) He died in 1658.

(7) The grandmother of this gentleman, one of the wives of Godwin Swift, was heireſs to admiral Deane, whence Deane became a Chriſtian name in the family. Hawkeſworth, p. 2. in note *.

(8) Dr Swift's ſketch and note.

[D] *Taught him to ſpell before her return.*] The incident of his being carried into England ſoon after his birth gave riſe to a general opinion that he was born there, a miſtake to which ſome other incidents have contributed. He had been frequently heard to ſay, when the people of Ireland diſpleaſed him, 'I am not 'of this vile country, I am an Engliſhman.' Mr Pope (*) alſo, in one of his letters to him, mentions England as his native country: but the account here given of his birth is taken from that which he left behind him in his own hand-writing; and, while he lived, he was ſo far from ſeriouſly denying or concealing his being a native of Ireland, that he often mentioned, and even pointed out the houſe in which he was born (9).

(*) Letter LXXXVIII. to Swift, dated March 23, 1736-7.

(9) Lord Orrery and Hawkeſworth.

Another miſtake too has been grafted upon this, that he was a natural ſon of Sir William Temple. In anſwer to which Lord Orrery obſerves (10), that ſuch a relation appears to be impoſſible, ſince that ſtateſman was reſident abroad in a public character from the year 1665 to 1670, as may be proved by his letters to the Earl of Arlington and the reſt of the miniſtry. The Dean was born in November, 1667, and his mother was never out of the Britiſh dominions. His Lordſhip is herein followed by Mr Hawkeſworth (11); and the remark indeed is enough of it true for the purpoſe to which it is made, though it is not altogether true; for Sir William appears to have been five days in England in the year 1668 (12).

(10) Remarks, p. 5.

(11) Account of the Doctor's life, p. 4. ubi ſupra.

(12) See his Article.

[E] *To the care of their uncle Godwin.*] It is ſaid, that, of all the brothers of Mrs Swift's huſband, Godwin only had ſons (13); which muſt be underſtood only of thoſe brothers who went to Ireland; otherwiſe the remark will be but ill defended by uſing the word ſons in the plural number, ſince, as has been ſhewn from the Dean's own account (14), his uncle Thomas had one ſon. However this ſlip ought not to impeach the truth of Mr Deane Swift's account (15), that our Author's mo-

(13) Hawkeſworth, p. 3.

(14) In remark [C].*

(15) p. 23.

nephew, at six years of age, to school at *Kilkenny*. He must have been one of those geniuses which don't begin to flower early, since he passed eight years at this school without giving any proofs of extraordinary talents *(n)*. However, he was thought fit for the University at the age of fourteen, and was accordingly removed to Trinity-college in Dublin, under the tuition of that learned and ingenious gentleman, Mr George St Ashe, in 1681 [*F*]. Here he behaved with strict regularity and order, but discovered the utmost dislike of the academical exercises, which were frequently made the subject of his ridicule. History and Poetry were the studies that suited his taste: to these he bent his whole application, and made great progress in them; but all other branches of science, especially Logic and Metaphysics, were so much disregarded by him, that when he stood a candidate for his first degree in arts, in 1685, he was set aside on account of insufficiency. At the same time, the austerity of his temper made him a disagreeable companion, so that he was little regarded, and less beloved *(o)*. He did not obtain the favour of his degree till he had been at the college seven years, nor then neither without a special mark of disgrace, signified in the words *specialí gratia*. This seems the more extraordinary, as we are assured, that for three years past he had been so far from an idler, that he spent eight hours a day at study *(p)*; but the wonder vanishes as soon as we know which way the bent of his application is turned. During this time he drew the first sketch of his *Tale of a Tub (q)*. In 1688, his guardian uncle fell unhappily into a lethargic disorder, which totally depriving him of his speech and memory, unavoidably put a stop to the current of his kindness to his nephew, who, till this time, had been supported by him. In this exigence, Swift, who was now twenty-one years of age, took a journey to Leicester [*H*], to consult with his mother what course of life to pursue. At this time Sir *William Temple* was in high reputation, and honoured with the confidence and familiarity of King William. His Father, Sir *John Temple*, had been Master of the Rolls in Ireland, and contracted an intimate friendship with *Godwin Swift*, which continued till his death; and Sir William, who inherited his title and estate, having married a Lady, to whom Mrs Swift was related, she therefore advised her son to apply to him. This advice, which perhaps only confirmed a resolution that Swift had secretly taken before he left Ireland *(r)*, he immediately resolved to pursue. Sir William received him with great kindness, and our genius had been perhaps lost to the world, had it not been for this lucky step. This great Statesman and Scholar was then at Moor-Park near Farnham in Surry, a seat which he had purchased a few years before, in the view of retiring from business, and living to himself and his studies *(s)*. Swift, who had led a studious life for some years, and must have acquired a good stock of knowledge in history, was therefore a welcome guest to him, and accompanied him to Sheene, whither he returned upon the approach of the Revolution, Moor-Park lying in the way of both armies *(t)*. Sir William had been well known, and treated with confidence by the Prince of Orange abroad, before his accession to the crown of England, who afterwards frequently visited him at Sheene, and took his advice in affairs of the utmost importance. In these visits, Sir William being lame with the gout, Swift used to attend his Majesty in his walks about the garden, who admitted him to such a familiarity, that he shewed him how to cut asparagus after the Dutch manner. Thus agreeably did he pass the time, not less to his improvement, than his satisfaction, in the company of a beneficent Patron, who was both an elegant author, and a polite gentleman, who likewise extended his friendship to the care of his fortune; and obtained for him an offer from the King to make him a Captain of Horse; and when this offer was declined by our Author, who appears to have fixed his mind very early upon the Church, the same Patron obtained a promise of preferment in that way of life *(u)*. In the latter end of the year 1689, Sir William went back to Moor-Park *(w)*, with his companion. Soon after this, a bill was brought into Parliament for triennial elections, against which the King was very averse, by the advice, as is said, of some people who had persuaded the Earl of Portland, that King Charles I. lost his Crown and Life by consenting to such a bill. Upon this occasion, the Earl was dispatched to Moor-Park by his Majesty, for Sir William's advice, who said

(n) Lord Orrery, p. 6. And the Dean himself declares, that his parts did not burst out till he was middle aged. See note 27 below.

(o) Lord Orrery, p. 7.

(p) Observations on Lord Orrery's Remarks ascribed to Dr Delany, written in the form of letters signed J. R. p. 50. Deane Swift extends it to nine years, and ten hours a day, p. 271.

(q) Wesendra Warren, Esq; a gentleman of fortune near Belfast, in the North of Ireland, who was his chamber-fellow, declared; that he then saw a copy of the Tale of a Tub in Swift's own hand-writing. Deane Swift, p. 31.

(r) Hawkesworth, p. 4.

(s) See his Article.

(t) Ibid.

(u) See Our Author's letter to his uncle in Remark [*K*].

(w) See his Article.

ther was subsisted by the sons of Godwin in her old age, as she had been before by their father and their uncles with such liberality, that she declared herself not only happy, but rich.

[*F*] *Mr George St Ashe.*] It happened a little unluckily for our young student, who had no turn to philosophical studies, that he was put under a tutor whose particular talents lay that way. Mr St Ashe, not unacquainted with polite letters, yet was particularly fond of the mathematics, and a great promoter of that science, the study of which he not only introduced and encouraged in the college or university, being professor of it there, but he had likewise a considerable share in erecting a philosophical society in the city whilst Swift was his pupil (16).

[*G*] *Logic and metaphysics were much disregarded by him.*] *Lord Orrery* (17) says, that he was little acquainted with the mathematics, and never considered the science but as an object of ridicule. But the Author of the Observations (18) affirms, that he had acquired considerable mathematical knowledge, and that he had seen him more than once undertake to solve an algebraic problem by arithmetic. It is very possible, that the same degree of mathematical knowledge might be meant by the words little and considerable, according to the different conceptions of these two writers of that knowledge or science in general, of which neither of them perhaps knew more, if so much as the Dean himself did.

[*H*] *He took a journey to Leicester.*] He constantly made a visit to his mother almost every year as long as she lived. His manner of travelling was very singular. He always went on foot, except the weather was very bad, and then he would sometimes take shelter in a waggon; he chose to dine at obscure alehouses, among pedlars and ostlers, and to lie where he saw written over the door, lodgings for a penny; but he used to bribe the maid with a tester for a single bed and clean sheets (19). The dialect he met with in low life was not only a fund of humour for him, but he seems to have considered himself now as serving his necessary apprenticeship to the obtaining an independent fortune (20). It appears, from all the accounts of his temper, that he was fearful of expences, and undeviatingly observed that rule himself which he prescribed for his friend *Gay*, to look upon a shilling as a serious thing (21).

(16) See the article of William Molyneux.

(17) Letter VII. p. 18.

(18) Letter, signed J. R. p. 101.

(19) Lord Orrery, p. 21. and Deane Swift, p. 99.

(20) Letter to Pope of Dec. 5, 1726.

(21) Letter to Gay, Nov. 23, 1727.

much

much to ſhew him his miſtake, but without effect; and therefore he ſoon after diſpatched Swift to Kenſington with the whole account in writing, to convince the King and the Earl how ill they were informed. Swift, young as he was, yet was well acquainted with the Engliſh hiſtory, and gave the King a compendious account of the matter, which he amplified to the Earl, but the meaſure was at laſt rejected; and thus ended Swift's firſt embaſſy to court ſo much to his diſſatisfaction, that he then declared it was the firſt incident that helped to cure him of his vanity (x). Soon after this, he was ſeized with the return of a diſorder, which he had contracted in Ireland by a ſurfeit upon fruit. This drew him back thither, by the advice of his phyſicians, who hoped that his native air would contribute to the recovery of his health; but he received no benefit from the journey, and therefore in a ſhort time returned to Sir William (y), being ever afterwards ſubject to that giddineſs, which gradually encreaſed, though with irregular intermiſſions, till it terminated in total debility of body and mind. But he was ſtill indefatigable in his ſtudies [I], and by way of exerciſe for his health's ſake, it was his conſtant practice to run up a hill, that was near the houſe, and down again, every two hours (z). About a year after his return from *Ireland*, he thought it expedient to take his degree of Maſter of Arts at Oxford. With this view, he appears to have written to his uncle, *William Swift*, to procure and ſend him the *teſtimonium* of his Batchelor's Degree in the Univerſity of Dublin. With this *teſtimonium*, which is dated May 3, 1692, he went to Oxford, entered himſelf of Hart-hall, now Hertford-college, and having received many civilities, was admitted *ad Eandem* on the 14th of June, and took his Maſter's Degree on the 5th of July following [K]. From Oxford he returned again to Moor-Park, where he aſſiſted Sir William Temple to reviſe his works, corrected and improved his *Tale of a Tub*, and added the digreſſions (aa). From the converſation of Sir William, who was minutely acquainted with all the intricacies of Party, and the ſecrets of State, during the reigns of King Charles and King James the Second, Swift greatly encreaſed his political knowledge. But having long ſuſpected his Patron of neglecting to provide for him, merely that he might keep him in his family, he at length reſented it ſo warmly, that in the year 1694 a quarrel enſued, and they parted. Sir William having offered to make him his Deputy, as Maſter of the Rolls in Ireland, which he refuſed with this reply, that ſince he had now an opportunity of living without being driven into the Church for a ſupport, a ſcruple which had hitherto kept him out of it, he was determined to go into Ireland and take orders (bb). Accordingly, upon Lord Capel's appointment to be Lord Deputy of that Kingdom, in 1695, Sir William gave him a recommendation to his Lordſhip (cc), who collated him to the Prebend of *Kilroot*, in the dioceſe of Conner, a northern diſtrict, worth about a hundred pounds a year. But Sir William, who had been uſed to the converſation of Swift, ſoon found that he could not be content to live without it, he therefore urged him to reſign his Prebend in favour of a friend, and promiſed to obtain

(x) Swift's Sketch of his own Life, ſect. XXIII. and XXIV.

(y) Ibid. ſect. XXIII. Lord Orrery intimates that the ſurfeit was contracted by eating too much of Sir William Temple's fruit, Letter II.

(z) Deane Swift, p. 272.

(aa) Hawkeſworth, p. 7.

(bb) Sketch, ſect. XXV. and note.

(cc) Lord Orrery's Letters.

[I] *He was indefatigable in his ſtudies.*] By what books theſe ſtudies were principally directed, is not certainly known; but ſeveral copious extracts from *Cyprian*, *Irenæus*, *Sleidan's commentaries*, and *Padre Paulo's hiſtory of the council of Trent*, were found among his papers, which appear by *memorandums* in his own hand writing to have been made while he lived with Sir William Temple (22).

[K] *He proceeded A. M. in* 1692.] To prepare for this degree, he firſt wrote to his uncle, William Swift, then at Dublin, to procure and ſend him a *teſtimonium* of his batchelor's degree from that college (23). Nothing but the abſolute neceſſity of it could have forced him to take this ſtep. The diſgrace couched in the words *ſpeciali gratia* ſtuck ſtill in his ſtomach, nor did he digeſt it well ever after. In a letter, dated November 26, 1725, he writes to Mr Pope: 'I deſire you and all my 'friends would take eſpecial care that my diſaffection 'to the world may not be imputed to my age; for I 'have credible witneſſes ready to depoſe, that it has 'never varied from the twenty-firſt to the forty-eighth 'year of my life (24). *Hercules* (ſays Lord Orrery 'upon the occaſion) found himſelf ſet aſide for want 'of ſtrength; or, if admitted among the wreſtlers, admitted only by favour and indulgence; yet ſtill he 'muſt be conſcious that he was *Hercules* (25).' Our Author was ſtrongly affected with any diſappointments, and retained a laſting ſenſibility of them. 'I remember, (ſays he to Lord Bolingbroke in the year 1729) 'when I was a little boy, I felt a great fiſh at the end 'of my line, which I drew up almoſt on the ground, 'but it dropt in, and the diſappointment vexes me to 'this very day; and I believe it was the type of all 'my future diſappointments (26).' However, pungent and laſting as was his reſentment of the rebukes he met with at Dublin, it ſeems to be ſuſpended for a while by the contrary treatment he found at Oxford. In a letter to his uncle William, dated at Moor-Park, Nov. 29, 1692, he writes thus:

'Sir,

'My ſiſter told me you was pleaſed, when ſhe came 'here, to wonder I did ſo ſeldom write to you, I '(*) been ſo kind to impute it neither to ill 'mann reſpect. I always 'thought that ſufficient from me, who have always been but too troubleſome to you: beſides your 'averſion to impertinence, and, God knows, ſo very 'private a life as mine, can furniſh a letter with little 'elſe; for I often am two or three months without 'ſeeing any body beſides the family, and now my ſiſter 'is gone, I am likely to be more ſolitary than before. 'I *am ſtill to thank you for your care in my* TESTIMONIUM, *and it was to very good purpoſe, for I never 'was more ſatisfied than in the behaviour of the Univerſity of Oxford to me.* I had all the civilities I could 'wiſh for, and ſo many favours, that I am 'aſhamed to have been more obliged in a few weeks 'to ſtrangers, than ever I was in ſeven years to Dublin 'College. I am not to take orders till the King gives 'me a Prebendary: and Sir William Temple, though 'he promiſes me the certainty of it, yet is leſs forward than I could wiſh; becauſe, I ſuppoſe, he believes I ſhall leave him, and upon ſome accounts he 'thinks me a little neceſſary to him 'If I were entertainment, or of doing 'you any ſatisfaction by my letters, I ſhould be very 'glad to perform it that way, as I am bound to do it 'by all others. I am ſorry my fortune ſhould fling me 'ſo far from the beſt of my Relations; but I hope I 'ſhall have the happineſs to ſee you ſome time or other. 'Pray my humble ſervice to my good Aunt, and the 'reſt of my Relations, if you pleaſe (27).'

(*) The original was torn and imperfect in theſe places which are left blank.

Both Lord Orrery and Mr Deane Swift are of opinion, that the civilities which he received at Oxford proceeded from a miſunderſtanding of the phraſe *ſpeciali gratia*, which was there ſuppoſed to be a compliment paid to uncommon merit (28); and the ſame is confirmed by our Author himſelf; yet all this evidence does not ſatisfy Mr Hawkeſworth, who obſerves that theſe words are not inſerted in the congregation-book at Oxford (29), and not to have inſerted them there, when they were thought a compliment, would have been an affront: it is therefore probable, continues this writer, that by the influence of Swift's

(22) Deane Swift, p. 276.

(23) This appears from his letter of thanks for it to that uncle cited below.

(24) Pope's Works, Vol. IV. Part 3d, p. 45. edit. 1742. 8vo.

(25) His Lordſhip's Remarks, p. 7.

(26) Letter 37th in Pope's Works, as before.

(27) This letter is preſerved by Lord Orrery, in Remarks, p. 12. who obſerves that there does not appear in it the leaſt ſymptoms of that peculiar turn of phraſe which afterwards we ſee in all his writings, and even in his moſt trifling letters. This however admits of ſome exceptions, though our Author himſelf intimates that his Genius did not ripen till he was middle aged. Compare letter 17 with 83 in Pope's Works, Vol. IX.

(28) Lord Orrery's Remarks, p. 8. and Deane Swift's Account of the Doctor's Life, p. 30 and 44.

(29) It is not uſual to tranſcribe the whole form of ſuch foreign teſtimoniums, but only to inſert the ſubſtance of them.

tain preferment for him in England, if he would return [*L*]. Swift, without any difficulty, consented; and Sir William was so much pleased with this act of kindness, that during the remainder of his life, which was about four years, his behaviour was such, as produced the utmost harmony between them: Swift, as a testimony of his friendship and esteem, wrote *The Battle of the Books*, of which Sir William is the Hero (*dd*); and Sir William, when he died, left him a pecuniary legacy, and his posthumous works [*M*].

(*dd*) Advertisement intitled, The Bookseller to the Reader, prefixed to that piece.

Having

Swift's uncle, they were omitted in the copy, which he procured and sent, especially as some such favour seems to be intimated in the words put into Italics of Swift's letter to him, above cited (30). But these words will by no means warrant such a construction against the express testimony of Swift himself, which is but poorly evaded by saying, that though the civilities which he received at Oxford might indeed, according to the remark of Lord Orrery, proceed from his known connexion with Sir William Temple; yet Swift might reasonably impute them, also, to the suppression of a reproach, against which there was good reason to fear this connexion would not have supported him; that it is not strange that Swift, after his reputation was established, should, while he was sporting with this incident in the gaiety of his heart, pretend a mistake, which never happened; or that what he meant as a jest upon the University, should be seriously remembered as an event of his life. However, in justice to this Vindicator, let it be recorded, that he has pointed out a manifest slip in Lord Orrery (31), in saying, that Swift, upon his disgrace at Dublin, resolved to pursue his studies at Oxford, where he almost constantly resided during three years, and was avowedly supported by Sir William Temple; whereas, the contrary is incontestably true, since there are not quite two months between the date of his testimonium and his taking his Master's Degree, not to mention that passage in the letter to his uncle, where he says, *I am ashamed to be more obliged in a few weeks to strangers, than in seven years to Dublin College.* This remark is farther supported, by observing that Swift went to that College at the age of fourteen, in 1681; continued there seven years as appears by his letter, so that he did not leave Ireland till 1688: he was some months with his mother before he went to Sir William, and two years with him before he went to Ireland for his health, which must therefore be in 1691; he returned from Ireland, and continued sometime longer with Sir William before he went to Oxford, which must therefore be in 1692, and in that year he took his Degree. The fact therefore (continues this Vindicator) which, Lord Orrery says, was immediately construed, to favour an opinion that Swift was Sir William's natural son, appears never to have happened (32).

(30) Hawkesworth's Account, p. 6.

(31) Remarks, p. 8, 9.

(32) Hawkesworth, p. 6, and note *.

[*L*] *If he would return to Ireland.*] This appears by a letter from Swift's sister, then in Ireland, to her cousin Deane in Portugal. 'Sir William Temple, says she, was 'so fond of him, that he made him give up his living 'in this country, and promised to get him one in Eng- 'land (33).'

(33) Deane Swift's Account, p. 66.

[*M*] *He left a pecuniary legacy, and his posthumous works.*] One of the reasons produced in support of the opinion, that he was a natural son of Sir William, was, that this supposed Father had given him such marks of his bounty, as it is not likely he should bestow upon a person to whom he was not so related. How far this bounty extended, and what were the favours bestowed by Sir William, cannot certainly be known; that pretended one of his supporting Swift three years at Oxford, has been shewn to be a great mistake. And it is certain, Swift never acknowledged any besides those which have given occasion for the present remark; and we need not say, that the acknowledged relation between Swift's mother and Sir William's Lady, is sufficient to account for even much greater than those. In short, we have a letter from our Author to Lord *Palmerston*, nephew and heir to Sir William Temple's family and estate, which is decisive in the point. It is wrote with great spirit, and will well reward the reader's attention in perusing it; we shall therefore present him with a transcript.

The original is endorsed, '*An Answer to Lord Pal-* '*merston's civil polite letter*,' and runs thus:

'My Lord, Jan. 31, 1735-6.

'I desire you will give yourself the last trouble I 'shall ever put you to. I do entirely acquit you of any 'injury or injustice done to Mr *Curtis* (34), and if you 'had read that passage in my letter a second time, you 'could not possibly have so ill understood me. The 'injury and injustice the young man received, were 'from those, who, claiming a title to his chambers, 'took away his key; and reviled and threatened to 'beat him, with a great deal of the like monstrous 'conduct: whereupon, at his request, I laid the case 'before you (35), as it appeared to me. And it would 'have been very strange, if on account of a trifle, and 'a person for whom I have no concern further than as 'he was once employed by me on the character he 'bears of piety and learning, I should charge you with 'injury and injustice to him, when I know from himself 'and Mr *Reading*, that you were not answerable for 'either.

(34) A resident Master in Trinity-college, Dublin, whom the Author made one of the Posts of minor canons of St Patrick's Cathedral.

(35) This Lord, who was nephew to Sir W. Temple, had a right to bestow two handsome chambers in the College of Dublin, upon such students as he and his heirs should think proper, on account of the benefactions of the family towards the College buildings.

'As you state the case of tenant at will, I fully 'agree, that no law can compel you; but law was not 'at all in my thoughts.

'Now, my Lord, if what I writ of injury and injustice 'were wholly applied, in plain terms, to one or two of 'the College here, whose names were below my re- 'membrance, you will consider how I could deserve 'an answer in every line full of foul insinuations, open 'reproaches, jesting flirts and contumelious terms; and 'what title you claim to give me such treatment. I 'own my obligation to Sir William Temple for re- 'commending me to the late King, although without 'success; and for his choice of me to take care of his 'posthumous writings [illegible] will not charge 'my being in his family [illegible] obligation. For I was 'educated to little purpose, if I had chosen his 'house on any other motives, than the benefit of his 'conversation and advice, and the opportunity of pur- 'suing my studies. For being born to no fortune, I 'was at his death as much to seek it as ever, and per- 'haps you will allow that I was of some use to him. 'This I will venture to say, that in the time when I 'had some little credit, I did fifty times more for fifty 'people, from whom I never received the least service 'or assistance; yet I should not be pleased to hear a 'relation of mine reproaching them with ingratitude, 'though many of them well deserve it. For, thanks 'to party, I have met in both Kingdoms with ingrati- 'tude enough.

'If I have been ill informed, you have not been 'much better, that I *declared no great regard to your* '*family*; for so you express yourself: I never had oc- 'casion or opportunity to make use of any such words. 'The last time I saw you in London, was the last in- 'tercourse that I remember to have had with your fa- 'mily. But having always trusted to my own inno- 'cence, I was never inquisitive to know my accusers. 'When I mentioned my loss of interest with you, I did 'it with concern: and I had no resentment; because 'I supposed it only to arise from different sentiments in 'public matters.

'My Lord, if my letter were *polite*, it was against 'my intention, and I intreat your pardon for it. If I 'have *wit*, I will keep it to shew when I am angry; 'which at present I am not, because although nothing 'can excuse those intemperate words your pen hath let 'fall, yet I shall give allowance to a hasty person, hur- 'ried on by mistake beyond all rules of decency. If 'a first Minister of State had used me as you have 'done, he should have heard from me in another style; 'because, in that case, retaliating would be thought a 'mark of courage. But as your Lordship is not in a 'situation to do me good, nor, I am sure, of a dispo- 'sition to do me mischief; so I should lose the merit of 'being bold, because I incurred no danger. In this 'point alone we are exactly equal, but in wit and 'politeness I am as ready to yield to you, as in titles 'and estate.

'I have found out one secret, that although you 'call me a great wit, you don't think me so, other- 'wise you would have been cautious to have writ me 'such a letter.

'You conclude with saying, you are ready to ask 'pardon, where you have offended. Of this I acquit 'you, because I have not taken the offence; but whe- 'ther you will acquit yourself, must be left to your 'conscience and honour.

'I have formerly, upon occasions, been your hum- 'ble servant in Ireland, and should not refuse to be so 'still; but you have so useful and excellent a friend in

Having paid the laſt duties to his Patron, he removed to London, where he took the firſt opportunity of preſenting a petition to the King for the firſt vacant Prebend of Canterbury or Weſtminſter, for which the Royal Promiſe had been obtained by his late Benefactor; and to facilitate the ſucceſs of this application, he dedicated two Volumes of Sir William's letters to his Majeſty, which were publiſhed by him not long after. But both theſe addreſſes were intirely neglected; nor did the King take any the leaſt notice of him after Sir William Temple's death. Under this diſappointment, he accepted of an invitation from the Earl of Berkley (appointed one of the Lord's Juſtices in Ireland) *(ee)* to attend him in the character of his Chaplain, to which his Lordſhip alſo added the poſt of his private Secretary; but he was diveſted of this laſt office ſoon after their arrival at Dublin, by the inſinuations of one Buſh *(ff)*, another of his Lordſhip's attendants, who ſucceeded him. This diſappointment was ſoon followed by another: It happened that the Deanery of Derry became vacant; it was the Earl of Berkley's turn to diſpoſe of it, and he intended it for his Chaplain; but, upon an application from the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, his Lordſhip was diverted from that deſign, and inſtead thereof, gave him the two Livings of *Laracor* and *Rathbeggin*, in the Dioceſe of Meath, which, though worth about two hundred and ſixty pounds per ann. [*N*], did

(ee) In 1700. The Duke of Bolton and the Earl of Galway were the other two. Gen. Hiſt. of England.

(ff) He remarked, that this office was not conſonant to the character of a Clergyman. Lord Orrery, Letter III.

'Mr Reading, that you need no other, and I hope 'my good opinion of him will not leſſen yours.

'I am, my Lord,

'Your moſt humble ſervant,

'Jonathan Swift (36).'

(36) Swift's Works, Vol. VI. p. 111, 112, 113. edit. 1755. 4to.

[*N*] *The two Livings of Laracor and Rathbeggin, not half the value of the Deanery.*] As Swift had refuſed a commiſſion under King William, and a ſecular employment under Sir William Temple (37), it appears that his attachment to an eccleſiaſtical life, however early, and however ſtrong, was not the effect of temporary views, but of zeal for the ſucceſs of the great work, in which he was about to engage; and a conſciouſneſs of his own ability to acquit himſelf with advantage. That religious purpoſes were at this time predominant in his mind, he uſed frequently to declare; he hoped, he ſaid, that by diligent and conſtant application, he ſhould ſo far excel, that the Sexton might ſometimes be aſked on a Sunday morning, 'Pray does the Doctor 'preach to day?' And when he went to reſide at Laracor, he gave public notice that he would read prayers on Wedneſdays, and Fridays; a labour which he would not have brought upon himſelf, if he had been principally concerned about the value of his dues, which had been long before cuſtomarily paid for much leſs ſervice (38). The duties of the Church, which he thus rendered more frequent, he performed with the utmoſt punctuality, and the moſt rational devotion; he was indeed devout not only in his public and ſolemn addreſſes to God, but in that tranſient act of adoration, which is called *ſaying grace*, and which often conſiſts only in a mutter and a bow, in which the ſpeaker appears to compliment the company, and the company each other: Swift always uſed the feweſt words that could be uttered on the occaſion, but he pronounced them with an emphaſis and fervour, which every one around him ſaw and felt, and with his hands claſped in each other and lifted to his breaſt (39). An example worthy to be followed by other wits, in this act of religious decorum.

(37) Sketch, ſect. XXVII.

(38) Delany's Obſervations, p. 40, 41.

(39) Hawkeſworth, p. 8, 9.

Yet Swift, with all this piety in his heart, could not reſiſt the temptations to indulge the peculiarity of his humour, when an opportunity offered, whatever might be the impropriety of time and place. On the firſt Wedneſday after he had ſummoned his congregation at Laracor, he aſcended his deſk, and, having ſat ſome time with no other auditor than his clerk Roger, he roſe up, and, with a compoſure and gravity that upon this occaſion was irreſiſtibly ridiculous, he began with one of the introductory ſentences from Scripture, and proceeded with the like compoſure, 'Dearly beloved 'Roger, The Scripture moveth you and me in ſundry 'places,' and ſo went regularly through the whole ſervice (40). This inſtance of his levity, it muſt be owned, is ſufficient to clear Dr King, then Biſhop of Derry, from any particular ill-will to him, in trying to prevent his promotion to that deanery. His Lordſhip indeed intreated the Lords Juſtices with great earneſtneſs, that the deanery might be given to ſome grave elderly divine, rather than to ſo young a man; but it was becauſe the ſituation of Derry being in the midſt of Preſbyterians, 'I ſhould be glad, ſays the Biſhop, of a clergyman who 'could be of aſſiſtance to me. I have no objection to 'Mr Swift: I know him to be a ſprightly ingenious 'young man; but, inſtead of reſiding, I dare ſay he will 'be eternally flying backwards and forwards to London; 'and therefore I intreat that he may be provided for in 'ſome other place.' Swift was accordingly ſet aſide for youth: but, as if his ſtars had deſtined him to a parallel revenge, he lived to ſee the Biſhop of Derry afterwards ſet aſide on account of age. That prelate had been Archbiſhop of Dublin many years, and been long celebrated for his wit and learning, when Dr Lindſay, the primate of Ireland, died. Upon his death, Archbiſhop King immediately made claim to the primacy, as a preferment to which he had a right from his ſtation in the ſee of Dublin, and from his acknowledged character in the church: neither of theſe pretenſions were prevalent; he was looked upon as too far advanced in years to be removed: the reaſon alledged was as mortifying as the refuſal itſelf: but the Archbiſhop had no opportunity of ſhewing his reſentment, except to the new primate, Dr *Bolton*, whom he received at his own houſe, and in his dining parlour, without riſing from his chair, and to whom he made an apology, by ſaying in his uſual ſtrain of wit, and his uſual ſneering countenance, 'My 'Lord, I am certain your Grace will forgive me, be-'cauſe *you know I am too old to riſe* (41).' Our regard to impartiality will not ſuffer this remark to conclude, without taking notice of another mortification which our divine met with this year in the marriage of his ſiſter. She happened to yoke herſelf with a man in trade, 'an unpardonable offence, ſays Lord Orrery (42), in 'his eye.' He ſaw in it a ſtumbling-block in the very way of his ambition: his own experience had already furniſhed ſome; and he muſt have obſerved more inſtances, where very fair promiſing hopes had been nipped in the bud by very weak pretences. All the faculties of his ſoul were extremely quick of apprehenſion: he therefore grew even outrageous at the thoughts of being brother-in-law to a tradeſman. It availed nothing that his fortune, character, and ſituation, were eſteemed by all her other friends ſuitable in every reſpect, and that the match was concluded with the conſent and approbation of her uncles, and all the reſt of her relations. It was done utterly againſt his will, and he refuſed all reconciliation with her. In theſe circumſtances recourſe was had to his mother, who, from a tender regard for the happineſs of her children, came over to Ireland under the ſtrongeſt hopes of pacifying his anger, having, in every other inſtance, found him a dutiful and an obedient ſon. But in this he was not to be conquered. He was deaf even to the intreaties of a parent whom he ſo much honoured; and ſhe returned to Leiceſter, leaving him in this point abſolutely inflexible. While this incident was freſh in my mind, I took up the ſecond volume of the Tatler, and, turning over the hiſtory of Jenny Diſtaff, felt the delight thoſe papers had formerly given me greatly heightened: I had conſidered them before as prodigious efforts of a moſt ſurprizing wit and humour, brats of a moſt uncommonly turned brain; but now they ſeemed to be the dictates of the author's heart (*). Mr Pope ſomewhere tells him (43), that he had a deſperate hand at daſhing out a character by great ſtrokes. Here we diſcover the true ſource of that peculiar talent, *ſi vis me flere dolendum eſt primum tibi*. Swift's real *dolor* on this ſubject we ſee was as much ſtronger than that of ordinary men, as his deſcriptions are more ſtriking than thoſe of any other genius. He wrote many perſonal ſatires, which Lord Orrery thinks were drawn from him by particular provocations; and inſtances in Dryden, who, he imagines, had ſome way or other offended our Author; otherwiſe he

(40) Lord Orrery's third letter.

(41) Ibid. p. 22, 23.

(42) p. 20, 21.

(*) Swift is ſuppoſed to have written ſeveral letters which he never owned.

(43) Letter VII. in his Works, Vol. IV. part 3. p. 183. edit. 1742.

did not amount to half the value of the Deanery. However, upon this preferment, he went to England and took his degree of Doctor of Divinity *(gg)*. He alſo made uſe of this opportunity of ſhewing his talents to the public, by commencing Author in print [O]. The ſubject was political, and though his firſt production, was univerſally allowed to be a maſter-piece, and he laid thereby the firſt ſtone of his ſubſequent promotion. This done, reſerving for the preſent to return to his Living at Laracor, he invited to Ireland a Lady, whom he has celebrated by the name of *Stella*. With this Lady he became acquainted while he lived with Sir William Temple; ſhe was the daughter of his Steward, whoſe name was *Johnſon*; and Sir William, by his Will, left her a thouſand pounds, in conſideration of her father's faithful ſervices. At the death of Sir William, which happened in 1699, ſhe was in the ſixteenth year of her age, and it was about two years afterwards, that at Swift's invitation, ſhe left England, accompanied by Mrs *Dingley*, a Lady who was fifteen years older, and whoſe whole fortune, though ſhe was related to Sir William, was no more than an annuity of twenty ſeven pounds (*). Whether the Doctor at this time deſired the company of Stella as a wife, or a friend, is not certain (†); but whatever was his attachment, every poſſible precaution was taken by him to prevent ſcandal; they never lived in the ſame houſe; when he was abſent, Mrs Johnſon and her friend reſided at the parſonage; when he returned, they removed either to the houſe of Dr *Raymond*, Vicar of *Trim*, a gentleman of great hoſpitality, and Swift's intimate friend, or to a lodging provided for them in the neighbourhood; nor were they ever known to meet but in the preſence of a third perſon. However, this beloved companion, dear as ſhe was to him, had not power to charm him into a conſtant reſidence upon his cures. He made frequent excurſions both to Dublin and London, while Mrs Johnſon was buried in ſolitude and obſcurity. She was known only to a few of Swift's moſt intimate acquaintance, and had no female companion except Mrs Dingley *(hh)*. In the mean time, theſe long abſences from his cures, during which he ſeldom, if ever, appeared in the pulpit, were manifeſtly inconſiſtent with his former declared purpoſe to excel as a Preacher. But he could not bear the thoughts of being buried alive in the North of Ireland, and was ſollicitous to be near the Court (where he was well received by the principal perſons of all parties) in the view of obtaining a more deſirable ſituation in the Church of England, and had certainly ſucceeded to the height of his wiſhes, had not he unluckily barred himſelf out by publiſhing his *Tale of a Tub* in 1705 [P]. The drift of this unparalleled

(gg) Lord Orrery, Letter III.

(*) The Doctor gave her fifty guineas a year, after her coming to Ireland, as long as he retained his ſenſes, Hawkeſworth, p. 14. and left her in his will an annuity of twenty pounds for her life.

(†) The reaſon given by the ladies for their removal, was the high rate of intereſt, and the cheapneſs of proviſions in Ireland; but other reaſon's were ſuſpected by Mr Thomas Swift, Rector of Puttenham, who, in a letter wrote a few years afterwards, enquires whether Jonathan was married, and whether he had been able to reſiſt the charms of both thoſe gentlewomen, who marched from Moor-Park to Dublin with a reſolution to engage him. Deane Swift, p. 86, 87.

(hh) Lord Orrery and Deane Swift.

(44) Remarks in Letter XXIII. p. 296, 297.

he would have eſcaped his laſh in *The Tale of a Tub* and *The Battle of the Books* (44).

[O] *He commenced Author.*] The piece is intituled, *A diſcourſe upon the conteſts and diſſentions between the nobles and commons in Athens and Rome.* The *cauſa προλαμβλικη*, as the ſchools term it, of Swift's becoming an author, he has himſelf given in the following words: 'I will tell you [Pope] that all my endeavours from a 'boy to diſtinguiſh myſelf were only for want of a 'great title and fortune, that I might be uſed like a 'Lord, by thoſe who have an opinion of my parts, whe-'ther right or wrong, it is no great matter; and ſo the 'reputation of great learning does the office of a blue 'ribbon, or of a coach and ſix horſes (45).' The company and converſation of Sir William Temple turned his thoughts upon politics, and he was pleaſed with the ſubject. His reading had always lain that way, he had a capacity equal to any undertaking, and was determined in his choice by the particular juncture of affairs at that time, and would not ſlip the opportunity of puſhing his fortune by an artful addreſs to ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſonages then upon the ſtage of the public, who had been lately impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanours. Portland, Somers, Orford, and Halifax, were all great men, and the three laſt of remarkable abilities and experience; and we are aſſured by Lord Orrery, that Lord Somers was the particular friend of our Doctor (46); and he himſelf has informed us, that he uſed to meet Mr Addiſon at Lord Halifax's (47). The characters of theſe four great Lords are deſcribed under Athenian names: Phocion is Portland, Ariſtides Lord Somers, Themiſtocles the Earl of Orford, and Pericles Lord Halifax. Its general purport is to damp the warmth of the Commons, by ſhewing, that the meaſures they purſued had a direct tendency to bring on that tyranny which they profeſſed to oppoſe. I believe Lord Orrery's remark will hardly be queſtioned, that, in parallels of this ſort, it is not poſſible for every circumſtance to tally with the utmoſt exactneſs; but the whole treatiſe is full of hiſtorical knowledge and excellent reflections. It is not mixed with any improper ſallies of wit, or any light airs of humour; and, in point of ſtyle and learning, is equal, if not ſuperior, to any of his political works. Thus he did not, as is the ordinary way, creep ſlowly into fame, but burſt out at once into perfection; and from this time he continued, in various branches of writing, to ſurprize and raviſh all hearts, from the prince to the beggar, with ſtrokes of initimable wit and humour, delivered in an unexampled perſpicuity of ſtyle.

(45) Letter VII. in Swift's works.

(46) Remarks, Letter VII. P. 59.

(47) Letter IV. in Swift's letters, Dublin edition.

[P] *A Tale of a Tub in* 1704.] Scarce any book ever made ſo much noiſe in the world as this. It was never abſolutely owned by the Dean; yet *aut Eraſmus eſt aut Diaboli* (48). Thus writes Lord Orrery, who ſeems to have known nothing of that copy of the edition in 1710, which was reviſed by the Dean a ſhort time before his underſtanding was impaired. This corrected copy was lately in the hands of Mr Deane Swift, and the corrections are inſerted in the edition of his works in 1750 (49). His Lordſhip however very juſtly obſerves, that, though the Tale of a Tub be one of Swift's earlieſt performances, yet it has never been excelled in wit and ſpirit by his own or any other pen. Several cenſures were paſſed upon it; and he himſelf has told us, that he loſt an Engliſh biſhopric thereby; and relates the ſtory of Archbiſhop Sharp and the Dutcheſs of Marlborough objecting his want of Chriſtianity, as abovementioned. However that be, it is certain he had other powerful enemies on that account. In the debates in the Houſe of Lords upon the ſchiſm bill in 1714, the Earl of Nottingham (‡), ſpeaking againſt that part of the bill which enacted that any perſon, who ſhould keep any public or private ſchool, or inſtruct any youth as Tutor, ſhould have a licence of the reſpective Archbiſhop or Biſhop of the place, *&c.* expreſſed himſelf in theſe terms: 'My Lords, I have 'many children; I know not whether God Almighty 'will vouchſafe to let me live to give them the educa-'tion I could wiſh they had; therefore, my Lords, I own 'I tremble when I think, that a certain Divine [mean-'ing Dr Swift] is in a fair way of being a Biſhop, and 'may one day give licenſes to thoſe who ſhall be in-'truſted with the education of youth (50).' Lord Orrery imputes this diſappointment to his own untractable ſpirit, which made even his friends with him promoted at a diſtance: and though he allows the moſt material cenſures that paſſed upon his book, were thoſe which reflected upon the Author in the character of a clergyman and a Chriſtian, yet he is very hearty in his vindication, and imputes theſe aſperſions to the melancholy temper of his accuſers. 'Can we wonder then, ſays 'he, if a book, compoſed with all the force of wit 'and humour, in deriſion of ſacerdotal tyranny, in ridi-'cule of grave hypocriſy, and in contempt of phlegma-'tic ſtiffneſs, ſhould be wilfully miſconſtrued by ſome 'perſons, and ignorantly miſtaken by others as a farceſm 'and reflection upon the whole Chriſtian church (51).' He allows that Swift's ungovernable ſpirit of irony has ſometimes carried him into very unwarrantable flights of wit. 'I have, continues he, remarked ſuch paſſages 'with a moſt unwilling eye; but, let my affections of 'friend-

(48) In his Remarks, ubi ſupra.

(49) Preface to that edition.

(‡) Upon his Lordſhip's deſerting the Tories, Swift publiſhed an advertiſement, ſignifying his elopement, deſcribing his perſon and dreſs, which were both very remarkable, and promiſing a reward of five ſhillings, if he would return to his friends. Boyer's Hiſt. of Q. Anne.

(50) Life of Lord Halifax, p. 235. 2d edition, 1716. 8vo.

(51) Letter IV. p. 29.

unparalleled piece of humour was miſtaken, and when a Biſhopric was intended for [illegible] the Queen, her Majeſty was prevailed upon to give it to another by the perſuaſions [illegible] Dutcheſs of Marlborough, backed by Dr John Sharp, Archbiſhop of York, in wh[illegible] *Tale of a Tub* had cauſed a ſuſpicion of the Author's Chriſtianity. The Doctor ha[illegible] yet engaged particularly with either party, Whig or Tory. He was equally acq[illegible] and indifferently conſorted, with Pope and Addiſon, Somers and St John. But th[illegible] dent determined the future colour of his politics. A perſecution from the former, una[illegible] bly threw him into the hands of the latter; and as he never did any thing by halv[illegible] public was preſently made ſenſible of his change by *The Sentiments of a Church of E[illegible] Man, with reſpect to Religion and Government*, which came out upon the change of the Miniſtry in 1708, and ſome other pieces of the ſame ſpirit in defence of his religious principles [Q]. All theſe were eagerly bought up, and much admired; and he became the Idol of the people in general, by his *Predictions for the Year* 1708, publiſhed under the name of Iſaac Bickerſtaff, Eſq; inſomuch that Mr (afterwards Sir Richard) Steele aſſumed the ſame feigned name, and the real aſſiſtance of the ſame perſon, as the beſt expedient to recommend his *Tatlers* to the world *(ii)*. But our Author had not been long engaged in the ſupport of this univerſally admired Paper, before a new ſcene opened to him. In 1710, being then in England, he was empowered by his Grace the Lord Primate of Ireland to ſollicit the Queen for an exonoration of the Clergy of Ireland from paying the twentieth parts, and firſt fruits [R]. Upon this occaſion, his acquaintance commenced with Mr Harley,

(ii) See Sir Richard's Article.

' friendſhip be ever ſo great, my paternal affection is ' ſtill greater; and I will purſue candor even with an ' aking heart, when the purſuit of it may tend to your ' advantage or inſtruction. In the ſtile of truth therefore, ' I muſt ſtill look upon the *Tale of a Tub* as no intended ' inſult againſt Chriſtianity, but as a ſatire againſt the ' wild errors of the church of Rome, the ſlow and in- ' complete reformation of the Lutherans, and the abſurd ' and affected zeal of the Preſbyterians.' He then proceeds to give particular inſtances of this aſſertion; and, having blamed the keenneſs of his ſatire againſt Mr Dryden, whom he calls the greateſt, though the leaſt proſperous, of our Engliſh poets, he concludes thus. ' But although our ſatirical author now and then ' may have indulged himſelf in ſome perſonal animoſi- ' ties, or may have taken freedoms not ſo perfectly ' conſiſtent with that ſolemn decency which is required ' from a clergyman; yet, throughout the whole piece, ' there is a vein of ridicule and good humour that ' laughs pedantry and affectation into the loweſt degree ' of contempt, and expoſes the characters of Peter and ' Jack in ſuch a manner as never will be forgiven, and ' never can be anſwered.' The freedoms here mentioned allude to that Apology for the Author, which is the beſt, and was written by himſelf. It is dated Jan. 3, 1709, from which time it has been conſtantly prefixed to the work. In this apology the Doctor ingenuouſly acknowledges, that there *are ſeveral youthful ſallies in it, which from the grave and the wiſe may deſerve a rebuke*; but adds, that *he will forfeit his life, if any one opinion can be fairly deduced from it, which is contrary to religion or morality.*

[Q] *He publiſhed ſeveral other pieces in defence of his religious principles.*] The titles of theſe are; (1.) *An Argument to prove that the aboliſhing of Chriſtianity in England may, as things now ſtand, be attended with ſome inconveniencies, and perhaps not produce thoſe many good effects propoſed thereby, in* 1708. (2.) *A Project for the advancement of religion and the reformation of manners. By a perſon of quality.* Addreſſed to the Counteſs of Berkley in 1709. This moſt excellent Lady was Elizabeth, the daughter of Baptiſt Noel, Viſcount Campden, and ſiſter to Edward Earl of Gainſborough. (3.) *A Letter from a member of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland to a member of the Houſe of Commons in England concerning the ſacramental teſt in* 1708. This was reprinted in Ireland in 1735, when the attempt to repeal the ſacramental teſt was revived. There was an explanatory advertiſement prefixed, which is ſaid by Lord Orrery (52) to have been dictated or ſtrictly reviſed by the Dean himſelf; but Mr Hawkeſworth obſerves, there are in it ſome inaccuracies which may well be thought ſufficient to deſtroy its authenticity: that which in the firſt paragraph is called the following treatiſe, is afterwards ſaid to be an extract of a diſcourſe; and it is immediately added, that this extract is the whole, except ſome paſſages of no conſequence (53). Whether theſe inſtances are ſufficient to prove his point againſt his Lordſhip's remark, will be eaſily determined by the reader.

(52) In Letter

(53) In a note to the title of this tract in Swift's works, Vol. II. p. 120.

[R] *He was empowered to ſollicit a diſcharge, &c.*] It would be an injury to Dr Swift's juſt fame to conceal from the reader the following letters, which paſſed between him and the Archbiſhop of Dublin on this occaſion. The firſt is from him to that Archbiſhop, dated at London, Oct. 10, 1710, and runs thus:

' My Lord,

' I had the honour of your Grace's letter of Sept. 16, ' but I was in no pain to acknowledge it, nor ſhall be ' at any other time, unleſs I have ſomething that I think ' worth troubling you with; becauſe I know how much ' an inſignificant letter is worſe than none at all. I had ' likewiſe your memorial (54), &c. in another packet. ' I ſhould have been glad the Biſhops had been here; ' although I take Biſhops to be the worſt ſollicitors in ' the world, except for themſelves. They cannot give ' themſelves the little trouble of attendance that other ' men are content to ſwallow: elſe I am ſure their two ' Lordſhips (55) might have ſucceeded eaſier than men ' of my level are likely to do.

' As ſoon as I received the packets from your Grace, ' I went to wait upon Mr Harley. I had prepared him ' before by another hand, where he was very intimate; ' and got myſelf repreſented (which I might juſtly do) ' as one extremely ill uſed by the laſt Miniſtry after ' ſome obligations, becauſe I refuſed to go certain ' lengths they would have me. This happened to be ' in ſome ſort Mr Harley's own caſe. He had heard ' very often of me, and received me with the greateſt ' marks of kindneſs and eſteem, as I was whiſpered he ' would; and the more, upon the ill uſage I had met ' with. I ſat with him two hours among company, ' and two hours we were alone; where I told him my ' buſineſs, and gave him the hiſtory of it: which he ' heard as I could wiſh, and declared he would do his ' utmoſt to effect it. I told him the difficulties we met ' with by Lord-Lieutenants and their ſecretaries, who ' would not ſuffer others to ſollicit, and neglected it ' themſelves. He fell in with me intirely, and ſaid ' neither they nor himſelf ſhould have the merit of it, ' but the Queen, to whom he would ſhew my memorial ' with the firſt opportunity, in order, if poſſible, to have ' it done in this interregnum (56). I ſaid the honour ' and merit next to the Queen would be his; that it ' was a great encouragement to the Biſhops that he was ' in the Treaſury, whom they knew to be the chief ad- ' viſer of the Queen to grant the ſame favour in Eng- ' land; that conſequently the honour and merit were ' nothing to him who had done ſo much greater things: ' and that for my part I thought he was obliged to the ' clergy of Ireland for giving him an opportunity of ' gratifying the pleaſure he took in doing good to the ' Church. He took my compliment extremely well, ' and renewed his promiſes. Your Grace will pleaſe to ' know, that, beſides the firſt-fruits, I told him of the ' crown-rents, and ſhewed the nature and value of ' them; but ſaid my opinion was, that the convocation ' had not mentioned them in their petition to the Queen ' delivered to the Lord Wharton (57), with the addreſs, ' becauſe they thought the times would not then bear it; ' but that I looked on myſelf to have a diſcretionary ' power to ſollicit it in ſo favourable a juncture.

' I had two memorials ready, of my own drawing ' up, as ſhort as poſſible, ſhewing the nature of the ' thing, and how long it had been depending, &c. ' One of theſe memorials had a paragraph at the end, ' relating

(54) Biſhops and clergy of Ireland in convocation concerning the firſt-fruits and twentieth parts.

(55) The Biſhops of Oſſory and Killaloo. See the third letter.

(56) This did not laſt long after the date of this letter; for the Duke of Ormond was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in the room of the Lord Wharton on the 19th of October this year. Salmon's Chron. Hiſtory.

(57) Then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford. As ſoon as he had received the Biſhop's letters, inſtructions, and authority, he reſolved to apply to Mr *Harley*, not only becauſe he was a principal perſon in the Queen's Miniſtry, but becauſe by his intereſt the ſame favour had been granted to the Clergy of England. That he might not wait upon this Miniſter, to whom his name was well known, wholly without recommendation, he got himſelf repreſented as a perſon who had been extremely ill uſed by the laſt Miniſtry, becauſe he would not go certain lengths, which they would have had him; this being in ſome ſort Mr Harley's own caſe. And he received him with the utmoſt kindneſs and reſpect; he ſat with him two

' relating to the crown-rents. I would have given him ' the laſt; but I gave him the other, which he imme- ' diately read, and promiſed to ſecond both with his ' beſt offices to the Queen. As I have placed that ' paragraph in my memorial, it can do no harm, and ' may poſſibly do good. However, I beg your Grace ' to ſay nothing of it; but, if it dieth, let it die in ' ſilence: we muſt take up with what we can get.

' I forget to tell your Grace, that when I ſaid I was ' empowered, *&c.* he deſired to ſee my powers; and ' then I heartily wiſhed them more ample than they ' were; and I have ſince wondered what ſcruple a num- ' ber of Biſhops could have to empower a clergyman ' to do the church and them a ſervice, without any ' imagination of intereſt for himſelf.

' Mr Harley has invited me to dine with him to day; ' but I ſhall not put him upon this diſcourſe ſo ſoon. ' If he begins it himſelf, I ſhall add it at the bottom ' of this. He ſays Mr Secretary *St John* deſires to be ' acquainted with me, and that he will bring us to- ' gether. That may be a further help, although I told ' him I had no thoughts of applying to any body but ' himſelf; wherein he differed from me, and deſired I ' would ſpeak to others, if it were but for form; and ' ſeemed to mean as if he would avoid the envy of being ' thought to do ſuch a thing alone. But an old cour- ' tier (an intimate friend) adviſed me ſtill to let him ' know I relied wholly upon his good inclinations and ' credit with the Queen, *&c.*

' I find I am forced to ſay all this very confuſedly, ' juſt as it lieth in my memory; but perhaps it may ' give your Grace a truer idea how matters are, than ' if I had writ in more order.

' I am, *&c.*

' Jonathan Swift.'

The Archbiſhop's Anſwer is dated Dublin, Oct. 24, 1710, and is in theſe terms:

' Reverend Sir,

' I thank you for yours of the 10th inſtant, and ſend ' you incloſed a farther power by my Lord Primate (58) ' and me. My Lord is not able to come to town, ' which obliged me to wait on him at Johnſton, and ' hindred the joining of two or three Biſhops in it, ' who are yet in town; but I ſuppoſe our ſigning is ' ſufficient. I went in the morning to wait on his ' Grace, and intended, when he had ſigned it, to have ' applied to other Biſhops: but he was abroad taking ' the air, and I could not get it till it was late, and ' thought it better to ſign and ſend it as it is, than wait ' for another poſt. You may expect, by the next, a ' letter to his Grace of Canterbury, and another to ' the Archbiſhop of York. I apprized them both of ' the buſineſs. The latter, if I remember right, ſpoke ' to her Majeſty about it; I am not ſure that her Ma- ' jeſty remembers what I ſaid on that ſubject; but am ' ſure that ſhe was pleaſed to ſeem ſatisfied with it, and ' to ſcruple only the time; I ſuppoſe not thinking it fit ' to confer the favour ſhe deſigned the Clergy of Ireland ' by the hands it muſt then have paſſed through, but ' ſaid that in the interval of a change, or abſence of a ' chief Governor, it ſhould be done. I hope now is ' the proper time, and that her Majeſty will rather ' follow the dictates of her own bountiful inclinations, ' than the intrigues of cunning covetous Counſellors.

' I thought to have troubled you with a great many ' things; but ſuch a crowd of viſitors have broken in ' upon me before I could lock my gates, that I am ' forced to break off abruptly, recommending you to ' God's care.

' I am, &c.

' William Dublin.'

(58) Dr Narciſſus Marſh.

The incloſed letter, here mentioned, was as follows:

' Sir,

' We directed a letter to the Biſhops of *Offory* and ' *Killaloe* laſt Auguſt, deſiring and empowering them ' to ſolicit the affair of our firſt fruits and twentieth ' parts, with her Majeſty; which has depended ſo ' long, notwithſtanding her Majeſty's good intentions, ' and ſeveral promiſes of our chief Governors here, to ' lay our addreſſes before her Majeſty in the beſt man- ' ner. We were then apprehenſive, that thoſe Biſhops ' might return from England before the buſineſs could ' be effected, and therefore we deſired them to concern ' you in it; having ſo good aſſurance of your ability, ' prudence, and fitneſs to proſecute ſuch a matter. ' We find the Biſhops returned before you came to ' London, for which we are very much concerned; ' and judging this the moſt proper time to proſecute it ' with ſucceſs, we intreat you to take the full ma- ' nagement of it into your hands, and do commit the ' care of ſoliciting it to your diligence and prudence; ' deſiring you to let us know from time to time what ' progreſs is made in it. And if any thing farther be ' neceſſary on our part, on your intimations we ſhall ' be ready to do what is reaſonable.

' This, with our prayers for the good ſucceſs of your ' endeavours, is all from

' Yours, &c.

' Narciſſus Armagh,

' William Dublin.'

Upon the Doctor's ſending word, that the Grant was obtained, the Archbiſhop wrote the following letter to him, dated at Dublin, December 16, 1710.

' Sir,

' This is to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the ' 20th paſt, which came not to my hands till Thurſday ' laſt, by reaſon of winds that kept the packets on the ' other ſide.

' I find the matter of our firſt fruits, &c. is talked ' of now. I reckon on nothing certain till her Ma- ' jeſty's letter comes in form: and quære, why ſhould ' not you come, and bring it with you? It would make ' you a very welcome Clergyman to Ireland, and be ' the beſt means to ſatisfy mankind how it was ob- ' tained, although I think that will be out of diſpute. ' I am very well apprized of the diſpatch you gave ' this affair, and well pleaſed that I judged better of ' the perſon fit to be employed, than ſome of my bre- ' thren. But now it is done, as I hope it is effectually, ' they will aſſume as much as their neighbours; which ' I ſhall never contradict.

' Things are taking a new turn here as well as with ' you, and, I am of opinion, by the time you come ' here, few will profeſs themſelves Whigs. The ' greateſt danger I apprehend, and which terrifies me ' more, than perhaps you will be able to imagine, is ' the fury and indiſcretion of ſome of our own people, ' who never had any merit; but by embroiling things, ' they did, and I am afraid will yet do miſchief.

' I heartily recommend you to God's favour,

' And am, &c.

' William Dublin.'

The Grant for exonerating the Clergy of Ireland from paying the twentieth parts, was dated Feb. 7, 1710, as was alſo the other Grant to Narciſſus, Archbiſhop of Armagh; Sir Conſtantine Phipps, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland (59); William, Lord Archbiſhop of Dublin; John, Archbiſhop of Tuam, and others; of the firſt fruits payable out of all eccleſiaſtical benefices in truſt, to be for ever applied towards purchaſing glebes, and building reſidentiary-houſes for poor-endowed vicars. The ſucceſs of which charitable fund hitherto, may be ſeen in a printed pamphlet, containing *an account of the firſt fruits of Ireland.*

(59) He was knighted and raiſed to this Dignity on the 26th of Decemb. preceding, having been of Council to Dr Sacheverell.

hours in company, and two hours he was with him alone; he not only engaged in the Doctor's immediate buſineſs with the utmoſt zeal, and ſoon after accompliſhed it; but told him he muſt bring him acquainted with Mr St John, invited him to ſtay dinner, charged him to come often, and when the Doctor propoſed attending at his Levee, told him that was no place for friends *(kk)*. The Doctor became acquainted ſoon after with the reſt of the Miniſters, who appear to have courted and careſſed him with an uncommon aſſiduity [*S*]. And, on his ſide, he ſupported from this time the intereſt of his new friends with all his power in pamphlets, poems, and periodical papers; his intimacy with them was ſo remarkable, that he was thought not only to defend, but in ſome degree to direct their meaſures; and ſuch was his importance in the opinion of the oppoſite party, that many ſpeeches were made againſt him in both Houſes of Parliament; a reward was alſo offered for diſcovering the Author of *The Public Spirit of the Whigs* [*T*]. Whatever excellence we poſſeſs, or whatever honours we obtain, the pleaſure which they produce is all relative to ſome particular favourite, with whom we are tenderly connected, either by friendſhip or by love; or, at moſt, it terminates like rays collected by a burning-glaſs in a very ſmall circle, which is ſcarce more than a point, and, like light, becomes ſenſible only by reflexion. Thus Swift, while he was courted and careſſed by thoſe whom others were making intereſt to approach, ſeems to have enjoyed his diſtinction only in proportion as it was participated by *Stella*; amidſt all the buſineſs, and all the honours that crowded upon him, he wrote every day an account of whatever occurred,

(kk) Deane Swift, p. 227. 317.

[*S*] *Courted and careſſed with uncommon aſſiduity.*] He dined every Saturday at Mr Harley's, with the Lord Keeper [ſir Simon, afterwards Lord Harcourt], Mr Secretary St John, and Lord Rivers; on that day no other perſon was, for ſome time, admitted; but this ſelect company was at length enlarged to ſixteen, all men of the firſt claſs, Swift included. They dined once a week at the houſes of each other, by rotation, and went under the general denomination of Brothers. This, and many other particulars, which could have been known no other way, are found in his letters to Stella; which, if they may be credited, inconteſtably prove, that he was not only employed, but truſted; and that the myſterious Harley, impenetrably reſerved to all others, was to Swift open and explicit in affairs of the utmoſt moment (60). The reſult of one of their conferences, ſo early as the year 1710, was to this effect: that the Kingdom was as certainly ruined, as a bankrupt merchant; that a peace, whether bad or good, was abſolutely neceſſary; that the confederacy muſt ſoon break, and factions increaſe; and that the Miniſtry was upon too narrow a bottom, and ſtood like an Iſthmus, between the Whigs on one ſide, and the violent Tories on the other; a ſituation in which they could not ſubſiſt. Theſe violent Tories were formed into a Society, called the October Club, of whom Swift ſays, they are about a hundred Parliament Men of the country, who drink October beer at home, and meet every evening at a tavern near the Parliament-Houſe, to drive things on to extremes againſt the Whigs (61). But if Swift thought this party too precipitant, it is certain he thought Lord Oxford too ſlow, and he once told him ſo, in a manner that ſhews both his integrity, and the freedom of his converſation with thoſe who have a preſcriptive right to ſervile flattery: he had received a preſent of a fine tortoiſe-ſhell ſnuff-box, lined with gold, and painted on the inſide of the lid with a view of Venice. This preſent he ſhewed one day to the Treaſurer, who having admired the painting and the workmanſhip, at laſt eſpied a figure ſtudded on the outſide of the bottom, which he thought reſembled a gooſe; whereupon, turning to the Doctor, Jonathan, ſays he, I think they have made a gooſe of thee. Yes, my Lord, anſwers the Doctor, but if your Lordſhip will look a little farther, you will ſee that I am driving a ſnail before me; which indeed happened to be the device. To this the Earl cooly replied, that is ſevere enough, Jonathan; but I deſerve it (62).

(60) This is levelled at Lord Orrery, who maintains that Swift was employed, but not truſted, which indeed is acknowledged by himſelf in his Imitation of Horace's Epiſt. Book I. addreſſed to this myſterious Miniſter; inſerted in Swift's Works, Vol. III. Part I. p. 41. et ſeqq. edit. 1755. 4to.

(61) Deane Swift's Account, p. 318, 319, 320. from Letters to Stella. See alſo the Publiſher's Preface to Some Advice humbly offered to the Members of the October Club, written in 1711. Swift's Works, as before, Vol. IV. Part II. p. 224. et ſeqq.

(62) Ibid. 146.

[*T*] *The public Spirit of the Whigs.*] The whole title runs thus: *The public Spirit of the Whigs ſet forth in their generous Encouragement of the Author of the* CRISIS, *with ſome Obſervations on the Seaſonableneſs, Candour, Erudition, and Stile of that Treatiſe, printed for John Morphew, near Stationers Hall*, 1714. Of all the pieces wrote by our Author in defence of that Miniſtry, Lord Orrery (63) ſingles out this to ſhew of what importance he was then thought to be. The Scotch members in the preceding ſeſſion, highly incenſed at the malt-tax, which was laid equally that year upon both nations, had remonſtrated againſt it to the Queen (64), and, receiving no ſatisfactory anſwer, carried their complaint before the Houſe of Lords this ſeſſions, and, in the debates upon it, even propoſed to diſſolve the Union. Our Author handles this proceeding with great boldneſs, and no leſs ſeverity, and having laid open the hiſtory of the Union, 'compares the conduct of England 'therein to a perſon of quality that had been prevailed 'upon to marry a woman much his inferior, and without a groat to her fortune. He likewiſe obſerves, 'that the penſions and employments poſſeſſed by the 'natives of that country, then among us, amounted to 'more than the whole body of their nobility ſpent at 'home; and that all the money that was raiſed there 'among the public, was hardly ſufficient to defray their 'civil and military liſts. He alſo ſaid, he could point 'out ſome with great titles, who affected to appear 'very vigorous for diſſolving the Union; though their 'whole revenues before that period would have ill 'maintained a *Welſh Juſtice of Peace*; and had ſince 'gathered more money than ever any Scotchman 'who had not travelled could form an idea of.' Provoked by this keen ſatire, all the Scotch Lords then in London went in a body, and complained to the Queen of the affront: and, upon the meeting of the next parliament, March 2, 1713, her Majeſty, in her ſpeech, having expreſſed *her wiſhes that effectual care had been taken to ſuppreſs ſeditious papers* (65), immediately after the Lords had voted an addreſs of thanks for that ſpeech, Lord *Wharton*, backed by Lord *Halifax*, in purſuance of that part of it, made a complaint to the Houſe againſt this ſcandalous (ſo he called it) pamphlet; an enquiry into the author, printer, and publiſher, was carried on with uncommon vigour; and when the printer and publiſher, *Barber* and *Morphew*, inſiſted upon their not anſwering any queſtion, the anſwer to which might tend to accuſe themſelves, or corroborate the accuſation againſt them, Lord Halifax roſe up, and ſaid, 'They 'had nothing to do either with the printer or publiſher, 'and that it highly concerned the honour of that auguſt 'aſſembly to find out *the villain*, who was the author 'of that falſe and ſcandalous libel, in order to do the 'Scottiſh nation juſtice.' He further added, 'that there 'were not wanting perſons, who had the honour to ſit 'in that houſe, that were too well acquainted with a 'certain great man's veracity, not to ſuſpect any thing 'in him rather than want of knowledge, ſince it was 'whiſpered about, that he, who wrote the ſame pamphlet had ſaid *Grace* more than once, and fouled 'many a plate at a nobleman's table not a mile from '*York buildings* (66).' Hereupon Lord *Oxford* proteſted, that *he knew nothing of him directly or indirectly*. However, in order to conceal him, her Majeſty was prevailed on to take the cognizance of the affair into her own hands in one of her courts at Weſtminſter: and, on the 6th of March following, the Earl of Mar, principal Secretary of State for Scotland, had it in command to acquaint the Lords, that orders had been already given for the proſecution of *John Barber*, &c. Three days after which, the ſaid *Barber* and *Morphew* were, on their petition, enlarged from their confinement. The Lords reſolving at the ſame time on *an addreſs to her Majeſty to iſſue out her royal proclamation, with a reward for the diſcovery of the author of the ſaid libel*. Accordingly a proclamation was publiſhed the ſame day on which the addreſs was preſented, promiſing a reward of 300l. for ſuch diſcovery, payable by the Lord Treaſurer: notwithſtanding which no diſcovery was made (67).

(63) In Letter VIII.

(64) This was done by a deputation of men of each rank, the Duke of Argyle, and the Earl of Mar, and Mr Lockhart, and Mr Cockburne. Life of Lord Halifax, p. 198. edit. 2d. 1716.

(65) Which was levelled againſt Mr Steele's Criſis.

(66) Lord Oxford's houſe was then in thoſe buildings.

(67) Life of Lord Halifax, p. 211, 212, 213.

and

and ſent her a journal regularly, dated every fortnight, during the whole time of his connexion with Queen Anne's Miniſtry. In the ſummer of 1711, he foreſaw the ruin of this Miniſtry by thoſe miſunderſtandings among themſelves, which at laſt effected it; and it was not only his opinion, but their own, that if they could not carry a peace, they would not be able to keep themſelves out of the Tower, even though they ſhould agree. In order therefore to facilitate this great event, Swift wrote *The Conduct of the Allies*, a piece which he confeſſes coſt him much pains, and which ſucceeded even beyond his expectation [*U*]. He continued to exert himſelf with unwearied diligence in the ſervice of the Miniſtry [*W*], without receiving any gratuity or reward, till the year 1713, when he was offered the Deanery of St Patrick's in Dublin. This was a moſt grievous balk to his views; he had ſet his heart upon a Biſhopric in England, in which he was undoubtedly qualified to make a figure in the Houſe of Lords; but the Earl of Oxford did not think fit to gratify that inclination, probably from a caution to avoid giving ſo great an offence as it muſt have been to the oppoſite party. But with whatever view, or from whatever cauſe the Deanery was offered, he thought proper, conſidering the then precarious ſtate of his friends, to accept it, and immediately croſſed the Channel to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity; but before he had been a fortnight in Ireland, he was urged by a hundred letters to haſten back and reconcile Lord Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke, the conſequences of whoſe miſunderſtanding were juſtly dreaded by their friends (*ll*). Upon his return, he found their quarrels and coldneſs increaſed, and having predicted their ruin from this very cauſe, he laboured to bring about a reconciliation [*X*], as that upon which the whole intereſt of the party depended. But all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he went to Oxford by the coach, and thence to the houſe of a friend in Berkſhire, where he continued till the Queen's death, which happened in about ten weeks. While he was at this place, his mind being ſtill buſy for his friends, he wrote a diſcourſe called *Free Thoughts upon the preſent State of Affairs*, which he thought might be uſeful at that juncture, and ſent it up to London (*mm*); but ſome difference of opinion happening between him and Lord Bolingbroke, the publication was delayed [*Y*] till the Queen's death, and then he recalled his copy (*nn*). A few weeks after

(*ll*) Deane Swift, p. 340, and Swift's Letter to Lord Oxford.

(*mm*) Swift's Letter to Pope of the 10th of Jan. 1721, ubi ſupra.

(*nn*) It was afterwards depoſited with the late Alderman Barber, and having been ſince publiſhed, is inſerted among his Works.

[*U*] *The Conduct of the Allies ſucceeded beyond his expectation.*] It was publiſhed on the 27th of November, 1711, juſt ten days before the Parliament met; and before the 28th of January, above eleven thouſand were ſold, ſeven editions having been printed in England, and three in Ireland. The Tory Members, in both Houſes, who ſpoke, according to our Author's own account, drew all their arguments from it; and the reſolutions which were printed in the Votes, and which would never have paſſed but for the *Conduct of the Allies*, were little more than quotations from it (68).

[*W*] *He continued to exert himſelf for the Miniſtry.*] Among other things in that cauſe, while he was at Windſor, juſt at the concluſion of the peace at Utrecht, he drew the firſt ſketch of *A Hiſtory of the four laſt Years of Queen Anne* (69). The work would have been publiſhed ſoon after, if his friends in the Miniſtry had not diſagreed about it, and after the Queen's death he ſpent much time in improving and correcting it (70); to this purpoſe our Author himſelf, in a letter to Mr Pope, dated 10th of January 1721, ſays he had written ſome Memorials of the four laſt years of the Queen's reign, with ſome other informations, which he received as neceſſary materials to qualify him for doing ſomething in an employment, then deſigned for him (meaning the place of Hiſtoriographer,) 'but as it was, continues he, 'at the diſpoſal of a perſon who had not the ſmalleſt 'ſhare of ſteadineſs or ſincerity, *I diſdained to accept 'it* (71).' Lord Orrery takes notice of this paſſage, but thinks the Doctor flattered himſelf too much in this point. 'At leaſt, ſays his Lordſhip, it is evident that he 'remained without any preferment till the year 1713, 'when he was made Dean of St Patrick's (72).' The noble Author, doubtleſs, had other grounds for his ſuſpicion, than this remark could ſuggeſt, ſince Dr Swift plainly intimates, that the deſign of making him Hiſtoriographer, did not commence till 1714.

[*X*] *He laboured to bring about a reconciliation.*] With this view he contrived to bring them to Lord Maſham's at St James's, and Lord and Lady Maſham, being acquainted with his purpoſe, left him alone with them; he then expoſtulated with them both, but to little effect, being only able to engage them to go to Windſor the next day, ſtill hoping, that if he could keep them together, they would come to ſome agreement. Swift ſoon after followed them; but was told by Lord Bolingbroke that his ſcheme had come to nothing; and he had the mortification to obſerve, that they grew more cold to each other every day. In the mean time Lord Oxford's credit grew daily leſs, and the Queen's health viſibly declin'd. Swift however contrived yet once more to meet them at Lord Maſham's, and was again left alone with them; this was the laſt time they ever met, and he ſpoke to them both with great freedom; but at length, deſpairing of his purpoſe, he told them he would retire, for that all was gone. *Bolingbroke* whiſpered him that he was right, but *Oxford* ſaid all would do well (73). It is no wonder that the Dean's attempt to reconcile his friends were unſucceſsful, for Bolingbroke declares, that 'he abhorred Ox-'ford to ſuch a degree, that he would rather have 'ſuffered baniſhment or death, than have taken mea-'ſures, in concert with him, to have avoided either (74).' But this he did not think fit to declare then to Swift, who thought the reunion might have been affected, if others, who had more concern and more influence than himſelf, would ſo have acted their parts (75). He communicated a particular account of the matter to Lord Orrery, who ſays it was too intereſting to be yet made public (76).

[*Y*] *His Free Thoughts were ſuppreſſed by Lord Bolingbroke.*] Notwithſtanding he lays the fault entirely upon Lord Oxford's reſerve, and backwardneſs in making a thorough change, by diſplacing all the Whigs, and even the Whimſicals (77), which could not but be agreeable to Bolingbroke, yet this Miniſter knew very well, that ſuch a thing was not to be declared openly. But what tranſgreſſed all bounds of prudence is this declaration, That the Elector of Hanover, as heir apparent to the crown, ought to have a chapel at Hanover, where divine ſervice may be performed according to the ritual of the church of England, and frequent it too, as King William, he ſays, did that of the Princeſs Mary before the Revolution. He likewiſe propoſes as neceſſary, to have the clauſe repealed in the act of ſucceſſion, empowering the Elector to nominate any number of regents to be added to the ſeven appointed by the Act, &c. Upon this account Lord Orrery, ſpeaking of this piece, ſays to his ſon, when you read it, *digito compeſce labellum* (78). Upon the whole, it is evidently wrote in the ſame ſpirit, and many of the obſervations are alſo the ſame with what we find in Lord Bolingbroke's letter to Sir William Wyndham. And, if we may believe our Author himſelf, it was his Lordſhip, and not Oxford, who had the firſt place in his heart. 'It is you, ſays he to 'Bolingbroke, that was my hero; the other, Oxford, 'never was: yet if he were, it was your own fault, 'who taught me to love him, and often vindicated him 'in the beginning of your miniſtry from my accuſa-'tions. But I grant he had the greateſt inequalities 'of any man alive, and his whole ſcene was fifty times 'more a *what d'ye call it* than yours. For I declare 'yours was uniform; and I wiſh you would ſo order it, 'that the world may be as wiſe as I upon that arti-'cle (79).' But we are told, that the Doctor imagined himſelf a ſubtle diver, who dextrouſly ſhot down into the profoundeſt regions of politics; yet was ſuffered only to

(68) Deane Swift's Account, p. 335, and 337. Letter to Stella.

(69) Deane Swift, p. 340.

(70) Lord Orrery, who had ſeen the MS. obſerves, that the title of a hiſtory is too pompous for it, as wanting dignity and candour; but as a pamphlet, it will appear the beſt defence of Harley's Adminiſtration, and the cleareſt account of the treaty of Utrecht, that has been written. Letter XXIV. This remark was perhaps the motive for publiſhing it in 1758. 8vo.

(71) In the ſeventh Vol. of Swift's Works, Dublin edition.

(72) Letter XV.

(73) Hawkeſworth, p. 12, 13.

(74) Letter to Sir William Wyndham.

(75) Letter V. in the collection, ubi ſupra.

(76) Remarks, p. 38. In a letter to Pope, dated July 23, 1737, Swift writes thus: 'Pray let my 'Lord Orrery 'ſee you often; 'next to your-'ſelf I love no 'man ſo well.'

(77) Tories, who had been eager for the concluſion of the peace, till the treaties were perfected; they could come up to no direct approbation: in the clamour raiſed about the danger of the ſucceſſion, they joined the whigs, declared directly againſt their party, and affected in moſt other points a moſt glorious neutrality. Bolingbroke's letter to Wyndham, p. 48, 49.

(78) Letter XX.

(79) In another letter he writes, that Bolingbroke never deceived him, which ſeems to inſinuate that Lord Oxford ſometimes did. Letter LXXXVIII.

after this fatal cataſtrophe, he went back to his ſtation in Ireland, all his connexions with the court being broken, and all his expectations diſappointed. It may indeed be truly ſaid, that his diſappointment was, in a great meaſure, the fruit of his own conduct (*oo*). It is certain, that during his connexion with thoſe of the higheſt rank, and who in any rank would have been great, he would never ſuffer himſelf to be treated but as an equal, and repulſed every attempt to hold him in dependance, or to keep him at a diſtance, with the utmoſt reſentment and indignation [*Z*]. As to his political principles, if his own account of them may be believed, he abhorred Whiggiſm only in thoſe who made it conſiſt in damning the Church, reviling the Clergy, abetting the Diſſenters, and ſpeaking contemptibly of Revealed Religion. He always declared himſelf againſt a Popiſh Succeſſor to the Crown, whatever title he might have by proximity of blood; nor did he regard the right line upon any other account than as it was eſtabliſhed by law, and had much weight in the opinions of the people. He was of opinion, that when the grievances ſuffered under the preſent government became greater than thoſe that might probably be expected from changing it by violence, a revolution was juſtifiable; and this he believed to have been the caſe, in that which was brought about by the Prince of Orange. He had a mortal antipathy againſt ſtanding armies in times of peace, and was of opinion, that our liberty could never be placed upon a firm foundation, till the ancient law ſhould be revived, by which our Parliaments were made annual: he abominated the political ſcheme of ſetting up a monied intereſt in oppoſition to the landed, and was an enemy to temporary ſuſpenſions of the *Habeas Corpus* act (*pp*); that he was not at any time a bigot to party, and that he did not indiſcriminately transfer his reſentments from principles to perſons, was ſo evident by his conduct, that it was an uſual ſubject of raillery towards him, among the Miniſters, that he never came to them without *a Whig in his ſleeve* (*qq*); and though it does not appear that he aſked any thing for himſelf, yet he often preſſed Lord Oxford in favour of *Addiſon*, *Congreve*, *Rowe*, and *Steele*, with whom, except the laſt, he frequently converſed during all Lord Oxford's Miniſtry, chuſing his friends by their perſonal merit, without examining how far their notions agreed with the politics then in vogue; and in particular, his friendſhip with Mr Addiſon continued inviolate, and with as much kindneſs as when they uſed to meet at Lord Halifax's or Lord Somers's; who were leaders of the oppoſite party [*AA*]. This

(*oo*) 'I uſe the 'Miniſtry, ſays 'he to Stella, 'like Dogs, be-'cauſe I expect 'they will uſe 'me ſo.—I 'never knew a 'Miniſtry do any 'thing for thoſe 'whom they 'make compa-'nions of their 'pleaſures; 'but I care not.' Deane Swift's Account, p. 322.

(*pp*) See his political writings, and his letters to Pope and Bolingbroke.

(*qq*) Swift's letter to Pope, note (*nn*).

to ſound the ſhallows neareſt the ſhore, and was ſcarce admitted to deſcend below the froth at the top. But the ſame pen intimates, that the reaſon was becauſe the deeper bottoms were too muddy for his inſpection (80). However it is evident, that he had no ſuſpicion of any ſuch muddineſs at the bottom, for he declares, that, if he had ſucceeded in reconciling the two great friends, the public intereſt both of church and ſtate would not have been the worſe, nor the proteſtant ſucceſſion endangered: and yet in his conſcience he thought himſelf a partaker in every ill deſign they had againſt the proteſtant ſucceſſion, or the religion and liberties of their country, and continues he can ſay with Cicero, that I ſhould be glad to be included with them in all their actions, *tanquam in equo Trojano*.

(80) Lord Orrery, Letter V. 11. and XXX. 1.

[*Z*] *He repulſed every attempt to hold him in dependance, &c.*] It happened, upon ſome occaſion, that Harley ſent him a bank bill of 50 l. by his private Secretary, Mr Lewis, which Swift inſtantly returned with a letter of expoſtulation and complaint. Harley invited him to dine, but he refuſed; the Miniſter wrote to Lewis to mediate between them, deſiring to be reconciled; but Swift ſent word, that he expected further ſatisfaction: Harley replied, that if he would but come and ſee him, he would make him eaſy; but Swift inſiſted, that he ſhould apologize by meſſage; and declared, that otherwiſe *he would caſt him off* (82). He would not ſuffer even negative civilities. Having one day dined with Mr St John, then Secretary of State, and remarking that he appeared to be much out of temper, he took the firſt opportunity of ſeeing him alone, and warned him never to behave to him with ſilent reſerve; for that he would not be treated like a ſchool-boy. 'I expect, ſays he, that if you hear or 'ſee any thing to my diſadvantage, you would let me 'know it in plain words, and not put me in pain to 'gueſs, by the change or coldneſs of your countenance 'or behaviour; for it is what I would hardly bear 'from a Crowned Head, and I think no ſubject's favour 'is worth it (83).' The Secretary received the reproof like a friend, as it was given, and apologized for his behaviour, declaring, that buſineſs had kept him up ſeveral whole nights, and drinking one more; and to make up matters, he preſſed the Doctor to ſtay dinner, which however he declined, being engaged with another friend. It is true, theſe accounts to Stella lie open to the ſuſpicion of being exaggerated to gratify his vanity, yet they are in ſome meaſure juſtified by a letter of his to Lord Oxford, after the connexion between them was broken. 'When I was with you, 'ſays he, I have ſaid more than once, that I would 'never allow quality or ſtation to make any diffe-'rence between men—I loved you juſt ſo much 'the worſe for your ſtation—In your public capacity 'you have often angered me to the heart; but as a 'private man never—I was too proud to be vain of 'the honour you did me—I was never afraid of 'offending you, nor am I now in any pain for the 'manner I write to you in.' In the ſame ſpirit, when he was deſired by his Lordſhip to introduce Dr *Parnel* to his acquaintance, he refuſed upon this principle, that a man of genius was a character ſuperior to that of a Lord in a high ſtation. He therefore obliged his Lordſhip to walk with his Treaſurer's ſtaff from room to room through his own levee, enquiring which was Dr *Parnel*, in order to introduce himſelf, and beg the honour of his acquaintance (84).

(82) Deane Swift, p. 324. from Letter to Stella.

(83) Ibid. p. 327.

(84) Hawkeſworth, p. 14.

[*AA*] *Leaders of the oppoſite party.*] Among other perſons with whom he was intimately acquainted, during this gay part of his life, was Mrs *Vanhomrigh*, a Lady of good family, being the daughter of Mr Stone the Commiſſioner, and niece to the Accomptant-General of Ireland. The hiſtory of this family is not a little entertaining, and as the Doctor had no ſmall concern in it, we ſhall lay it before the reader. Mrs Vanhomrigh was the widow of Mr *Bartholomew Vanlomrigh*, a Merchant of Amſterdam, who removed thence to Dublin at the Revolution, being appointed Commiſſary of the Stores by King William, upon his expedition into Ireland; a place which, during the war, was computed to be worth 6000 l. per annum. After the affairs of Ireland were ſettled, he was appointed Muſter-Maſter General, and a Commiſſioner of the Revenue, and laid out about 12000 l. in the purchaſe of forfeited eſtates: but though he received the produce of this eſtate, and enjoyed his appointments thirteen years, yet when he died, in 1703, his expences had been ſo nearly equal to his revenue, that his whole fortune, including the value of his eſtate, amounted only to 16000 l. This, which however was no ſmall ſum, he directed, by his will, to be divided equally between his wife and four children, two ſons, and two daughters, *Eſther* and *Mary*. The ſons dying ſoon after their father, their ſhare fell to the daughters. With this encreaſe of fortune, in 1709 the widow and the two young ladies went to England, where they were viſited by perſons of the firſt quality; and Swift lodging within a few doors of their houſe, in *Bury-Street St James's*, uſed to be much there, coming and going without ceremony, as if he had been one of the family. During this familiarity, he became a kind of Preceptor to the young Ladies, particularly the eldeſt, *Eſther*, who was about twenty years of age, much addicted to reading, and a great admirer of

This removal was the great event which determined the colour of his life, bounded his views, and ſhewed him at once what he might poſſeſs, and for what he might hope [*BB*]. Upon his firſt arrival, he ſeems to have been treated as the Sacheverell of Ireland, being followed by the mob of one faction with execrations, and pelted with ſtones and dirt as he paſſed along the ſtreets; while the other mob attended him with ſhouts of applauſe *(rr)*. As ſoon as he was ſettled at Dublin, Mrs Johnſon removed from the country to be near him; but they ſtill lived in ſeparate houſes, his reſidence was at the Deanery, and her's in lodgings upon Ormond Quay, on the other ſide of the river *Liffy (ss)*. He was in debt at this time *(tt)*; a ſituation which ill ſuited his ſpirit, and which determined him to a ſevere œconomy. However, he kept two public days a week, and though the circle of his viſitors was ſmall at firſt, yet it ſoon encreaſed, and always conſiſted of the beſt company [*CC*]. On theſe days, the dignity of his ſtation was ſuſtained with the utmoſt elegance and decorum, under the direction of Mrs Johnſon, who yet appeared in the circle, without any character diſtinct from the reſt of the company. She was, however, frequently invited with the Dean, whether to entertainments or parties of pleaſure, though not ſo generally as if ſhe had been his wife; ſhe viſited and received viſits as far as the practice is a meer ritual of good breeding: her friendſhips were ſtill among the men; but ſhe was treated with great politeneſs by the Ladies *(uu)*. The Dean's mind had been now ſo filled with politics, that he found it impracticable to excel as a Preacher, his firſt and moſt laudable ambition, and frequently declared, that though he ſometimes attempted to exert himſelf in the pulpit, yet he could never riſe higher than preaching pamphlets (*). He was, however, ſtill a good Dean and a good Prieſt; he applied himſelf to the care of his Deanery, his Cathedral, its regulations, its income, and œconomy, with great diligence [*DD*]; he renewed the primitive practice of celebrating the Holy Communion every Sunday;

(*rr*) Hawkeſworth, p. 17. by comparing and reconciling the different accounts of Deane Swift, and Orrery, and Dr Delany.

(*ss*) The river that runs through Dublin.

(*tt*) To the depth of 1000 l. as he declares in his Poem to Lord Oxford.

(*) Some years before he died, he gave his Sermons to Sheridan, with this ſpeech: 'Here 'is a bundle of 'my old Ser- 'mons. You 'may have them 'if you pleaſe; 'they may be of 'uſe to you, 'they have never 'been of any to 'me.' Lord Orrery, Letter XXII. who declares that ſome of thoſe three that are printed are excellent compoſitions.

(*uu*) Deane Swift, p. 92.

of poetry; ambitious to be eſteemed a wit, exceſſively vain, full of pertneſs and gaiety, not without ſome agreeable accompliſhments; but far from being either beautiful or genteel. In a perſon of this diſpoſition, ſuch a character as that of Swift could not but excite admiration; and that admiration, by frequent converſe, at length begot love: in which it is more than probable that vanity had ſome ſhare, ſince *that* paſſion would have been highly gratified by an alliance with the firſt wit of the age. Thus goaded on by the united force of love and vanity, ſhe even ventured to make the Doctor a propoſal of marriage. It is probable that his connexions with Mrs *Johnſon* at this time were ſuch (†), that he could not with honour accept this propoſal: however, it is certain he declined it, though without aſſigning any other engagement as the reaſon. He appears firſt to have affected to believe her in jeſt; then to have rallied her on ſo whimſical a choice; and at laſt to have put her off with an abſolute refuſal. While he was in this ſituation, he wrote the poem called *Cadenus & Vaneſſa* (85): the principal view of which ſeems to have been at once to compliment and to rally her, to apologize for his conduct, and ſoften a tacit denial by leaving the event undetermined. The poem appears to have been written about the year 1713, a ſhort time before he left *Vaneſſa*, and the reſt of his friends in England, and retired to the place of his exile, which he always mentions with regret. In 1714 Mrs Vanhomrigh, the mother, died, and having lived at a rate greatly above her fortune, ſhe left ſome debts unpaid. Her two daughters, whoſe fortunes ſhe had likewiſe impaired, ſhe appointed joint executrixes of her will; an office, which however troubleſome, the ſituation of their affairs obliged them to accept: they had alſo contracted ſome debts in their own right, which they were not able immediately to pay, and therefore to avoid an arreſt, they privately followed the Dean into Ireland (86).

(†) 'Tis moſt likely he had promiſed to marry her before ſhe left Moor-Park, ſince he had contrived to break off a treaty of marriage with another, by perſuading her to inſiſt upon terms with which the gentleman could not comply.

(85) Signifying *Decanus*, the Dean, and Mrs Eſther Vanhomrigh, ſo ſtiled on account of her vanity.

(86) Deane Swift, p. 260, et ſeqq. Lord Orrery, p. 71. et ſeqq.

[*BB*] *This removal determined the colour of his life, &c.*] The Dean was particularly ſtruck by this revolution with the ſenſe of his mortality; a reflection which, whether by the vigour and activity of his imagination, the multitude of his ideas, or the ardour of his purſuits, he had eſcaped the force of till this time: but now it came upon him with ſuch influence, that after fifteen years, it conſtantly recurred when he firſt awaked in the morning, and was not diſmiſſed till he again began to ſleep (87).

(87) Letter to Bolingbroke. Pope's Works, Vol. IX. p. 105.

[*CC*] *He kept the beſt company.*] Thoſe who were particularly the companions of his choice, were ſuch as would have done honour to any character. For inſtance the *Grattons*, ſeven brothers, the ſons of Dr *Gratton*, a venerable and hoſpitable clergyman, who gave them all a liberal education. The eldeſt was a Juſtice of peace, and lived reputably on his patrimony in the country; another was a phyſician, and another a merchant, both eminent in their profeſſions; three others were clergymen, who had a competent proviſion in the church; and the youngeſt was a fellow of Dublin college, and maſter of the free-ſchool at *Enniſkilling*. They were all perſons of great merit, as much acquainted and as much beloved as any in the kingdom. *The Jackſons*, a family of which both men and women were genteel, agreeable, and well-bred, ſuch companions as no wiſe man ever wanted, if they could be had. *George Rochford* and *Peter Ludlow*, men of fortune, learning, wit, humour, and virtue; and Mr *Matthew Lord*, deemed the beſt lay ſcholar of his time. Theſe, with the fellows of the college, Dr *Walmeſley*, Dr *Helſham*, Dr *Delany*, Dr *Stopford*, afterwards Biſhop of Cloyne, and Dr *Sheridan*, Lady *Euſtace*, Mrs *Moore*, Lady *Betty Rochford*, and Mrs *Ludlow*, with Mrs *Johnſon*, and her friends, were the perſons with whom Swift ſpent ſome of his leiſure hours from the year 1714 to 1720 (88). However, there was among his companions one perſon, who could derive no honour from his lineage; a foundling, whom Swift therefore uſed to call *Melchiſedeck*. This gentleman's name was *Worral*, he was a clergyman, a maſter of arts, a reader and a vicar of his cathedral, and maſter of the ſong. He was nearly of the Dean's own ſtanding in the college, had good ſenſe, and much humour. He was married to a woman of great ſprightlineſs, good-nature, and generoſity, remarkably clean and elegant in her perſon, in her houſe, and at her table. But there is another particular in Mr Worral's character, which greatly contributed to his intimacy with the Dean: he was a good walker. The Dean uſed that exerciſe in an immoderate degree, under the notion of its being abſolutely neceſſary, not to health only, but to cleanlineſs, by keeping the pores of the ſkin clear, and throwing off impurities by perſpiration. Mr Worral's ſituation in the church naturally engaged his frequent attendance upon the Dean, this attendance commonly ended in a walk, and the walk in their dining together, either at Mr Worral's or at the Deanery; the Dean, being a ſingle man, was oftener a gueſt to Mr Worral, than Mr Worral was a gueſt to him; and this brought on an agreement, that the Dean ſhould dine with him whenever he would at a certain rate, and invite as many friends as he pleaſed upon the ſame terms. This gentleman is lately dead, and has left a large ſum of money to be diſpoſed of to public charities at the diſcretion of his executors, except 500 l. which was appropriated to the Dean's hoſpital (89).

(88) Hawkeſworth, from Deane Swift, p. 108. and Delany, p. 90. et ſeqq. The reaſon of this particular liſt of his companions was thought neceſſary to wipe off a cenſure of Lord Orrery, who ſays his choice of companions in this period ſhewed him of a depraved taſte. Letter VI.

(89) Ibid. from D. S. 299. and J. R. p. 92. This agreement with Worral, it is true, ſuited well with the Dean's being in debt, but what can be ſaid for the want of that hoſpitality enjoined the ſuperior clergy by the Apoſtle?

[*DD*] *He applied himſelf to the care of his Deanery with great diligence.*] This was the more neceſſary, as the Archbiſhop of Dublin, and ſome of his old friends in the chapter, ſet themſelves againſt his meaſures with all their force, and laboured to diſappoint him in the exerciſe of his power, by every art of oppoſition and delay. This behaviour ſerved only to whet his courage. His maxim was, *Tu ne cede malis, ſed contra audentior ito.* His firſt ſtep therefore was to reduce theſe brethren to reaſon and obedience; and he ſucceeded ſo perfectly and ſo ſpeedily in it, that, in a ſhort time after his arrival, not one member of that body offered to contradict him, even in trifles. On the contrary, they held him in the higheſt reſpect and veneration, ſo that he ſat in the chapter-

Sunday; at this ſacrament he was conſtantly preſent, and conſecrated it with his own hands in a manner equally graceful and devout; he attended at Church every morning, and generally preached in his turn; he alſo conſtantly attended the performance of the anthem on a Sunday night, though he did not underſtand muſic, to ſee that the choir did not neglect their duty *(ww)*. As to his employment at home, he ſeems to have had no heart to apply himſelf to ſtudy of any kind, but to have reſigned himſelf wholly to ſuch amuſements as offered, that he might not think of his ſituation, the misfortune of his friends, and the diſappointment of his hope. The firſt remarkable event of his life, that occurred after his ſettlement at the Deanery, was his marriage to Mrs Johnſon, after a moſt intimate friendſhip of more than ſixteen years: this was in 1716, the ceremony being performed by Dr Aſhe, then Biſhop of Clogher, the Dean's Tutor at the College [*EE*]. But whatever were the motives of this marriage, the Dean and the Lady continued to live afterwards juſt in the ſame manner as they had lived before. Mrs *Dingley* was ſtill the inſeparable companion of *Stella*, wherever ſhe went; and ſhe never reſided at the Deanery, except when the Dean was ſeized with violent fits of giddineſs, which ſometimes laſted near a month. From this period to the year 1720, is a chaſm in his life, which has been found difficult to fill up *(xx)*. Lord Orrery thinks he employed this time upon Gulliver's Travels; and it is highly probable, that having indulged his reſentment, which his diſappointed hopes had produced, till it could be contained no longer, he conceived the firſt notion of expreſſing it in ſuch a manner, as might correct the enormities which he expoſed, and with this view began his Travels, the firſt copy of which was probably finiſhed before the year 1720 [*FF*]. About this time the Dean, who had already acquired the character of a humouriſt

(ww) Delany, p. 42.

(xx) Dr Delany, p. 101. thinks he went through a courſe of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which is hardly reconcileable to a letter of his to Lord Bolingbroke, of April 1729, in which it appears that he was then reading Baronius; and Baronius was the only piece of Church Hiſtory that was found in his library. Hawkeſworth, p. 21.

chapter-houſe like Jupiter in the ſynod of the Gods (90); all their prejudices againſt him being removed by the diſintereſted integrity of his conduct (91).

(90) Lord Orrery, Letter V.

(91) Hawkeſworth, p. 17.

[*EE*] *He married Stella in* 1716.] Till this time he had continued his viſits to *Vaneſſa*, who, though ſhe had ſuffered very great pecuniary loſſes, had yet preſerved her reputation and her friends (92). The Dean appears ſtill to have preſerved the character of her Preceptor; but ſoon after he viſited her on another account. He went as an advocate for Mr Dean *Winter*, whom he took with him, a gentleman who was a profeſſed admirer of Vaneſſa, and had made her ſome overtures of marriage; but though he had an eſtate of 800l. a year, beſides 300l. per annum preferment in the church, yet Vaneſſa rejected the propoſal in ſuch terms, that it was never repeated. She was alſo addreſſed by Dr *Price*, afterwards Archbiſhop of Caſſel, but without ſucceſs (93). From this time the Dean's viſits were much leſs frequent. In the year 1717 her younger ſiſter Mary died, and, the whole remains of the family fortune being then ſettled in Vaneſſa, ſhe retired to Selbridge, a ſmall houſe and eſtate which had been purchaſed by her father, about twelve miles diſtant from Dublin: from this place ſhe wrote frequently to the Dean, and he anſwered her letters. In theſe letters ſhe ſtill preſſed him to marry her; and in his anſwers he ſtill rallied, and ſtill avoided a poſitive denial; till at length, being unable to ſuſtain her weight of miſery any longer, ſhe writ, in 1723, a very ſerious epiſtle to him, inſiſting peremptorily upon as ſerious an anſwer, and an immediate acceptance or abſolute refuſal of her as his wife. His reply was delivered by his own hand. He brought it with him, when he made his final viſit at Selbridge; and, throwing down the letter upon her table, with great paſſion haſtened back to his horſe, carrying in his countenance the frowns of anger and indignation. Lord Orrery obſerves (94), that the Doctor had a natural ſeverity of face, which even his ſmiles could ſcarce ſoften, or his utmoſt gaiety render placid and ſerene: but when that ſternneſs of viſage was encreaſed by rage, it is ſcarce poſſible to imagine looks or features, that carried in them more terror and auſterity. Vaneſſa had ſeen him in all tempers, and from his outward behaviour could not but gueſs at the inward contents of his letter. She read it with as much reſolution as the preſent cruelty of her fate would permit. She found herſelf intirely diſcarded from his friendſhip and converſation; her offers were treated with inſolence and diſdain; ſhe met with reproaches inſtead of love, and with tyranny inſtead of affection (95). In ſhort, ſhe did not ſurvive this letter many days (96): but, during that ſhort interval, was compoſed enough to cancel a will made in Swift's favour, and make another, wherein ſhe left her fortune (which by long retirement was in ſome meaſure retrieved) to her two executors, Dr Berkley, late Biſhop of Cloyne, and Mr Marſhall, one of the King's Serjeants at law. She had choſen the latter, not only as he had an excellent character, but as he was her relation. She had little perſonal acquaintance with Dr Berkley; his virtues and his genius were univerſally known; yet other motives perhaps induced her to appoint him a joint executor. In ſuch an appointment ſhe not improbably deſigned to mortify the pride of Dr Swift, by letting him ſee, that in her laſt thoughts ſhe preferred a ſtranger before him. 'Thus, concludes his Lordſhip, periſhed at Selbridge, 'under all the agonies of deſpair, Mrs *Eſther Vanhomrigh*, a miſerable example of an ill-ſpent life, 'fantaſtic wit, viſionary ſchemes, and female weakneſs.' As the laſt gratification of her vanity, ſhe directed, in her will, all the letters that paſſed between the Dean and her, together with the abovementioned poem, the only copy perhaps of which was in her hands, to be publiſhed; and the Poem was publiſhed accordingly. But Dr Berkley, upon a careful peruſal of the letters, finding the Dean's to conſiſt only of compliments, excuſes, apologies, and thanks for trifling preſents, while her's were filled with paſſionate declarations of her love, thought proper to ſuppreſs them. Dr Delany and Mr Dean Swift have ſaid every thing that could be thought of to apologize for the conduct of Vaneſſa in this moſt ridiculous affair; and in ſo doing have unavoidably, though tacitly, impeached Cadenus of notorious indiſcretion, while they clear him from the imputation of any vicious intercourſe: and indeed the Dean's whole conduct in it, not only as a clergyman, but as a man of ſenſe and honour, is abſolutely indefenſible.

(92) Among theſe are reckoned Mr Conolly, the late Biſhop of Cloyne, the late Judge Lindſay, and the Lord Chief Juſtice Marley: all perſons of high rank and reputation. Deane Swift, p. 162.

(93) Ibid. p. 263, 265.

(94) Letter IX.

(95) Perhaps it communicated his marriage to Stella, that fatal ſecret, which at once precluded all her hopes, and accounted for his former conduct. Hawkeſworth, p. 20.

(96) It is ſaid that, from the time ſhe was deſerted, ſhe devoted herſelf, like Ariadne, to Bacchus. Delany, p. 123.

[*FF*] *He finiſhed his Travels before* 1720.] We have an account of the general plan, which at the ſame time conveys the ſpirit and principle of this undertaking, from the Author himſelf, in a letter to Pope, wherein his view is put under a cover, yet that cover is made of glaſs, and well anſwers his intention thereby, which was to ſhew his meaning the better. Having given that friend ſome intimations of his Travels, and his deſign of coming to England, Mr Pope expreſſes his joy as follows: 'After ſo many diſperſions, 'and ſo many diviſions, two or three of us may yet 'be gathered together, not to plot, but divert our'ſelves, and the world too, if it pleaſes; or, at worſt, 'to laugh at others as innocently, and as unhurtfully 'as at ourſelves.' In anſwer to this, the Dean informs him, that he had prepared his Travels for the preſs, and declaring that he liked the ſcheme of their meeting, after diſtreſſes and diſperſions, goes on thus: 'But 'the chief end I propoſe in all my labours, is to vex 'the world, rather than divert it; and if I could 'compaſs that deſign without hurting my own perſon 'or fortune, I would be the moſt indefatigable writer 'you have ever ſeen, without reading. I have ever 'hated all nations, profeſſions, and communities, and 'all my love is toward individuals; for inſtance, I hate 'the tribe of Lawyers, but I love Counſellor ſuch a one, 'and Judge ſuch a one. 'Tis ſo with Phyſicians. I 'will not ſpeak of my own trade. Soldiers, Engliſh, 'Scotch, French, and the reſt; but principally I hate 'and deteſt that animal called Man, although I heartily 'love John, Peter, Thomas, and ſo forth. I have got 'materials towards a treatiſe, proving the falſity of 'that definition, *Animal Rationale*, and to ſhew it 'ſhould

mouriſt and a wit, was firſt regarded with general kindneſs, as the Patriot of Ireland. He wrote *A Propoſal for the Univerſal Uſe of Iriſh Manufactures*; a tract which, as it was apparently calculated for the ſervice of Ireland, and zealouſly condemned a ſacrifice of intereſt to England, firſt turned the ſide of popularity in his favour (*yy*); that popularity roſe to the height of adoration in 1724 [*GG*], when a patent having been obtained by one Wood (*zz*), to coin a hundred and eight thouſand pounds in copper for the uſe of Ireland, under which, by ſome iniquitous practices, he would have acquired exorbitant gain, and proportionably impoveriſhed the nation; the Dean, in the character of a *Draper*, wrote a ſeries of letters to the people, urging them not to receive this copper money (*aaa*) [*HH*]. Theſe letters united

(*yy*) Lord Orrery, p. 44.

(*zz*) He was brother-in-law to one Molyneux, an Ironmonger in Dublin.

(*aaa*) The patent did not empower him to force the reception of the money without their conſent.

'ſhould be only *rationis capax*. Upon this great foun-
'dation of miſanthropy, though not in *Simon*'s manner,
'the whole building of my Travels is erected, and I
'never will have peace of mind, till all honeſt men
'are of my opinion (97).' In theſe few ſtrokes we have the key to that work perfectly formed, though unhammered. That part has been done ſince by the noble Author, ſo often mentioned, who has likewiſe both filed and poliſhed it. His reflexions are admirable. And if I differ from his Lorſhip in one remark, let the mentioning it be taken as it is intended in the ſentiment of that maxim in the civil law, which declares that *Exceptio confirmat regulam*. The remark I mean is in the XIth Letter, where from Swift's raillery upon the ſtructure of the human body in the ſeventh chapter of the voyage to Brobdingnag, which his Lordſhip thinks unpardonable, he ventures to pronounce the lunacy and ideocy, which Swift fell into before his death, to be providential judgments, whereby he was puniſhed for his wickedneſs in kind. It will hardly be denied, ſince it is evident from many of Swift's letters, that ſatire, when he wrote theſe travels, was, in his opinion, trifling, and of no uſe, unleſs it run into a libel. This principle neceſſarily requires ſtrong exaggerations; in working which up, if he was carried ſometimes into a faulty exceſs, yet the deſign of reforming his fellow creatures was ſtill in view, and the principal point in view. Prudence, in his preſent ſituation, with regard to his governors, kept him from throwing himſelf into their hands; he therefore ſubſtituted human nature in general in the room of particular perſons: whence, in keeping to his firſt principle, his ſatire unavoidably grew into a libel upon human nature, in the execution of which, ſome ſallies of wit may indeed have been indulged a little too far, without any deliberate purpoſe of debaſing and ridiculing his own ſpecies. In this light I own I cannot ſee ſuch a degree of impiety and profaneneſs in any of his travels, as will juſtify a particular application of God's judgments upon the Author for them in this world. His Lordſhip's conjecture, that this work was the employment of Dr Swift's mind, while bleeding from the wound given it by the death of the Queen, is very conſiſtent with this, as well as his other particular remarks upon it; but, after all, it is no more than a conjecture, though a very probable one; and it is certain that the whole was at leaſt reviſed, perfected, and publiſhed, at a time when he was far from having any reaſon to be out of humour with his own ſpecies (98).

(97) Pope's Works, Vol. IX. Letter XI. edit. 1752. 8vo.

(98) The firſt edition was publiſhed in 1726.

[*GG*] *Made him very popular.*] This ſervice perhaps would not have been ſo long and ſo zealouſly remembered, if a proſecution had not been commenced againſt the printer. The piece being obſerved to ſpread very faſt, a perſon in great office ſent in haſte for the Chief Juſtice Whitſhed, and informed him of a ſeditious, factious, and virulent pamphlet, lately publiſhed, with a deſign of ſetting the two kingdoms at variance; he directed, at the ſame time, that the printer ſhould be proſecuted with the utmoſt vigour. The Chief Juſtice had ſo quick an underſtanding, that he reſolved, if poſſible, to outdo his orders. The printer was ſeized, and forced to give great bail. The jury brought him in not guilty, although they had been culled with the utmoſt induſtry. The Chief Juſtice ſent them back nine times, and kept them eleven hours, until, being tired out, they were forced to leave the matter to the mercy of the Judge, by what is called a ſpecial verdict (99): but the cauſe being ſo very odious and unpopular, the trial of the verdict was put off from term to term, till, upon arrival of the Duke of Grafton, Lord Lieutenant, his Grace, after mature advice and permiſſion from England, was pleaſed to grant a *Noli proſequi* (100). No public notice however was taken of the Dean (101), who did not ſpare to embelliſh his ſatires at the expence of the Chief Juſtice the ſame year (102).

(99) During the trial, the Chief Juſtice, among other ſingularities, laid his hand on his breaſt, and proteſted ſolemnly, that the author's deſign was to bring in the Pretender.

(100) Pope's Works, Vol. IX. Letter V.

(101) Hawkeſworth, p. 22.

(102) See three epigrams upon him in Swift's Works, Vol. IV. p. 63, 64. edit. 1755. 4to.

[*HH*] *The Drapier's letters.*] Upon the arrival of Lord Carteret, as Lord Lieutenant, ſoon after the publication of the fourth letter, ſeveral paſſages were ſelected as ſufficient ground for a proſecution; and his Excellency and council publiſhed a proclamation, offering 300*l.* reward for a diſcovery of the author. This proclamation gave the Dean a remarkable opportunity of illuſtrating his character. It happened that the Butler, whom he had employed as his amanuenſis, and who alone was entruſted with the ſecret, went out in the afternoon of the day of the proclamation without leave, and ſtaid abroad the whole night, and part of the next day. There was great reaſon to apprehend that he had made an information, and, having received the reward, would never return. The man however came home in the evening, and the Dean was adviſed by his friends to take no notice of his fault, leſt he ſhould be provoked to a breach of truſt, the fear of which was now removed by his return. But the Dean rejected this counſel with the utmoſt diſdain; and, commanding the man into his preſence, ordered him immediately to ſtrip off his livery, and leave the houſe. 'You villain, ſaid he, I know
'I am in your power, and for that very reaſon I will
'the leſs bear with your inſolence or neglect.' The man, in very ſubmiſſive terms, confeſſed that he had been drinking all night, and intreated to be forgiven; but Swift was inexorable. He then begged that he might be confined in ſome part of the houſe ſo long as the proclamation could entitle him to any reward, leſt, when he was driven from his ſervice, and deſtitute of another, the temptation might be too ſtrong for his virtue, and his diſtreſs might involve him in a crime which he moſt abhorred. His maſter continued ſtill inexorable, and the man was diſmiſſed. During all the time of danger, Swift obſtinately refuſed to contribute one farthing towards his ſupport; nor could he be perſuaded to ſee his face: but, when the time limited in the proclamation was expired, he was permitted to return to his ſervice; ſoon after which he was called haſtily up by the Dean, who, without any preface, again ordered him to ſtrip off his livery, put on his own cloaths, and then come to him again. The poor fellow, though he was greatly aſtoniſhed at the proceeding, knew Swift too well to expoſtulate; and therefore, with whatever reluctance, did as he had been commanded. When he returned, the Dean ordered the other ſervants to be called up, who immediately attended, expecting to ſee the Butler diſmiſſed *in terrorem*, and to hear themſelves warned, in very ſevere terms, of his offence. Swift, as ſoon as they had ranged themſelves in order before him, ordered them to take notice, that *Robert* was no longer his ſervant; 'he is now, ſaid the Dean, Mr *Blakely*,
'the Verger of St Patrick's cathedral, a place which I give
'him as a reward for his fidelity.' The value of this place is between thirty and forty pounds a year. However, Robert would not quit his maſter, but continued to be his butler ſome years afterwards (103). As to Lord Carteret, now Earl Granville, it appears, by many of Swift's writings, that he lived in good friendſhip with him during his Lieutenancy, notwithſtanding his Lordſhip had ſigned the proclamation. Swift once aſked him how he could concur in it; to which his Excellency replied, in the words of Virgil,

(103) Deane Swift, p. 190.

Regni novitas me talia cogit
Moliri.

He was equally diligent to recommend his friends to *Carteret* as he had been to *Oxford*, and with the ſame dignity and freedom 'Pray, my Lord, ſaid he one day, have you
'the honour to be acquainted with the Grattons?' My Lord anſwered he had not. 'Why then pray, my Lord, ſays
'Swift, take care to obtain it; it is of great conſequence:
'the Grattons, my Lord, can raiſe ten thouſand men.'
He obtained a living for his friend Sheridan, and recommended others, of whom he knew nothing but that they were good men. He uſed alſo to remonſtrate with great freedom againſt ſuch meaſures as he diſliked; and,

Lord

united the whole nation in his praiſe, filled every ſtreet with his effigies, and every voice with acclamations; and *Wood*, though he was long ſupported by his friends, who procured the patent, was at length compelled to withdraw it, and his money was totally ſuppreſſed *(bbb)*. Whereupon the Dean came out with *A full and true Account of the ſolemn Proceſſion to the Gallows, at the Execution of William Wood, Eſq; and Hard-ware Man* [*II*]. From this time the Dean's influence in Ireland was almoſt without bounds; he was conſulted in whatever related to domeſtic policy, and in particular to trade. The weavers always conſidered him as their Patron and Legiſlator after his *Propoſal for the Uſe of Iriſh Manufactures*, and came frequently in a body to receive his advice in ſettling the rates of their ſtuffs, and the wages of their journeymen; and when elections were depending for the city of Dublin, many corporations refuſed to declare themſelves till they knew his ſentiments, and inclinations, which were always followed. Over the populace he was the moſt abſolute Monarch that ever governed men, and he was regarded by perſons of every rank, with veneration and eſteem. Thus he lived as the *Tutelar-patron* of that kingdom, in an unexampled ſtate of power and influence, as long as his health permitted him to enjoy it *(ccc)*. No wonder then, that in the midſt of this ſplendor in Ireland, he refuſed an offer that was made to him while he was in England, in a viſit to Mr *Pope* in 1726, of a ſettlement in the midſt of his friends, within twelve miles of London *(ddd)*. The ſame year he had alſo an invitation from *Lord Bolingbroke*, to ſpend a winter with him at his houſe on the banks of the *Loire* in France; and this he would have accepted, but that he received an account from Ireland, that Mrs *Johnſon* (for ſhe ſtill went by her maiden name) was dangerouſly ill *(eee)*. Her conſtitution was tender and delicate, and as the Dean himſelf ſays, ſhe had not the *ſtamina vitæ (fff)*. In the year 1724, ſhe began viſibly to decay, and in the year 1726, was thought to be dying. The Dean received the news with agonies not to be felt, but by the tendereſt and moſt ardent friendſhip; nor conceived, but by the moſt lively imagination [*KK*]; and immediately haſted back into Ireland. It happened, however, that ſhe recovered a moderate ſtate of health, and the Dean returned again to England, in 1727, to finiſh the Miſcellanies, in concert with Pope and Arbuthnot *(ggg)*. From England, he was once more about to ſet out for France, upon Lord Bolingbroke's invitation, when news arrived of the King's death. He had attended the late Queen Caroline, while ſhe was princeſs, in his former excurſions to England, and he had ſeen her twice in one week by her Royal Highneſs's command in this *(hhh)* [*LL*]. She had always treated the Dean with

(*bbb*) Being thus refuſed in Ireland, it was afterwards ſurreptitiouſly uttered in England, where it now paſſes without much difficulty, by the advantage of ſurpaſſing, in real value, other coin of the ſame denomination, which is ſpread about, though of no real value at all.

(*ccc*) Lord Orrery, Letter VI.

(*ddd*) Swift's Letters to Dr Sheridan, No. XX, dated July 8, 1726, in the Sixth Volume, Part II. p. 115. of his Works, edit. 1755. 4to.

(*eee*) Swift's Letters to Sheridan, No. XX. p. 116.

(*fff*) Ibid. No. XXI.

(*ggg*) Letters to the ſame, No. XXIV.

(*hhh*) Ibid. Letter XXII.

Lord Carteret having gained the advantage of him in ſome diſpute concerning the diſtreſſes of Ireland, he cried out in a violent paſſion, 'What the vengeance brought 'you among us? Get you gone, get you gone. Pray 'God Almighty to ſend us our boobies back again (104).

[*II*] *A full and true account*, &c.] This paper is one of the Dean's nonpareils in the jocoſe way. The dangerous conſequence of Wood's patent was a moſt ſerious affair, and accordingly is handled as ſuch in the Drapier's letters. The noble author, to whom we are ſo much indebted in this memoir, having recommended them (105) to the peruſal of his ſon for the ſtile and conduct of their manner, proceeds thus; 'But, if they appear too grave 'for ſo young a man, and one who is ſo little intereſted 'in the preſent, and much leſs in the paſt affairs of Ire'land, you will find a paper at the end of them that 'will excite your riſibility, or I am miſtaken.' His Lordſhip then goes on to give the title of *A full and true Account*, &c. and obſerves, 'that the Author makes 'the ſeveral artificers attend William Wood (repre'ſented by a log of timber) to the gallows, and each 'tradeſman expreſs his reſentment in the terms of his 'proper calling. The COOK *will* BASTE *him, the* 'BOOKSELLER *will* TURN OVER A NEW LEAF WITH 'HIM, *the* TAYLOR *will* SIT IN HIS SKIRTS; and ſo on 'through a number of people (106) of different con'ditions. Then follows the proceſſion, moſt humour'ouſly deſcribed. The whole is a piece of ridicule too 'powerful for the ſtrongeſt gravity to withſtand.'

[*KK*] *He received the news with the greateſt agonies.*] A character ſo extraordinary as that of Dean Swift naturally raiſes a curioſity to ſee him in every circumſtance and change of life, and the more eſpecially when exhibited by himſelf, as it is in the preſent caſe, in a letter to Dr Sheridan, dated July 27, where he pours forth his grief as follows. 'I have yours juſt now of the 19th, 'and the account you give is nothing but what I have 'ſome time expected with the utmoſt agonies; and 'there is one aggravation of conſtraint, that, where 'I am, I am forced to put on an eaſy countenance. 'It was, at this time, the beſt office your friendſhip 'could do, not to deceive me. I was violently bent 'all laſt year, as I believe you remember, that ſhe 'ſhould go to *Montpelier*, or *Bath*, or *Tunbridge*. I in'treated, if there was no amendment, they might both 'come to London. But there was a fatality, although 'I indeed think her *ſtamina* could not laſt much longer, 'when I ſaw ſhe could take no nouriſhment. I look 'upon this to be the greateſt event that can ever happen 'to me; but all my preparations will not ſuffice to make 'me bear it like a philoſopher, nor altogether like 'a Chriſtian. There hath been the moſt intimate 'friendſhip between us from her childhood, and the 'greateſt merit on her ſide that ever was in one human 'creature towards another. Nay, if I were now near 'her, I would not ſee her; I could not behave myſelf 'tolerably, and ſhould redouble her ſorrow—Judge in 'what a temper of mind I write this—The very time 'I am writing, I conclude the faireſt ſoul in the world 'hath left its body—Confuſion! that I am this moment 'called down to a viſitor, when I am in the country, 'and not in my power to deny myſelf—I have paſſed 'a very conſtrained hour, and now return to ſay I know 'not what. I have been long weary of the world, and 'ſhall, for my ſmall remainder of years, be weary of 'life, having for ever loſt that converſation which could 'only make it tolerable—I fear, while you are reading 'this, you will be ſhedding tears at her funeral; ſhe 'loved you well, and a great ſhare of the little merit 'I have with you is owing to her ſolicitations (107).' Perhaps no one part of Swift's life is more picturesque of the ſingularity of his character than this. Could it be imagined, did not the facts ſhew it, that he was at this very time engaged in publiſhing and writing ſome materials of the Miſcellanies in concert with Pope and Arbuthnot, particularly the Memoirs of Scriblerus, notes upon the Dunciad (108)?

[*LL*] *He viſited the Princeſs of Wales.*] The ſtate of that court at this time is well known, and repreſented with exquiſite wit and humour in Gulliver's travels; where the Prince is repreſented wearing ſhoes with one heel higher than the other, which gave him a hobble in his gate. In his letter to Sheridan, cited in the text, ſpeaking of the Princeſs, he ſays, 'She charges me, 'without ceremony, to be the author of a bad 'book (*), though I told her how angry the miniſtry 'were; but ſhe aſſures me, that both ſhe and the P—— 'were very well pleaſed with every particular; but, con'tinues he, I diſowned the whole affair, as you know I 'very well might (109), only gave her leave, as ſhe liked 'the book, to ſuppoſe what author ſhe pleaſed (110).' He had before, in the ſame letter, informed this intimate friend, that there was a ſettled reſolution to aſſault Sir Robert Walpole (†); and declares he himſelf was highly diſpleaſed with him and his partiſans.—That he was adviſed by all his friends not to go to France (as he

(104) Deane Swift, p. 270. Delany, p. 25 and 95.

(105) Letter XVI.

(106) There are no leſs than threeſcore and eleven of them.

(107) Letters to Sheridan, No. XXI.

(108) See Pope's article in Vol. V.

(*) Gulliver's travels.

(109) See note (124).

(110) Letters to Sheridan, No. XXII.

(†) Meaning particularly, by his friend Lord Bolingbroke, who acted with all his might againſt Walpole. See his article.

with great civility; and the Dean had treated her with his uſual, and peculiar frankneſs. The third day after the death of King George I, he attended at court, and kiſſed the new King and Queen's hands, upon their acceſſion, and was blamed by his friends for deferring it ſo long. What proſpect he had of a change in public affairs on this event, or of any advantages which ſuch a change might produce to himſelf or his friends, does not appear; but he was earneſtly intreated to delay his journey; and when he had again determined to ſet out, he was, upon ſome new incidents, again prevailed upon not to go, by the perſuaſions of ſome perſons whom, he ſays, he could not diſobey. Many ſchemes were propoſed, in which he was eagerly ſollicited to engage, but he received them coldly; not becauſe he was determined to enter no more into public life, but becauſe the ſchemes were ſuch as he did not approve *(iii)*. He was ſoon after ſeized with one of his fits of giddineſs and deafneſs; a calamity which was greatly aggravated by the news that Mrs Johnſon was again ſo ill, that the Phyſicians deſpaired of her life. Upon this occaſion, he relapſed into the agonies of mind, which he had felt the year before: he expected, by the next poſt, to hear that ſhe was dead, and intreated that he might be told no particulars, but the event in general; for that his age being then within three months of ſixty, his weakneſs and his friendſhip would bear no more. As he deſpaired of ſeeing her alive, he determined not to return to Ireland ſo ſoon as he had intended, but to paſs the winter either near Saliſbury-Plain, or in France. And that he might not be interrupted by company, and condemned to the torment of ſuppreſſing his ſorrow to preſerve the rules of good breeding, he quitted the houſe of Mr Pope at Twickenham, and retired to a village near London, with a female relation for his nurſe. The next letter that he received he kept an hour in his pocket before he could ſufficiently fortify himſelf againſt the ſhock which he expected when he ſhould open it *(kkk)*: however, as Stella's life ebbed by ſlow degrees, and ſometimes ſeemed at a ſtand, if not to flow, his hope of a parting interview revived, and he ſet out for Ireland as ſoon as he was able to travel. He found her alive *(lll)*; but after languiſhing about three months, ſhe expired on the 28th of January, 1727, in the forty-fourth year of her age, regretted by the Dean with ſuch exceſs of affection and eſteem, as the warmeſt ſenſibility only could feel, and the moſt excellent character excite [*MM*]. From the death of Stella, the Dean's life became

(iii) Letters to Sheridan, No. XXIII.

(kkk) Ibid. Letters XXIV, XXV, and XXVI.

(lll) He compoſed two prayers for her, one on the 17th of Oct. and the other on the 6th of Nov. inſerted in his Works, Vol. VI. p. 2. 4to edition.

he intended for two months) for fear of their vengeance, 'in a manner which, ſays he, they cannot execute here.' However he was reſolved not to engage againſt the miniſtry. 'I reckon, continues he, there will be a 'warm winter, wherein, my comfort is, I ſhall have 'no concern (111).'

(111) Letters to Sheridan, No. XXII.

[*MM*] *Stella's death was lamented by Swift with an affection excited by her character.*] *Stella* muſt needs have been a woman of a moſt excellent character: the writers of Swift's life have vied with each other in ſetting forth that excellence. 'STELLA, ſays Lord Orrery, was a 'moſt amiable woman in mind and perſon. She had 'an elevated underſtanding, with all the delicacy and 'ſoftneſs of her ſex. Her voice, however ſweet in it'ſelf, was ſtill rendered more harmonious by what ſhe 'ſaid. Her wit was poignant without ſeverity: her 'manners were humane, polite, eaſy, and unreſerved. 'Wherever ſhe came, ſhe attracted attention and eſteem. 'As virtue was her guide in morality, ſincerity was 'her guide in religion: ſhe was conſtant, but not often'tatious, in her devotions. She was remarkably pru'dent in her converſation. She had great ſkill in muſic, 'and was perfectly well verſed in all the leſſer arts that 'employ a lady's leiſure. Her wit allowed her a fund 'of perpetual chearfulneſs: her prudence kept that 'chearfulneſs within proper limits. She exactly an'ſwered the deſcription of PENELOPE in HOMER:

'*A woman loveliеſt of the lovely kind,*
'*In body perfect, and complete in mind.*

'Such was STELLA: yet, with all theſe accompliſh'ments, ſhe never could prevail upon Dr Swift to 'acknowledge her openly as his wife. A great genius 'muſt tread in unbeaten paths, and deviate from the 'common road of life; otherwiſe, ſurely a diamond of 'ſo much luſtre might have been publickly produced, 'although it had been fixed within the collet of matri'mony: but the flaw which, in Dr Swift's eye, re'duced the value of ſuch a jewel, was the ſervile ſtate 'of her father, who, as was ſaid before, was a menial 'ſervant to Sir *William Temple*. Ambition and pride 'will at any time conquer reaſon and juſtice; and each 'larger degree of pride, like the larger fiſhes of prey, 'will devour all the leſs: thus the vanity of boaſting 'ſuch a wife was ſuppreſſed by the greater vanity of 'keeping free from ſuch an alliance (112).' His Lord'ſhip here plainly uſes the words pride and vanity to ex'preſs the ſame quality; but, in deſcribing Swift's character, he is more accurate in diſtinguiſhing the two qualities, and tells us, that Swift himſelf uſed to ſay, that his pride kept him from being vain. However, his Lordſhip's rival in drawing Stella's character makes this inaccuracy in his Lordſhip's draught a handle to animadvert upon him. 'Why the Dean, ſays he, did not ſooner marry 'this excellent perſon, why he married her at all, why 'his marriage was ſo cautiouſly concealed, and why he 'was never known to meet her but in the preſence of 'a third perſon, are enquiries which *no* man can an'ſwer, or has attempted to anſwer, without abſurdity; 'and are therefore unprofitable objects of ſpecula'tion (113).' In this diſpoſition the ſame writer, not ſatisfied with his Lordſhip's character of Stella, has ſupplied what he thought the defects therein as follows. 'Her ſtature, ſays he, was tall, her hair and eyes black, 'her complexion fair and delicate, her features regular, 'ſoft, and animated, her ſhape eaſy and elegant, and 'her manner feminine, polite, and graceful. As to her 'wit, it was confeſſed by all her acquaintance, and 'particularly by the Dean, that ſhe never failed to ſay 'the beſt thing that was ſaid, whenever ſhe was in 'company, though her companions were uſually perſons 'of the beſt underſtanding in the kingdom (114). 'Neither was her wit merely of the colloquial kind; 'ſhe had great force of poetical fancy, could range her 'thoughts in a regular compoſition, and expreſs them 'in correct and harmonious verſe.' We have a beautiful inſtance of this in a poem addreſſed to Swift on his birth-day, 1721, which concludes with the following lines:

(112) Orrery's Remarks, Letter ii.

(113) Hawkeſworth, p. 26.

(114) *Ibid.* See inſtances of this, under the name of Bons mots de Stella, in Vol. XII. of Swift's Works, in 8vo, and two ſpecimens of her poetry are inſerted in the appendix to his life.

'Long be the day that gave you birth,
'Sacred to friendſhip, wit, and mirth;
'Late dying, may you caſt a ſhred
'Of your rich mantle o'er my head;
'To bear with dignity my ſorrow
'One day alone; then die to-morrow (115).'

(115) Hawkins, in the Appendix to Swift's life, p. 42.

Lord Orrery, in ſpeaking of the Dean's conduct to *Stella*, obſerves, that a woman of her delicacy muſt needs repine at ſuch an extraordinary ſituation. 'The out'ward honours, ſays his Lordſhip, which ſhe received, 'are as frequently beſtowed upon a miſtreſs as a wife. 'She was abſolutely virtuous, and yet was obliged to 'ſubmit to all the appearances of vice, except in the 'preſence of thoſe few people, who were witneſſes of 'the cautious manner in which ſhe lived with her huſ'band, who ſcorned even to be married like any other 'married folks. Inward anxiety affected by degrees 'the calmneſs of her mind, and the ſtrength of her body. 'She began to decline in her health in 1724, and, 'from the firſt ſymptoms of decays, ſhe rather haſtened 'than ſhrunk back in the deſcent, tacitly pleaſed to find 'her foot-ſteps tending to that place, where *they neither 'marry nor are given in marriage.* She died towards the 'end of January, 1727 or 1728, abſolutely deſtroyed by

came much more retired, and the auſterity of his temper daily encreaſed; he could not join in the ſocial chearfulneſs of his public days; theſe entertainments therefore were diſcontinued, and he ſometimes avoided the company of the moſt intimate friends. In this ſolitary life, he frequently amuſed himſelf with writing, as appears by the dates of many of his pieces, which are ſubſequent to this time; and it is very remarkable, that although his mind was doubtleſs greatly depreſſed, and his principal enjoyment at an end, when Mrs Johnſon died, yet there is an air of trifling and levity in ſome of the pieces, which he wrote afterwards, that is not to be found in any other [*NN*]. However, in 1733, when an attempt was made to repeal the Teſt Act in Ireland, he wrote a copy of verſes *(mmm)* againſt that attempt, with ſo much boldneſs, as even brought his life in ſome danger [*OO*]. But the fits

(*mmm*) Inſerted in Vol. IV. Part I. p. 18. et ſeqq. of his Works, edit. 1755. 4to.

'the peculiarity of her fate, a fate which perhaps ſhe 'could not have incurred by an alliance with any other 'perſon in the world (116).' Here again his Lordſhip's rival interpoſes, and tells us, that 'the Dean's 'peculiar connexion appears to have been ſuſpected, 'if not known, by his particular acquaintance, one of 'whom had the courage, indirectly, to blame his con'duct ſeveral times, by ſetting before him the example 'of a clergyman of diſtinguiſhed merit, who married 'nearly in the ſame circumſtances; but, inſtead of con'cealing his marriage, retired into thrifty lodgings, 'till he had made a proviſion for his wife, and then 'returned to the world, and became eminent for his hoſ'pitality and charity (117).' The Dean, whether moved by theſe repreſentations, or ſome other motive, did at length earneſtly deſire that ſhe might be publickly owned as his wife; but, as her health was then declining, and his œconomy became more ſevere, ſhe ſaid it was too late, and inſiſted that they ſhould continue to live as before: to this the Dean in his turn conſented, and ſuffered her to diſpoſe entirely of her own fortune by her own name to a public charity, when ſhe died (118).

(116) Lord Orrery's letter, as before.

(117) Delany, p. 63.

(118) Id. p. 56, and 288.

'It appears, continues this writer, by ſeveral little inci'dents, that Stella regretted and diſapproved the Dean's 'conduct, and that ſhe ſometimes reproached him with 'unkindneſs; for to ſuch regret and reproach he certainly 'alludes in the concluſion of his poem on her birth-day 'in 1726 (*):' Thus we ſee this writer agrees with his Lordſhip in the point of Stella's regret and reſentment; and he obſerves, that it ſeems to be generally agreed, in concurrence with his Lordſhip, that *Stella* was deſtroyed by the peculiarity of her circumſtances; and that the fabric, however weak by the delicacy of its compoſition, would not have fallen ſo ſoon, if the foundation had not been injured by the ſlow minings of regret and vexation.

(*) It is inſerted in his Works, Vol. III. Part II. p. 121. edit. 1755. 4to.

In ſo flagrant an inſtance of the moſt inhumanly ſavage cruelty (I had almoſt ſaid murder) what can be ſaid for the author of it? Mr Hawkeſworth indeed has told us (119), that it is generally agreed, that in this inſtance, as in every other, the Dean's intention was upright, though his judgment might be erroneous. But he had better have ſaid nothing.

(119) Hawkeſworth, p. 27.

[*NN*] *A greater air of trifling in ſome of his pieces after this time than in any before.*] He had eſtabliſhed his principle of *Vive la bagatelle*(†), and was reſolved to put it in execution. Among theſe trifling pieces are his directions to ſervants, and ſeveral of his letters to Dr Sheridan ſtand foremoſt. In the laſt remark we gave the picture of Swift's wife, and we ſhall here give ſome ſketches of this friend, done by the ſame hands. 'Dr 'Sheridan, ſays Lord Orrery, was a ſchoolmaſter, and, 'in many inſtances, perfectly well adapted for that 'ſtation. He was deeply verſed in the Greek and 'Roman languages, and in their cuſtoms and antiqui'ties. He had that kind of good-nature, which ab'ſence of mind, indolence of body, and careleſsneſs 'of fortune, produce; and, although not over ſtrict in 'his own conduct, yet he took care of the morality of 'his ſcholars, whom he ſent to the Univerſity remark'ably well founded in all claſſical learning (120), and 'not ill inſtructed in the ſocial duties of life. He was 'ſlovenly, indigent, and chearful. He knew books 'much better than men: and he knew the value of 'money leaſt of all. In this ſituation, and with this 'diſpoſition, Swift faſtened upon him as upon a prey, 'with which he intended to regale himſelf, when'ever his appetite ſhould prompt him. *Sheridan* there'fore was kept conſtantly within his reach; and the 'only time he was permitted to go beyond the limits 'of his chain, was to take poſſeſſion of a living in the 'county of Cork, which had been beſtowed upon him 'by the then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the preſent 'Earl of *Granville*. Sheridan, in one fatal moment, 'or by one fatal text, effected his own ruin (121); 'and this ill-ſtarred, good-natured, improvident man 'returned to Dublin, unhinged from all favour at court, 'and even baniſhed from the caſtle. But ſtill he re'mained a punſter, a quibbler, a fiddler, and a wit: 'not a day paſſed without a rebus, an anagram, or a 'madrigal. His pen and his fiddle-ſtick were in con'tinual motion, yet to little or no purpoſe (122).' Mr Hawkeſworth, apparently thinking his Lordſhip too ſevere upon this friend of Swift, ſets him in a more favourable light. 'As Swift, ſays he (123), was, un'doubtedly, much more tenderly and ſtrictly connected 'with Stella than with any other woman, ſo his friend'ſhip ſeems to have been more intimate and unreſerved 'with Sheridan than with any other man; his letters 'to him are evidently the ſpontaneous effuſions of his 'heart, whether he was chearful or ſad, and ſeem to 'imply a perfect acquaintance with every peculiarity 'of his circumſtances.' This writer, in proceeding, agrees with his Lordſhip in other particulars; but, paſſing over Sheridan's ill conduct in ſilence, he obſerves, that 'this gentleman was by nature ſuited to Swift as a com'panion in the higheſt degree: he had a vein of humour 'that was a conſtant occaſion of merriment, he had an 'abſence of mind which rendered him a perpetual object 'of raillery, and an indolent good-nature which made 'him unapt to take offence; he was always diſpoſed to 'be chearful, and therefore readily concurred in the 'entertainment of Swift's hours of pleaſantry; and 'could, without much pain or diſpleaſure, give way 'to his petulance or his coldneſs, in his paroxyſms of 'fretfulneſs or reſerve: he alſo greatly contributed to 'Swift's amuſement by little ſprightly pieces of the 'inferior kind of poetry, which he was always writing; 'and yet more to his employment, by hints and 'materials which he was every moment throwing 'out (124).' This writer concludes his account, in a further defence of Sheridan againſt his Lordſhip's inſinuation, that he was held in contempt by Swift, as follows: 'With this eaſy, negligent, contented crea'ture, Swift paſſed much of his time, as well during 'Mrs Johnſon's life as afterwards; and though there is 'in general an air of ſuperiority in his letters, and 'might be ſometimes in his behaviour a want of that 'complacency which no familiarity ſhould exclude, yet 'it appears, that the Dean did not hold Sheridan cheap. 'Sheridan he loved for his own merit, and was content 'to have deſerved his love by the intereſt of another. 'Stella, ſays he, *loved you well; and a great ſhare of the 'little merit I have with you is owing to her ſollicita'tions* (125).'

(120) Lord Carteret, being preſent at the acting of an old Greek tragedy by his boys, was ſo pleaſed with the performance, that he gave the maſter a living, worth near 100l. per annum. Vindication of his Excellency Lord Carteret, &c. in Swift's Works, Vol. V. p. 2. edit. 1755. 4to.

(121) In his way to his living he ſtopt at Cork to wait upon his Biſhop, and, preaching there on a Sunday, which happened to be the firſt of Auguſt, the Anniverſary day of King George I's Acceſſion, on this text, *ſufficient to the day is the evil thereof*, ſuch a clamour was raiſed againſt him (though the choice of the text was pure accident, and no politics in the ſermon) that the Lord Lieutenant was obliged to withdraw his preſentation. Whereupon, ſays Swift, Sheridan ſhot his own fortune dead by meer chance-medley with a ſingle text. Vindication of his Excellency Lord Carteret, &c.

(122) Lord Orrery, Letter VII.

(123) p. 27.

(124) It was this that juſtified Swift in diſowning Gulliver's travels to the Princeſs, afterwards Queen Caroline, as mentioned in remark [*LL*].

(125) See remark [*MM*].

[*OO*] *His life was in ſome danger.*] The Diſſenters often affected to call themſelves brother Proteſtants and fellow Chriſtians with the members of the eſtabliſhed church, an affectation which is rallied by the Dean with his uſual ſpirit. Among other inſtances, to expoſe the abſurdity of it, he has the following:

Thus at the bar that blockhead Betteſworth,
Though half a crown o'erpays his ſweat's worth,
Who knows in law nor text nor margent,
Calls Singleton (*) *his brother ſerjeant.*

(*) This gentleman was long the boaſt of Ireland for his extraordinary ſkill in the law.

Theſe lines ſo provoked Betteſworth, who was alſo a member of the Iriſh parliament, that he ſwore, in the hearing of many perſons, to revenge himſelf, either by murdering or maiming the Author: and for this purpoſe he engaged his footman, with two ruffians, to ſecure the Dean wherever he could be found. As ſoon as this oath and attempt were known, thirty of the nobility and gentry of the liberty of St Patrick waited upon the Dean in form, and preſented a paper, ſubſcribed with their names, in which they ſolemnly engaged, in behalf of themſelves and the reſt of the liberty, to defend his perſon and fortune, as the friend and benefactor of his country. When this paper was delivered, Swift was in bed, giddy and deaf, having been ſome time before ſeized with one of his fits: But, with all the dignity of habitual preheminence, he dictated the following anſwer.

'Gentlemen,

fits of giddineſs and deafneſs became more frequent and violent, as he grew into years; and in 1736, while he was writing a ſatire on the Iriſh Parliament, which he called *The Legion Club*, he was ſeized with one of theſe fits, the effects of which were ſo dreadful, that he left the Poem unfiniſhed, and never afterwards attempted a compoſition of any length, either in verſe or proſe. From this time his memory was perceived gradually to decline, and he appeared every day more fretful and peeviſh (*), and even grew weary of life [*PP*]; yet his converſation remained ſtill lively and ſevere, but the ſatire more frequent and more bitter. He alſo continued to correſpond with his friends in England, particularly Mr Pope. In the beginning of the year 1741, his paſſions grew ſo violent, his memory ſo decayed, and his reaſon ſo depraved, that the utmoſt precautions were taken to keep all ſtrangers from approaching him, and his friends found it neceſſary to have guardians appointed of his perſon and eſtate. Early in the year 1742, his reaſon was wholly ſubverted, and his rage became abſolute madneſs. In October, after his phrenzy had continued ſeveral months, his left eye ſwelled to the ſize of an egg, and the lid appeared to be ſo much inflamed and diſcoloured, that the ſurgeon expected it to mortify; ſeveral large boils alſo broke out on his arms and body. The extreme pain of this tumour kept him waking near a month, and during one week it was with difficulty that five perſons kept him by meer force from tearing out his own eyes. However, when the tumour ſubſided, and the pain left him, he appeared ſo far to have recovered his underſtanding and temper *(nnn)*, that the ſurgeon was not without hopes that he might once more enjoy ſociety, and be amuſed by the company of his old friends *(ooo)*. But this hope was but of ſhort duration; for a few days afterwards, he ſunk into a ſtate of total inſenſibility [*QQ*], ſlept much, and could not, without great difficulty, be prevailed upon to walk croſs the room. After he had continued ſpeechleſs a whole year in this ſtate of helpleſs ideocy, his houſe-keeper went into his room on the 30th of November, 1743, in the morning, and telling him it was his birth-day, and that bonfires and illuminations were preparing to celebrate it as uſual, he immediately replied, *'Tis all folly; they had better let it alone (ppp)*. This, and ſome other inſtances of ſenſe and reaſon ſhewn afterwards, prove that his diſorder had not totally deſtroyed, but only ſuſpended the powers of his mind *(qqq)*. But from the year 1744, he was perfectly ſilent to his death, which happened in the latter end of October, 1745, without the leaſt pang or convulſion, in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age *(rrr)*. Lord Orrery thinks he certainly foreſaw his fate [*RR*]; that his frequent attacks of giddineſs, and his manifeſt decay of memory, gave room for ſuch apprehenſions; and this ſeems to be countenanced by his laſt will, which is dated May 3, 1740, juſt before he ceaſed to be a reaſonable Being. In it having left about twelve hundred pounds in ſpecific legacies [*SS*], he bequeathed the reſt of his fortune, which amounted to about eleven thouſand pounds, to erect and endow an hoſpital for ideots and lunatics. He was buried in the great iſle of St Patrick's Cathedral, under a ſtone of black marble, inſcribed with an epitaph written by himſelf [*TT*]. His character was very ſingular,

(*) Some inſtances of this are related in Mrs Pilkington's memoirs.

(nnn) He knew Mrs Whiteway, who was a relation and conſtantly attended him, took her by the hand and ſpoke to her with his former kindneſs. See her Letter, dated April 4, 1742, to Lord Orrery, inſerted in his Letters, No. XI. He had taken her as a companion, after the death of Stella. Letters ſigned J. R. p. 129. Mrs Dingley not being agreeable to him. Letter to Dr Sheridan, No. XXVII.

(ooo) Lord Orrery and Deane Swift.

(ppp) Hawkeſworth, p. 31.

(qqq) Ibid. where other inſtances are mentioned.

(rrr) Ibid. and Lord Orrery, who obſerves, that even the rattling in his throat was ſcarce ſufficient to give any alarm to his attendants, till within ſome very little time before he expired. Letter XXI.

'Gentlemen,

'I receive, with great thankfulneſs, theſe many kind 'expreſſions of your concern for my ſafety, as well as 'your declared reſolution to defend me (as far as the 'laws of God and man will allow) againſt all murderers 'and ruffians, who ſhall attempt to enter into the liberty 'with any bloody and wicked deſigns upon my life, 'my limbs, my houſe, or my goods. Gentlemen, my 'life is in the hands of God, and, whether it may be 'cut off by treachery, or open violence, or by the 'common way of other men, as long as it continues, 'I ſhall ever bear a grateful memory for this favour you 'have ſhewn, beyond my expectation, and almoſt exceeding my wiſhes. The inhabitants of the liberty, 'as well as thoſe of the neighbourhood, have lived with 'me in great amity for near twenty years; which I am 'confident will never diminiſh during my life. I am 'chiefly ſorry that, by two cruel diſorders of deafneſs 'and giddineſs, which have purſued me for four months, 'I am not in a condition either to hear or to receive 'you, much leſs to return you my moſt ſincere acknowledgments, which in juſtice and gratitude I ought 'to do. May God bleſs you and your families in this 'world, and make you for ever happy in the next (126).'

(126) Appendix to the account of his life, &c. by Hawkins.

[*PP*] *He grew weary of life.*] This appears by many paſſages in his Letters, and expreſſions to his friends. Among other inſtances we ſhall give the following: In 1739, he had been ſtanding with a Clergyman under a very large heavy pier-glaſs, which, juſt as they moved to another part of the room, fell down and broke to pieces; whereupon the Clergyman, turning to Swift, ſaid, 'What a mercy it is that we moved the moment we did; 'for if we had not, we ſhould certainly have been killed.' The Dean replied, that as to himſelf, he was ſorry he had changed ground, and wiſhed the glaſs had fallen upon him (*).

(*) Hawkeſworth, p. 30.

[*QQ*] *He ſunk into a ſtate of total inſenſibility.*] This was the effect of another diſeaſe, a kind of dropſy; his brain was loaded with water. Mr Stevens, an ingenious clergyman of Dublin, pronounced this to be the caſe during his illneſs; and, upon opening his body, it appeared that he was not miſtaken: but, though he often intreated the Dean's friends and phyſicians that his head might be trepanned to diſcharge the water, no regard was paid to his opinion or intreaty (127).

(127) Delany, p. 149.

[*RR*] *He certainly foreſaw his fate.*] 'I have often, 'ſays Lord Orrery, heard him lament the ſtate of childhood and idiotiſm to which ſome of the greateſt men 'of this nation were reduced before their death. He 'mentioned, as examples within his own time, the 'Duke of Marlborough and Lord Somers: and, when 'he cited theſe melancholy inſtances, it was always 'with a heavy ſigh, and with geſtures that ſhewed great 'uneaſineſs, as if he felt an impulſe of what was to 'happen to him before he died (128).'

(128) Letter XXI.

[*SS*] *Specific legacies.*] His will, like all his other writings, is drawn up in a peculiar manner. Even in ſo ſerious a compoſition he could not help indulging himſelf in leaving legacies that carry with them an air of raillery and jeſt. He diſpoſes of his three hats, his beſt, his ſecond beſt, and his third beſt beaver, with an ironical ſolemnity that renders the bequeſts ridiculous. He bequeaths *to Mr John Gratton a ſilver box, to keep in it the tobacco which the ſaid John uſually chewed, called pigtail.* But his legacy *to Mr Robert Gratton* is ſtill more extraordinary. *Item, I bequeath to Mr* Robert Gratton, *Prebendary of St Andrew's, my ſtrong box, on condition of his giving the ſole uſe of the ſaid box to his brother, Dr* James Gratton, *during the life of the ſaid Doctor, who hath more occaſion for it.*

[*TT*] *An epitaph written by himſelf.*] It is in theſe terms:

HIC DEPOSITUM EST CORPUS
JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. P.
HUJUS ECCLESIÆ CATHEDRALIS DECANI,
UBI SÆVA INDIGNATIO
ULTERIUS COR LACERARE NEQUIT.
ABI VIATOR,
ET IMITARE, SI POTERIS,
STRENUUM PRO VIRILI LIBERTATIS VINDICEM.
OBIIT ANNO [MDCCXLV]
MENSIS [OCTOBRIS] DIE [19]
ÆTATIS ANNO [LXXVIII.]

It

lar, and has been attempted by several writers, the substance of which is as follows. In his person, he was large, robust, and masculine; his deportment was commanding, and his walk erect. His voice was sharp and high toned, especially when he read prayers, but not effeminate; and there was a natural severity in his aspect, which even his smiles could scarce soften, nor could his utmost gaiety relax. He was cleanly even to superstition; his nails were always pared to the quick, to prevent the least gathering of dirt under them, and he never dressed without a bason of water by him, with which he carefully cleansed his feet. Among his singularities, were his resolution never to wear spectacles, and his obstinate perseverance in the use of too much exercise *(sss)*. Regularity was peculiar to him in all his actions, even in the greatest trifles. His hours of walking and reading never varied. His motions were guided by his watch, which was so constantly held in his hand, or placed before him on the table, that he seldom deviated many minutes in the daily revolutions of his exercises and employments. His manner was without ceremony, but not rustick; for he had a perfect knowledge of all the modes and variations of politeness and complaisance, which he practised in a manner peculiar to himself; and the respect that was due to him by these rules, he took care to exact, without the least abatement. He had seen the great world, and profited much by his experience. His capacity and strength of mind were undeniably equal to any task whatsoever. His pride, his spirit or his ambition, call it by what name you please, was boundless; but his views were checked in his younger years, and the anxiety of that disappointment had a visible effect upon all his actions. He was sour and severe, but not absolutely ill-natured. He was sociable only to particular friends, and to them only at particular hours. In company his rule was never to speak more than a minute at a time, and then to wait at least as long for others to take up the conversation. His colloquial stile, like that of his writing, was clear, forcible, and concise. He greatly excelled in punning, a talent he said which no man affected to despise, but those which were without it. But his conversation abounded with turns of wit of a higher kind [*UU*]. The Dean also greatly excelled in telling a story, his sentences were short and perspicuous, his observations piercing; and though in the latter part of his life he was very apt to tell his stories too often, yet his wit, as well as his virtues, was always superior to the wretched expedients of those despicable babblers, who are perpetually attempting to put off double entendre and prophaneness for wit and humour. His conversation was in the highest degree chaste, and wholly free from the least tincture of irreligion. As he was zealous to preserve all the delicacies of conversation, he was always best pleased, when some of the company *(ttt)* were ladies [*WW*]. He had not the least tincture of vanity in his conversation;

(sss) It wasted his flesh, and produced a poorness in his blood, of which he was told by his Physicians; and when he was reduced to idiotism, so as not to be able to walk, he recovered his flesh in a short time. Hawkesworth, P. 39.

(ttt) In a letter to Pope, written in 1732, he complains that even his female friends had forsaken him, which was what vexed him most.

It is inserted in his will, after expressing his desire to have his body buried in the great isle of his Cathedral, on the South side, under the pillar next to the monument of Primate Narcissus Marsh, three days after his decease, as privately as possible, and at twelve o'clock at night, that a black marble of feet square, and seven feet from the ground, fixed to the wall, may be erected, with the inscription in large letters, deeply cut, and strongly gilded. Lord Orrery very justly remarks (129), 'that this monumental inscription serves 'to confirm an observation which he had made in a 'former letter, that the Dean was not an elegant writer 'of Latin. An harsher epitaph, continues his Lordship, has seldom been composed: it is scarce intelligible; and, if intelligible, is a proof how difficult a 'task it is, even for the greatest genius to draw his 'own character, or to represent himself and his actions 'in a proper manner.' The former letter, here referred to by his Lordship, is the tenth, where, in speaking of two Latin poems, *Epistola ad Thomam Sheridan*, and *Carberiæ Rupes*, he observes, that 'our Author was extremely sollicitous to have them printed among his works (130): and, what is no less true than amazing, 'he assumes to himself more vanity upon these two Latin 'poems than upon many of his best English performances. It is said that Milton in his judgment, continues the noble Author, preferred the Paradise Regained to the Paradise Lost. There possibly might 'be found some excuse for such a preference; but in 'Swift's case there can be none: he understood the 'Latin language perfectly well, and he read it constantly; but he was no Latin poet. And if the *Carberiæ* 'Rupes and the *Epistola ad Thomam Sheridan* had been 'the produce of any other author, they must have undergone a severe censure from Dr *Swift*.'

(129) Letter XXI.

(130) Where they are inserted in the second volume.

[*UU*] *Turns of wit of a higher kind.*] The following deserves particular notice. He greatly admired the talents of the late Duke of Wharton, and, hearing him one day recount many of his frolics, *Aye, my Lord*, said he, *you have had many frolics; but let me recommend one more to you: Take a frolic to be virtuous; I assure you it will do you more honour than all the rest* (131).

(131) Observations, p. 216.

[*WW*] *He was best pleased in the company of the ladies.*] The particular charm which attached him to their company and acquaintance is excellently set forth by Lord Orrery: 'I have just now, says his Lordship, cast my 'eye over a poem called *Death and Daphne*, which 'makes me relate an odd incident relating to that 'nymph. Swift, soon after our acquaintance, introduced me to her as to one of his female favourites. 'I had been scarce half an hour in her company, before 'she asked me if I had seen the Dean's poem upon '*Death and Daphne**. As I told her I had not, she immediately unlocked a cabinet, and, bringing out the 'MS, read it to me with a seeming satisfaction, of 'which at that time I doubted the sincerity. While 'she was reading, the Dean was perpetually correcting 'her for bad pronunciation, and for placing a wrong 'emphasis upon particular words. As soon as she had 'gone through the composition, she assured me smilingly, that the portrait of Daphne was drawn for herself†. 'I begged to be excused from believing it, and protested 'that I could not see one feature that had the least resemblance: but the Dean immediately burst into a 'laughter. You fancy, says he, that you are very polite, but you are much mistaken; that lady had rather 'be a Daphne drawn by me, than a Sacharissa by any 'other pencil. She confirmed what he had said with 'great earnestness; so that I had no other method of 'retrieving my error, than by whispering in her ear, 'as I was conducting her down stairs to dinner, that 'indeed I found

(*) It was written in 1730, and is inserted in his Works. Vol. IV. Part I. p. 129. edit. 1755. 4to.

(†) It is said as was, according to the common expression, as thin as death.

'*Her hand as dry and cold as lead* (132).

(132) A line in that poem.

'You see the command which Swift had over all his 'females, and would have smiled to have found his 'house a constant seraglio of very virtuous women (133), 'who attended him from morning till night, with an 'obedience, an awe, and an assiduity, that are seldom 'paid to the richest, or the most powerful lovers; no, 'not even to the Grand Signior himself. Not any of 'his Senators presumed to approach him when he 'signified his pleasure to remain in private, and without interruption. His nightgown and slippers were 'not easier put on or off, than his attendants. No 'Prince ever met with more flattery to his person, or 'more devotion to his mandates (134). To these ladies, proceeds his Lordship, Swift owed the publication of many pieces, which ought never to have been 'delivered to the press. He communicated every 'composition, as soon as finished, to his female senate, 'who not only passed their judgment on the performance; but constantly asked, and almost as constantly obtained a copy of it. You cannot be surprized, that it was immediately afterwards seen in 'print: and when printed, became a part of his works.'

(133) This is evidently not meant in the strict literal sense of the word; see the animadversion upon it by Hawkesworth, p. 28.

(134) Lord Orrery, Letter X.

tion; he uſed to ſay he was too proud to be vain. He generally ſpoke as he thought, in all companies, and at all times. If the converſation turned upon ſerious ſubjects, he was neither petulant in the debate, nor negligent of the iſſue. He would liſten with great attention to the arguments of others, and whether he was engaged or not in the argument, he would recapitulate what had been ſaid, ſtate the queſtion with great clearneſs and preciſion, point out the controverted particular, and appeal to the opinion, either of ſome neutral perſon, or of the majority. It is however true, that he kept his friends in ſome degree of awe, and was therefore rather an entertaining, than a deſirable gueſt. He was open to adulation, and could not, or would not diſtinguiſh between low flattery, and juſt applauſe. Yet he was not leſs open to admonition, if it was offered without arrogance, and by perſons of whoſe ability and honeſty he had no doubt [*XX*]. Such was Swift as a companion; as a maſter, he was not leſs remarkable. As he expected punctual, ready, and implicit obedience, he always tried his ſervants when he hired them, by ſome teſt of their humility. Among other queſtions, he always aſked whether they underſtood cleaning ſhoes; 'becauſe, ſaid he, my kitchen-wench *(uuu)* has a ſcullion that does her drudgery, 'and one part of the buſineſs of my groom and footman, is conſtantly to clean her ſhoes 'by turns;' if they ſcrupled this, the treaty was at an end; if not, he gave them a further hearing. He appeared to be churliſh and auſtere to his domeſtics in general; but in reality was a good maſter *(wwww)*. As a member of civil ſociety, he was a zealous advocate for liberty, the detector of fraud, and the ſcourge of oppreſſion. In politics, he was neither Whig nor Tory, Jacobite nor Republican; he was Dr *Swift*. As an Eccleſiaſtic, he was ſcrupulouſly exact, in the exerciſe of his function [*YY*], as well with regard to ſpiritual as temporal things. He was extremely exact and conſcientious in promoting the members of his choir according to their merit, and never advanced any perſon to a vicarage, who was not qualified in all reſpects in the higheſt degree [*ZZ*]. He could never be induced to take fines for any of the chapter-lands [*AAA*]. He always choſe to raiſe the rents, as the method leaſt oppreſſive to the preſent tenant, and moſt advantageous to all future tenants and landlords; he conſtantly refuſed to give charity out of the chapter-funds [*BBB*], which he alledged were ſcarce ſufficient to maintain the neceſſary repairs of the cathedral, and he expended more money to ſupport and adorn it, than had been applied to the ſame uſe in any period of equal length ſince it was firſt built. He was a faithful Guardian of the

(*uuu*) This was his Cook, a wench of a large ſize, robuſt conſtitution, and coarſe features, her face very much ſeamed with the ſmall-pox, and furrowed by age. He always diſtinguiſhed her by the name of ſweet-heart. Hawkeſworth, p. 34.

(*wwww*) He gave them board-wages at the higheſt rate, and if any of them left any part of their wages unreceived, he paid them intereſt for that time. Id. ibid.

[*XX*] *He was open to admonition.*] As an inſtance of this, we are told that in his Poem of Baucis and Philemon, which does not conſiſt of quite two hundred verſes, Mr Addiſon made him blot out fourſcore, add fourſcore, and alter fourſcore (135); to this may be added the following inſtance: It was cuſtomary with his friends to make him ſome little annual preſent on his birthday: Dr Delany, ſoon after he was admitted to ſome degree of intimacy, ſent him, with ſuch a memorial of his eſteem, ſome verſes, in which he upbraids him, though with great delicacy, for miſapplying his talents, and admoniſhes him to turn the force of his ridicule, of which he was ſo great a maſter, upon thoſe who had laboured to employ it againſt the ſacred doctrines of Chriſtianity. The Dean, as he had ſuffered Addiſon's correction with approbation, received the admonition with kindneſs: he ſighed, and ſaid, with great appearance of regret, that it was too late, and from that day, took all occaſions to diſtinguiſh Dr Delany by the name of friend (136). The Reader will find a third inſtance of this ſort, in the courſe of his work (137), in the caſe of a moſt ſevere reprehenſion from his friend Pope, which was apparently taken as kindly as it was meant.

(135) J. R. p. 19.

(136) Hawkeſworth, p. 33.

(137) In the Article of Lord Bolingbroke, Vol. I. p. 3577. Rem. [*FF*].

[*YY*] *He was exact in the exerciſe of his function.*] In this reſpect he had one very ſingular practice. As he conſtantly attended the ſervice of the church, ſo as ſoon as the preacher mounted the pulpit, the Dean took out a pencil and a piece of paper, and carefully noted whatever was wrong both in the expreſſions and the manner in which they were delivered, whether they were too ſcholaſtic to be generally underſtood, or ſo coarſe and vulgar as was unbecoming the dignity and gravity of a ſermon: and he never failed to make theſe the ſubject of an admonition to the preacher as ſoon as he came into the chapter-houſe. We have already obſerved, that though he did not underſtand muſic, yet he always attended at the anthem to ſee that the choir did their duty; and notwithſtanding his want of ſkill in it, his power of ridicule extended even to muſic, of which he gave an inſtance too ſingular to be forgotten. Dr *Pratt*, who was the Provoſt of Dublin-college, had, in his travels, acquired much of the Italian taſte for this art, and *Tom Roſſengrave*, a celebrated performer, being juſt returned from Italy, played a voluntary one day at St Patrick's cathedral: the Doctor happened to dine at the deanery the ſame day, and was ſo extravagant in his encomiums on Roſſengrave's voluntary, that ſeveral of the company ſaid they wiſhed they had heard it. Do you? ſaid Swift; then you ſhall hear it ſtill; and immediately ſung out ſo lively, and yet ſo ridiculous an imitation of it, that all the company were kept in continual laughter till it was over; except one old gentleman, who ſat with great compoſure, and, though he liſtened, yet ſhewed neither curioſity nor approbation: after the entertainment he was aſked by ſome of the company, how it happened that he had been no more affected with the muſic? to which he anſwered, with great gravity, that he had heard Mr *Roſſengrave* himſelf play it before (138).

(138) Hawkeſworth, p. 37.

[*ZZ*] *He was very conſcientious in diſpoſing of a vicarage.*] He once refuſed a vicarage to a perſon, for whom the Lady Carteret was very importunate, though he declared to her Ladyſhip, that if it had been in his power to have made the Gentleman a Dean or a Biſhop, he would have obliged her willingly; becauſe, ſaid he, Deaneries and Biſhoprics are preferments in which merit hath no concern, though the merit of a vicar will be brought to the teſt every day (139).

(139) Letters ſigned J. R. p. 19.

[*AAA*] *He never raiſed the fines, but the rents of the chapter-lands.*] He once reſolved never to renew a certain leaſe belonging to the deanery, without raiſing the rent 30l. a year. The tenant had often ſolicited him, inſtead of raiſing the rent, to take a larger fine; and this man, a very ſhort time before the Dean had loſt his memory, urged him with a very large ſum, not doubting of ſucceſs from the Dean's known fondneſs for money. But the Dean maintained his integrity, refuſed the offer with indignation, and fulfilled his purpoſe of raiſing the rent, though at this time his memory was ſo bad, that the next day he did not remember what he had done; and his love of money ſo predominant over every thing but his virtue, that, though he complained of being deſerted, yet he baniſhed his beſt friends, merely to ſave the expence of entertaining them, and would ſometimes refuſe them a ſingle bottle of wine (140).

(140) Letters ſigned J. R. p. 145 and 208.

[*BBB*] *He refuſed to give charity out of the chapter-funds.*] When any perſon ſolicited ſuch an alienation, he uſed to tell them that this money was appropriated; but, ſays he, as you declare, that the perſon to be relieved is an object of Chriſtian charity, I will give out of my private purſe any ſum proportioned to my revenue, if you will contribute a ſum in the ſame proportion to yours; my deanery is worth 700l. per annum, your income is 200l. if you will give two ſhillings, I will give ſeven, or any larger ſum after the ſame rate (141).

(141) Ibid. p. 192.

rights of his Deanery, and even determined to aſſert his right of abſence againſt the Archbiſhop of Dublin, at the expence of ſeveral hundred pounds, when he did not believe he ſhould ever again claim the privileges for himſelf; becauſe he would not hurt his ſucceſſor by an injurious preſident *(xxx)*. The poor, in the liberty of his Cathedral, were better regulated than any other in the kingdom: They were all badged, and were never found begging out of their diſtrict. For theſe, he built and furniſhed a little Alms-houſe, being aſſiſted by ſome voluntary contributions, and he preſerved among them uncommon cleanlineſs and decency, by conſtantly viſiting them in perſon. Nor was his care and kindneſs confined to his Cathedral; he improved his Living of *Laracor*, though he continued there but a ſhort time, and left both the houſe and glebe a convenient and agreeable retreat to his ſucceſſor, at a conſiderable expence *(yyy)*. In his private capacity, he was not only charitable but generous, and whatever miſanthropy may be found in his writings, there does not appear to have been any in his life. His writings in defence of the poor people of Ireland are well known, and that he might not be wanting himſelf, while he pleaded their cauſe with others, he conſtantly lent out a large ſum of money in ſmall portions to honeſt, induſtrious, and neceſſitous tradeſmen, upon eaſy terms [*CCC*]. Beſides this, he frequently gave five and ten pounds, without any parade, when proper objects offered. He was diligent to relieve the poor, and at the ſame time, to encourage induſtry, even in the loweſt ſtation; he uſed regularly to viſit a great number of poor, chiefly women, as well in the public ſtreets, as in the bye allies, and under the arches of Dublin [*DDD*]. If he was not exempt from the infirmity of loving money, yet he was clear of the vice. If his œconomy degenerated into avarice, it muſt be confeſſed it did not contract his bounty. He turned all the evil of exceſſive frugality upon himſelf; it induced him to walk when he had been uſed to ride, and he would then ſay, he had earned a ſhilling or eighteen-pence, which he had a right to do what he pleaſed with, and which he conſtantly applied to his uſual charities, which by this expedient he could continue, and yet expend leſs upon the whole than before [*EEE*]. Whilſt he abounded in charity, he was not leſs diligent in the practice of other virtues, or leſs devout and conſtant in the ſolemnities of religion. He was remarkably temperate, both in eating and drinking. He was not only juſt but punctual in his dealings, and he had an inviolable regard for truth. As he conſtantly attended divine worſhip when he was at home, ſo he uſed always to go early to church when he was in London, and never to ſleep without aſſembling his family in his own chamber to prayers. An abhorrence of hypocriſy was a ſtriking particular in his character; he even carried it to ſuch an exceſs, that it is not eaſy to determine, whether it was more a virtue than a vice; for it brought upon him the charge of irreligion, and encouraged others to be irreligious. In proportion as he abhorred hypocriſy, he dreaded the imputation of it, and therefore concealed his piety with as much diligence, as others conceal their vices, which cuſtom has not made reputable [*FFF*]. As his abhorrence of hypocriſy exempted him from affectation, the natural equity of his mind ſecured him againſt envy. He cultivated genius wherever he found it, and in whatever degree, with great zeal and aſſiduity, and would frequently ſpend much time in correcting and improving any literary compoſition

(xxx) Letters to Sheridan, No. XXIII.

(yyy) Hawkeſworth, p. 37.

[*CCC*] *He lent large ſums upon eaſy terms.*] The money was repaid, with a ſmall gratuity by way of intereſt, to the perſon who kept the account of the diſburſements and weekly payment; for he received back theſe loans by a certain ſum out of the weekly profit of the borrower's trade in ſuch proportions as the whole ſhould be repaid in a year (142).

(142) Ibid. p. 203, 204.

[*DDD*] *He viſited the poor in bye allies.*] Some of theſe ſold plumbs, ſome hobnails, others tape, and others gingerbread, ſome knitted, ſome darned ſtockings, and others cobbled ſhoes; theſe women were moſt of them old, deformed, or crippled, and ſome were all three. He ſaluted them with great kindneſs, aſked how they throve, and what ſtock they had; if the ware of any of them was ſuch as he could poſſibly uſe, or pretend to uſe, he bought ſome, and paid for every halfpenny-worth ſixpence; if not, he always added ſomething to their ſtock, and ſtrictly charged them to be induſtrious and honeſt (143).

(143) Letter ſigned J. R. p. 132, 133.

[*EEE*] *Yet expend leſs upon the whole than before.*] The diſtribution even of this charity was marked with the peculiarity of his temper; for, that he might proportion his bounty to the neceſſities and the merit of various objects, and yet give but one piece of money at a time, he conſtantly kept a pocket full of all ſorts of coin from a ſilver threepence to a crown piece (144). Some of theſe poor people, to whom he uſed to give money when he met them in his walks, he named, partly for diſtinction and partly for humour, *Cancerina, Stumpa-nympha, Pull-a-gown-a, Friterilla, Flora, Stumpantha.* In a letter to Dr Sheridan he writes thus: 'No ſoul has broke his neck, or is hanged, or married; 'only Cancerina is dead, and I let her go to her grave 'without a coffin and without fees (145).'

(144) Ibid. p. 13.

(145) His Letter, No. XXXIII. dated Dublin, March 7, 1733.

[*FFF*] *He concealed his piety with diligence.*] His conſtant attendance at church when he was at the deanery, he knew would be conſidered as the duty of his ſtation; but whatever had the appearance of voluntary devotion he always took care to hide: when he went to church in London, it was early in the morning; ſo that, though he was conſtantly at prayers and at the ſacrament, yet he appeared to neglect both, as he was at home when others were at church; and, when he went to prayers in his family, the ſervants aſſembled at the appointed hour as it were by ſtealth, without notice from a bell, or any other call except the ſtriking of a clock: ſo that Dr Delany was ſix months in his family, before he ſuſpected him of this unfaſhionable practice.

The ſame principle, upon which he thus ſtudiouſly avoided the appearance of good, made him frequently incur appearances of evil, eſpecially when an opportunity offered of indulging his peculiar vein of humour. One inſtance of this has already been given (146); but there are others leſs excuſable. Soon after he was made Dean of St Patrick's, he had dined one Sunday with Dr Raymond, Vicar of *Trim*; and when the bell had rung, and the people were aſſembled to evening prayers at the church, which was not above two hundred yards diſtant, 'Raymond, ſaid he, I'll lay you a 'crown that I begin prayers before you this afternoon.' Dr *Raymond* accepted the wager; and they both ran as faſt as they could to church. *Raymond*, being much nimbler than Swift, arrived firſt at the door, and, entring the church, walked decently towards the reading deſk; *Swift* never ſlackened his pace; but running up the iſle, left Dr *Raymond* behind him in the middle of it, and ſtepping into the deſk, without putting on a ſurplice, or opening the book, began the ſervice in an audible voice, and thus won his wager (147).

(146) The firſt time of reading prayers on a Wedneſday at Laracor.

(147) Hawkeſworth, p. 38.

that

that had the leaſt appearance of ingenuity [*GGG*]. As a Writer, he had no equal. His ſtyle is maſterly, correct, and ſtrong, never diffuſive, yet always clear; and if we conſider it in compariſon of his Predeceſſors, he has out-done them all, and is one, perhaps the chief, of thoſe few ſelect Engliſh Writers, who have excelled in elegance and propriety of language (*zzz*). In politics, his favourite topic, he appears like a maſterly gladiator; he wields the ſword of party with eaſe, juſtneſs, and dexterity, and while he entertains the ignorant and the vulgar, he draws an equal attention from the learned and the great [*HHH*]. When he is ſerious, his gravity becomes him; when he laughs, his readers muſt laugh with him. In poetry, he would not take pains to excel; but became, in ſome meaſure, ſuperior to it, and aſſumed more the air and manner of a Critic, than a Poet (*aaaa*). But what ſhall be ſaid for his love of trifles, and his want of delicacy and decorum (*bbbb*)? Forgive him theſe errors, and draw a veil over certain excreſcences of wit and humour; you will then admire him as an honour to the public, and a ſcourge to all the knaves and fools of his time. Upon the whole, his conduct was greatly variegated, ſo much as to appear even capricious and contradictory. However, if we look a little deeper than the ſurface, theſe ſeeming contradictions will be found to ariſe from the ſame principles. Swift was naturally temperate and chaſte, it was therefore eaſy for him to be frugal; but he was alſo naturally high-ſpirited, and therefore as wealth is the pledge of independance, it is not ſtrange his frugality ſhould verge to exceſs. However, as he acted upon Chriſtian principles of general virtue, he did not deliver himſelf up to natural propenſions, when contrary to his duty; and therefore his love of money did not contract his charity to the poor, or defraud his ſucceſſors to enrich himſelf. The ſame ſpirit which ſecured his integrity, by diſdaining the meanneſs of a lye, produced that dread of hypocriſy which concealed his piety, and betrayed him into appearances of evil; and the ſame want of natural tenderneſs which made him obdurate and auſtere, transferred the diſtribution of his liberality from inſtinct to religion. Such was *Jonathan Swift*, whoſe life, with all the advantages of genius and learning, was a ſcale of infelicity, gradually aſcending, till pain and anguiſh deſtroyed the faculties by which they were felt. An inſtructive leſſon to teach the wiſe humility, and the ſimple content. The firſt authentic edition of his Works was printed at Dublin in eight Volumes, 8vo. (*ccc*); after this ſeveral editions were printed at London (*dddd*), the laſt of which came out in 1755, in ſix Volumes 4to, with his life prefixed by John Hawkeſworth; and again in twelve Volumes, 8vo, 1761. The Doctor had begun a Hiſtory of England, and had purſued it through two or three reigns from William the Conqueror; but the contempt which he conceived of our ancient Monarchs, made him ſoon lay the deſign aſide (*eeee*).

(*zzz*) Lord Orrery, Letter VI. who ſays, he exceeds Tillotſon in perſpicuity, and Addiſon in humour.

(*aaaa*) Lord Orrery declares, that had Swift lived in the ſame age with Horace, he would have approached nearer to him than any other Poet: which his Lordſhip has endeavoured to juſtify by running the parallel through many particulars. Ibid.

(*bbbb*) The trifles are inſerted in the laſt Volume of his Works, and the chief of his pieces charged with indelicacy, is The Lady's Dreſſing-Room, in Vol. IV. Part I. p. 113. et ſeqq. in a note to which is offered this apology, that while the Dean writes againſt delicacy, he teaches it.—And ſo I have heard it ſaid of a common ſwearer, that he ſwore enough to bring ſwearing out of faſhion.

(*cccc*) The four firſt Volumes came out in 1735, which were followed by the fifth and ſixth in our Author's life-time, and the two laſt Volumes were added after his death. See Lord Orrery, Letter VI. and Hawkeſworth's Preface.

(*dddd*) Particularly one in thirteen Volumes, 12mo. in 1742.

(*eeee*) Lord Orrery, Letter XXIV.

[*GGG*] *He improved the works of others*, &c.] Nor was this kindneſs confined to thoſe whoſe parts could never come in competition with his own; he ſtarted many hints to Mr Gay; and he recommended Addiſon, Congreve, Parnel, Pope, and many others, to thoſe whoſe favours were moſt likely to render them conſpicuous.

[*HHH*] *Mr Melmouth has lately opened the ſecret.*] He obſerves, that Swift's ſtyle has this peculiarity, not to have one metaphor in his works. His images are ſurprizingly unexpected, and exhibited in their true, genuine, native form; this ſtrikes the greateſt: and, being fetched generally from common life, they captivate the loweſt of the people (148). Hence he appears a Beggar among Beggars, and a King among Kings. P

(148) Fitzoſborne's letters, Vol. II.

SYDENHAM [Dr THOMAS], a learned Phyſician, and of very great practice, in the XVIIth century, was the ſon of William Sydenham of Winford Eagle in Dorſetſhire Eſq; and born there in the year 1624 [*A*]. In Midſummer-term, 1642, he was entered a Commoner of Magdalen-hall in Oxford: But leaving the univerſity when it became a garriſon for the uſe of King Charles I, he went to London. There he fell accidentally into the company of Dr Thomas Cox, a noted and eminent Phyſician, who finding him to be a perſon of more than ordinary parts, encouraged and put him into a method to ſtudy phyſic at his return to the univerſity. Upon the delivery of that place to the Parliament's forces, in 1646, he retired again to Magdalen-hall (*a*), and entering on the Phyſic Line, was created Batchelor in that faculty April 14, 1648 (*b*), not having before taken any degree in Arts. About that time, ſubmitting to the authority of the Viſitors appointed by Parliament, he was, by means of a near relation of his, made Fellow of All-Souls College, in the room of one ejected at the Penbrochian Viſitation. Having continued ſome years there, and ſtudied Phyſic with the utmoſt induſtry and application, he left the univerſity without his Doctor's degree, which he took afterwards at Cambridge; and ſettling at Weſtminſter, practiſed his faculty with the utmoſt ſucceſs and reputation: ſo that he was eſteemed the chief Phyſician in that city from the year 1660 to 1670. He was particularly famous for the cool regimen which he preſcribed in the Small-pox [*B*], and

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 839.

(*b*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 65. He was created at the Viſitation of the Univerſity by the Earl of Penbroke.

[*A*] *And born there in the year* 1624.] That he was born in the year 1624, I infer from hence, becauſe in Midſummer term 1642, the time of his admiſſion in the Univerſity, he was aged *eighteen* years, or thereabouts, as Mr Wood informs us (1).

(1) Ath. ut ſupra.

[*B*] *He was particularly famous for the cool regimen which he preſcribed in the Small-pox.*] When he firſt began to practiſe; 'the common method in faſhion 'among the moſt eminent Phyſicians, both of the 'Court and City, was to uſe their utmoſt endeavours 'to ſubdue the malignity and putrefaction, which, in 'their judgment, tainted and diſſolved the blood in 'the *confluent kind of ſmall-pox*, by the uſe of the moſt 'generous and active medicines; ſuch as Venice-treacle, 'Virginian ſnake-root, contrayerva, zedoary, ſaffron, 'volatile ſalt of hartſhorn, powder of viper's fleſh, and 'the like. But Dr Sydenham fell upon the cold regi- 'men, and diſcharged all the train of warm alexi- 'pharmic remedies, ſuch as thoſe here enumerated, 'and inſtituted a method of practice the reverſe to theirs. 'For he opened not only the curtains round the bed, 'but often the windows likewiſe to let in freſh air into 'the room; took the ſick perſons out of bed, and plied 'them conſtantly with diluting and attempering, or 'with

and that has been almoſt univerſally followed ſince, to the inexpreſſible benefit of Mankind, as it hath preſerved millions of Lives. He was famous alſo for his method of giving the bark after the paroxyſm, or return of the fit, in agues; and for his uſe of laudanum (c). In the latter part of his life, he was Licentiate of the College of Phyſicians; and, at the requeſt chiefly of his friends, he communicated at divers times to the world, the uſeful Obſervations he made in the courſe of his practice [C]. Having for a long time been

(c) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra. See our Author's Works.

' with acid and cooling remedies. In the mean time ' he often, through the ſeveral ſtages of the diſtemper, ' preſcribed ſix drachms or an ounce of ſyrup of white ' poppies to be taken in the evening, or at the begin- ' ning of the night, and to be repeated, and the doſe ' to be increaſed, as great wakefulneſs and inquietude ' ſhould demand.' This account we give in Sir Richard Blackmore's words (2). But we cannot help obſerving, how injuriouſly he treats Dr Sydenham, in the ſame place; when he aſcribes this practice of his not to ſkill and judgment, but to obſtinacy, and downright oppoſition to the reſt of the faculty. . . ' Our moſt celebrated ' Phyſicians (ſaith Sir Richard) before Dr Sydenham ' declared for the *hot regimen*; but that Doctor having ' taken a reſolution at his firſt entering upon the prac- ' tice of Phyſic, as he himſelf aſſured me in converſa- ' tion, to act *directly contrary in all caſes* to the common ' method then in faſhion among the moſt eminent ' Phyſicians, (and he told me his reaſons for it) in con- ' formity to the deſign, did, in the management of ' this diſeaſe, as well as others, oppoſe the common ' method of the Phyſicians of the Court and City.' But it appears from the Doctor's own obſervations, that he grounded his practice upon more rational principles than oppoſition. Of which take the following ſpecimen (3) . . . ' To me, ſaith he, indeed it ſeems agree- ' able to reaſon, that the longer Nature is in working ' and perfecting ſeparation, ſo the ebullition be not ' quite torpid, ſo much the more certainly and uni- ' verſally the ſeparation is performed; and upon its ' being ſo finiſhed, it is neceſſary that the ſucceſs of ' the following cure muſt eſpecially depend, as from ' the contrary method the event of the buſineſs muſt be ' quite contrary; for from that *hot regimen* no good ' comes, as from over-haſty fruit no advantage; ſeeing ' it frequently happens, that the patient falls either ' downright into a phrenzy, or, which is worſe, great ' ſweats ariſe, whereby particles not fit for ſeparation, ' nor anſwering the nature of *pus* (which very *pus* not- ' withſtanding is the genuine product of this ſeparation) ' are ejected, or the ſmall-pox being too much forced ' out, by giving cordials, and by a hot regimen, run ' all into one, a ſad ſpectacle, and that threatens a fatal ' event: and theſe and the like ſymptoms are uſually ' occaſioned by theſe errors; whereas I never obſerved ' any miſchief from the other method, for Nature, left ' to herſelf, does her work in her own time, and ſe- ' parates, and then expels the matter in the right way ' and manner.'. . . Elſewhere, he lays it down for a rule, *Quo ſedatior eſt ſanguis, eo melius erumpent puſtulæ*, i. e. The calmer the blood is, the better will the puſtles of the ſmall-pox come out (4).

(2) Treatiſe of the Small-pox, edit. Lond. 1723. 8vo. ſect. 3. p. 47.

(3) See his works in Engliſh, edit. 1701. p. 88, 89. where he treats of the irregular ſmall-pox in the years 1667, 1668, and part of 69.

(4) Epiſtolary Diſcourſe to Dr Cole.

[C] *He communicated at divers times to the world the uſeful Obſervations he made in the courſe of his practice.*] They ſeem to have been moſtly drawn, not to ſay extorted, from him by his friends: ſome of them being written by way of letter to Gentlemen that deſired his opinion, or preſſed him to make public what obſervations he had made; conceiving a very high opinion of his abilities, from what he had already publiſhed. They came out in the following order; I. *Methodus curandi Febres, propriis obſervationibus ſuperſtructa*, i. e. The method of curing Fevers, founded upon his own obſervations. Lond. 1666. 4to. A ſecond edition, corrected and enlarged, was printed in 1668. 8vo. having an additional ſection concerning the Plague. This volume contains, Remarks upon acute and epidemick diſeaſes in general. The epidemick conſtitution of the years 1661, 62, 63, 64. Of the continual Fever of the years 1661, 62, 63, 64. Of the Agues of the years 1661, 62, 63, 64. The epidemical conſtitution of the years 1665, and 1666, at London; and of the peſtilential Fever and Plague in thoſe years. II. *Obſervationes Medicæ circa Morborum acutorum Hiſtoriam & Curationem.* Lond. 1676. 8vo; i. e. Phyſical Obſervations on the Hiſtory and Cure of acute Diſeaſes. In theſe the particulars are; Of the epidemick conſtitution of the years 1667, 68, and part of the year 1669, at London. Of the regular Small-pox, within that period. Of the continual Fever, within the ſame period. Of the epidemick conſtitution of part of the year 1669, and of the years 1670, 1671, 1672, at London. Of the *Cholera-morbus* of the year 1669. Of the Bloody-flux of part of the year 1669, and of the years 70, 71, 72. Of the continual Fever of part of the year 1669, and in 1670, 71, 72. Of the Meaſles in the year 1670. Of the irregular Small-pox, in the years 1670, 71, 72. Of the bilious Colick of the years 1670, 71, 72. Of the epidemick conſtitution of part of the year 1673, and of the years 1674, 75. Of the continual Fever of the years 1673, 74, 75. Of the Meaſles of the year 1674. Of the irregular Small-pox, in the years 1674, 75. Of the epidemick Coughs with a Pleuriſie, and Peripneumonia coming upon them, of the year 1675. Of the intercurrent Fevers; viz. Of the Scarlet Fever; Of a Pleuriſie; Of a Baſtard *Peripneumonia*; Of a Rheumatiſm; Of an Eryſipelatoſe Fever; Of the Quinſie. III. *Epiſtolæ reſponſoriæ duæ; prima de Morbis epidemicis ab anno* 1675 *ad ann.* 1680; *ſecunda de luis Venereæ Hiſtoria & Curatione.* Lond. 1680. 8vo; i. e. Two Letters written by way of anſwer; the firſt, of epidemical Diſeaſes from the year 1675 to 1680, to Dr Robert Brady, Maſter of Caius college, and the King's Profeſſor of Phyſick in Cambridge; the ſecond, of the Hiſtory and Cure of the Venereal diſeaſe, to Dr Henry Paman, Fellow of St John's college, and Public Orator in the ſame Univerſity; and Profeſſor of Phyſick in Greſham-college, London. IV. *Diſſertatio Epiſtolaris ad ſpectatiſſ. & doctiſſ. virum Guliel. Cole, M. D. de Obſervationibus nuperis circa Curationem Variolarum confluentium, necnon de Affectione Hyſtericâ.* Lond. 1682. 8vo; i. e. An Epiſtolary Diſcourſe to Dr William Cole, containing his new Obſervations on the confluent Small-pox, and alſo Obſervations on Hyſteric Diſeaſes. V. *Tractatus de Podagrâ & Hydrope.* Lond. 1683. 8vo; i. e. A Treatiſe of the Gout and Dropſy. Dedicated to Dr Thomas Short, Fellow of the College of Phyſicians in London. VI. *Schedula monitoria de novæ Febris ingreſſu.* Lond. 1686; i. e. A Monitory Schedule, or Short Advice, concerning the new Fever in 1685. Inſcribed to Dr Charles Goodall, Fellow of the College of Phyſicians. VII. ' Of the putrid Fever coming upon the ' flux Pox.' VIII. ' Of bloody Urine from a Stone in ' the Kidneys.'——The above ſeveral pieces were collected together, and publiſhed under this title, *Proceſſus integri in Morbis fere omnibus curandis, a* Thoma Sydenham *conſcripti; quibus acceſſit graphica Symptomatum delineatio.* Lond. 1693. 8vo. Reprinted ſeveral times at London, and alſo at Amſterdam, Leiden, Leipſic, Geneva, &c. J. Pechey, M. D. hath tranſlated them into Engliſh, in one volume, 8vo, intituled, ' The whole ' works of that excellent practical Phyſician, Dr Tho- ' mas Sydenham. Wherein not only the Hiſtory and ' Cures of acute Diſeaſes are treated of, after a new ' and accurate method; but alſo the ſhorteſt and ſafeſt ' way of curing moſt chronical Diſeaſes.' . . . And another tranſlation of them by J. Swan, M. D. was publiſhed in 1749. 8vo.

Theſe " incomparable Treatiſes, as Dr Goodall rightly obſerves (5), are drawn (as it were by another Hippocrates) from his moſt exact and nice obſervation of Diſeaſes, and their ſymptomes; to which are added moſt judicious natural Hypotheſes, and curative Indications, deduced from them. He hath given ſuch an exact hiſtory of all acute diſeaſes, from the beginning of 1661, to 1680, that there is ſcarcely a ſentence to be found therein, which is not of moment. Several weighty obſervations are likewiſe taken notice of by this ſagacious Phyſician, which other Authors have omitted, as particularly the ſeveral conſtitutions of the Air ſpecifically different, which depend not upon the manifeſt qualities thereof, but upon ſome inexplicable cauſes, and produce Diſeaſes as ſpecifically different, which Conſtitutions, after ſome time, give place one to another; and are accompanied with a peculiar and ſpecifically different Fever, both as to its ſymptomes and cure; theſe Fevers he calls ſtationary, diſtinguiſhing them from the ſporadique, or intercurrent Fevers, depending upon the manifeſt qualities or alterations of the Air; the Ptyaliſme that attends adult perſons, and the Diarrhœa which uſually accompanies Children in the Flux-pox; the day when the Ptyaliſme ordinarily ceaſeth,

(5) Proceedings of the College of Phyſicians againſt Empiricks, in the Epiſtle Dedicatory.

been troubled with the Gout *(d)*; about the year 1670, he began to be more sorely afflicted with that excruciating diſtemper; which much hindered his practice, and his great uſefulneſs in the world. After having greatly ſuffered by it, he died at his houſe in Pall-Mall, Weſtminſter, December 29, 1689, and was buried in the ſouth iſle of St James's Church. He was a learned man, of a ſolid judgment, and a florid Writer; of a generous and public ſpirit, great integrity, and very charitable *(e)*. The character given of him by Sir Richard Blackmore, is both falſe and injurious [*D*].

(d) See his Treatiſe of the Gout, about the beginning: When he wrote that Treatiſe he had been thirty-four years troubled with it.

(e) Wood, Ath. as above; and Dr Pechey's Preface to his tranſlation of our Author's Works.

Dr Sydenham's eldeſt brother, named *William*, was engaged, and zealous, in the Parliament's Service; a Colonel; Governor of Weymouth, and of the Iſle of Wight; Member of Cromwell's Parliaments, one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, &c. *(f)*. His eldeſt daughter, Mary, was married to Walter Thornhill of Wareham in Dorſetſhire, and by him had the late celebrated Painter, Sir James Thornhill Knight.

(f) For a further account of him, ſee Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732. p. 75, 95, 116, 134, 597, 627, 631, 654, 666, 675, 678, 680, 685, 693.

ceaſeth, with the danger enſuing thereupon; the great tendency to ſymptomatical ſweats, in the diſtinct Pox; Convulſions in Children before the eruption of the Small-pox, which he obſerveth to be the uſual prognoſtick of a mild diſtemper; the *mania* or frenzy following Agues, with the different cure it requires; the Jaundiſe, obſervable at the going off of the *colica hyſterica*; the limpid Urine, which he aſſerts to be the moſt univerſal and pathognomonick ſign of hyſterical and hypochondriacal affections; which diſeaſes do frequently aſſume the ſhape of nephritick and colical diſtempers, yet are really different, both in their original and cure; with many of the like kind, diſperſed throughout his Book."

It appears from his writings, That he regulated his Practice more by his own Obſervations and Enquiries, than by the method either of his predeceſſors or contemporaries.

There was among Biſhop More's MSS. '*Theologia Rationalis*, by Dr Sydenham the famous Phyſician:' which we ſuppoſe is now, among the reſt of his books, in the public Library of the Univerſity of Cambridge.

[*D*] *The character given of him by Sir Richard Blackmore, is both falſe and injurious.*] It is in his Treatiſe upon the Small-pox (6) that he gives this character of Dr Sydenham. 'For, having obſerved, that 'a man 'of good ſenſe, vivacity, and ſpirit, may arrive to 'the higheſt rank of Phyſicians without the aſſiſtance 'of great Erudition, and the knowledge of Books;' ... 'This (adds he) was the caſe of Dr Sydenham, who 'became an able and eminent Phyſician, though he 'never deſigned to take up the profeſſion till the 'civil wars were compoſed; and then being a diſband-'ed officer, he entered upon it for a maintenance, 'without any learning preparatory for the undertaking 'of it. And to ſhew the reader what contempt he 'had for writings in Phyſic, when one day I aſked 'him to adviſe me what books I ſhould read to qualify 'me for practice, he replied, *Read Don Quixote, it is 'a very good book, I read it ſtill.* So low an opinion 'had this celebrated man of the learning collected out 'of the authors, his predeceſſors. And a late cele-'brated Phyſician (7), whoſe judgment was univerſally 'relied upon as almoſt infallible in his profeſſion, uſed 'to ſay, as I am well informed, that *when he died, he 'would leave behind him the whole myſtery of Phyſic in 'half a ſheet of paper.* It is true, both theſe Doctors 'carried the matter much too far by vilifying Learn-'ing, of which they were no maſters, and perhaps 'for that reaſon.'—In this paſſage there are ſeveral miſtakes. For it is falſe, that Dr Sydenham was *a diſbanded officer*—that *he never deſigned to take up the profeſſion of Phyſic till the civil wars were compoſed*—that he did it *for a maintenance*; for his father was a gentleman of a plentiful eſtate (8). And his ſtyle and manner of writing plainly ſhew, that he had all the *learning preparatory* for any Science. ... As for the *advice*, here mentioned, it was plainly a banter; and ſhews, what *low opinion* the Doctor had of the then young Mr Blackmore's genius and capacity, and that he thought him fitter to ſtudy Don Quixote than Phyſic. ... It ſeems Sir Richard was ſeverely cenſured, for the mean Reflexions he had here made upon Learning. For, in another place (9), he is forced to make an apology for himſelf, in the following words ..... 'Some Gentlemen have been diſingenuous and unjuſt 'to me, by wreſting and forcing my meaning in the 'Preface to another book, as if I condemned and ex-'poſed all Learning, though they knew I declared, 'that I greatly honoured and eſteemed all men of ſu-'perior Literature, and Erudition, and that I only 'undervalued falſe or ſuperficial Learning, that ſigni-'fies nothing for the Service of Mankind; and that as 'to Phyſick, I expreſly affirmed, that Learning muſt 'be joined with native Genius to make a Phyſician of 'the firſt rank; but if thoſe talents are ſeparated, I 'aſſerted, and do ſtill inſiſt, that a man of native Sa-'gacity and Diligence, will prove a more able and uſeful 'Practiſer, than a heavy notional Scholar, encumbered 'with a heap of confuſed Ideas: For I never ſhall be con-'vinced, that a man, either of a dull Thought and a 'cloudy Imagination, let his head be ever ſo much ſtuffed 'with undigeſted notions; nor on the other hand, one 'who is a meer rattle, and pertly inſignificant, or of-'fenſive by a ſtrong infuſion of the coxcomb in his make, 'will ever prove a good Phyſician.'

(6) edit. 1723. 8vo. Preface, p. 11.

(7) Dr John Radcliffe.

(8) See Dr Pechey's Preface to his tranſlation of our Author's Works.

(9) Preface to A Treatiſe of Conſumptions, &c. ed. 1725. 8vo. p. xiii.

The character given of Dr Sydenham by the learned Dr Sewell (10), in the following lines, is more candid as well as more juſt.

(10) Prefixed to Sir Richard Blackmore's Treatiſe of Conſumptions. Lond. 1725. 8vo.

SYDENHAM, at length, a mighty Genius, came,
Who founded Medicine on a nobler Frame.
Who ſtudied *Nature* through, and *Nature's Laws*,
Nor blindly puzzled for the peccant cauſe.
Father of Phyſick He .... Immortal Name!
Who leaves the *Grecian* but a ſecond fame:
Sing forth, ye Muſes, in ſublimer ſtrains,
A new *Hippocrates* in *Britain* reigns;
With every healing Plant his grave adorn,
Saviour of many Millions yet unborn:
Forgive this Tribute to the glorious Dead,
You knew *The Man*, whom I have only read;
More is his Due who freed me from the Rules
Of tyrant Notions, and pedantick Schools.
Keep him ye humbler Sons of Art in view,
Hopeleſs to teach, ambitious to purſue.

The great Mr Locke wrote a Poem, in praiſe of our learned Author's Method of curing Fevers, which is prefixed to his works in Latin. We have reaſon to wonder, that it is not inſerted in the collection of Mr Locke's works, three Volumes folio, together with the ſame Author's two Poems on the Peace between England and the United Provinces in 1654 (11); ſince, without them, his works are not compleat.

(11) They are inſerted in Muſarum Oxonienſium Ἐλαιοθεσία; and State-Poems continued, Vol. II. p. 8, 13. ed. 1697. 8vo.

SYDNEY, or SIDNEY [Sir PHILIP], the darling of his time, was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Henry Sydney [*A*], by Mary his wife, eldeſt daughter of John Dudley Duke of Northumberland.

[*A*] *Was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Henry Sidney.*] The *Sidney* family, anciently ſeated at Cranley in Surrey, and Kingeſham in Suſſex, derive themſelves lineally from Sir William Sidney, Knt, that came out of Anjou with King Henry II, who then made him his Chamberlain.——From him deſcended Sir *William Sidney*, Knt, a brave officer by ſea and land in King Henry VIIIth's reign, Chamberlain, and Steward to that King. He died Feb. 11. 1552-3, leaving *Henry* his ſon and heir, mentioned above. This Henry was from his infancy bred at Court, being a companion, and many times a bed-fellow to Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward VI, who, when he came to the crown, made him principal Gentleman of his Privy chamber; knighted him in 1549; and ſent him embaſſador to France, when he was but two and twenty years of age; and, in 1550, conſtituted

thumberland (a). He was born the 29th of November, 1554, at Penſhurſt in Kent, as is ſuppoſed, and had his Chriſtian name given him by his father, from King Philip (b), then lately married to Queen Mary I. While very young [B], he was at ſchool at Shrewſbury, being near to his father, then Lord Preſident of Wales; and ſo forward in his learning, that at twelve years of age, he ſent two Letters to his father, one in Latin, and the other in French; to which the father returned a moſt excellent anſwer, which is inſerted in the note (c) [C]. Soon after he was ſent, for his better education, to Chriſt's-Church-college in Oxford; where continuing till he was about ſeventeen years of age, under the tuition of Dr Thomas Thornton, Canon of that houſe (d), he made an incredible proficiency in all

(a) Raph. Holinſhed's Chronicles, Vol. III. edit. 1587. p. 1551. Life of Sir Philip Sidney, by Sir Fulke Grevil. Lond. 1652. p. 5, 6.

(b) Ath. Collins ſays, that King Philip was his *godfather*, which is more than his author, A. Wood, ſays. Ath. Vol. I. col. 226.

(c) Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of the Sidneys, p. 98, by A. Collins; prefixed to their Letters and Memorials of State, Vol. I. edit. Lond. 1746. fol.

(d) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 226.

conſtituted him his chief Cup-bearer for life. In the 2d and 3d of Philip and Mary, he was made Vice-Treaſurer, and general manager of the royal revenue, within the kingdom of Ireland. And, two years after, Juſtice of Ireland, in the Lord Deputy's abſence; as he was thrice afterwards. In the 2d of Queen Elizabeth, anno 1560, he was appointed Lord Preſident of Wales; and, in 1563, ſent embaſſador to France, and to Scotland. The year following, he was created a Knight of the Garter. And, April 7, 1567, conſtituted Deputy of Ireland; as he was again in 1575, and 1576. During his firſt deputation, he ſuppreſſed the rebellion of Shan O-Neile, and ſet the head of that rebel on the top of Dublin-caſtle. In the ſecond, he ſuppreſſed the moſt dangerous inſurrection, begun, and long continued by ſome of the Butlers. And in the third, the commotion made by the Earl of Clanrickard and his two ſons. Upon his firſt arrival as Deputy there, he cauſed the old ſtatutes for the aboliſhing of coin and livery to be revived, and put in due execution; and deviſed that the remoter Provinces ſhould be governed by Preſidents. He diſtributed the country into ſhires, for the currency of her Majeſty's writs. And increaſed the revenues of the Crown 10000l. a year. He built the bridge of Athlone over the great river Shanon; began the walling and fortifying of the town of Carrick-fergus in Ulſter; rebuilt the town of Athenry in Conaught; ſtrengthened Athlone with gates, and other fortifications; laid the foundation of the bridge at Caterlogh; made a ſtrong gaol at Molingar, &c. He likewiſe built convenient rooms in the caſtle of Dublin, for the preſervation of the Records of that kingdom, that lay neglected; and cauſed the Statutes of Ireland to be printed, which before had never been publiſhed. Alſo, while he was Lord Preſident of Wales, he repaired the caſtle at Ludlow, then in great decay, and erected divers new buildings therein. He was a man of a very public ſpirit, of great abilities, modeſt, pious, and patient; and, in his younger years, for comelineſs and beauty, the ornament of the court (1).

(1) Holinſhed's Chronicles, as above, p. 1548, 1549, &c. Hiſt. of Cambria, or Wales, edit. 1584. 4to. and Sir William Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 410, 411.

[B] *While he was very young.*] His intimate acquaintance and companion, Sir Fulke Grevil, informs us (2), that he was, even from his tendereſt years, a child of very uncommon parts.

'Of whoſe Youth, ſaith he, I will report no other 'wonder, but this; That though I lived with him, 'and knew him from a child, yet I never knew him 'other than a man: with ſuch ſtaiedneſs of mind, love-'ly, and familiar gravity, as carried grace, and reve-'rence above greater years. His talk ever of know-'ledge, and his very play tending to enrich his mind; 'ſo as even his teachers found ſomething in him to 'obſerve, and learn, above that which they had uſually 'read, or taught. Which eminence by nature, and 'induſtry, made his worthy father ſtile Sir Philip in 'my hearing (though I unſeen) *Lumen familiæ ſuæ*:' the light of his family.

(2) Life, &c. as above, p. 6, 7.

[C] *To which the father returned a moſt excellent anſwer.*] It was as follows: 'I have received two letters from 'you, one written in Latine, the other in French; 'which I take in good parte, and will yow to exerciſe 'that practiſe of Learning often: For that will ſtand 'yow in moſte ſteade, in that profeſſion of lyf that yow 'are born to live in. And, ſince this ys my firſt Letter 'that ever I did write to yow, I will not, that yt be all 'emptie of ſome Advyſes, which my naturall Care of 'yow provokethe me to wiſhe yow to followe, as Do-'cuments to yow in this your tendre age. Let your 'firſt Actyon be, the Lyfting up of your Mynd to 'Almighty God, by harty Prayer, and felyngly dyſgeſt 'the woords yow ſpeak in prayer, with contynual me-'ditation, and thinkinge of him to whom yow praye, 'and of the matter for which yow praye. And uſe 'this as an ordinarye, at, and at an ordinarye hower. 'Whereby the Time ytſelf will put you in remem-'braunce to doe that, which you are accuſtomed to doe. 'In that tyme apply your ſtudy to ſuch houres as your 'diſcrete Maſter doth aſſigne yow, earneſtlye; and the 'Time (I knowe) he will ſo lymitt as ſhal be both 'ſufficient for your Learninge, and ſaf for your Health. 'And mark the Sens, and the Matter of that you reade, 'as well as the Woordes. So ſhall yow bothe enrieche 'your Tonge with Woordes, and your Wytte with 'Matter; and Judgment will growe as Yeares growyth 'in yow. Be humble and obedient to your Maſter, 'for unles yow frame yourſelfe to obey others; yea, 'and feale in your ſelfe, what Obedience ys; yow ſhall 'never be able to teach others how to obey yow. Be 'curteeſe of geſture, and affable to all men, with di-'verſitee of reverence, accordinge to the dignitie of 'the perſon. Ther ys nothinge, that wynneth ſo muche 'with ſo lytell coſt. Vſe moderate Dyet, ſo as, after 'your meate, yow may find your wytte freſher, and 'not duller, and your body more lyvely, and not more 'heavye. Seldom drinke wine, and yet ſometime doe, 'leaſt, being enforced to drink upon the ſodayne, yow 'ſhould find yourſelf inflamed. Vſe Exercife of Bodye, 'but ſuch as ys without peryll of your yointes or bones. 'It will encreaſe your force, and enlardge your breathe. 'Delight to be cleanly, as well in all partes of your 'bodye, as in your garments. It ſhall make you grate-'full in yche company, and otherwiſe lothſome. Give 'yourſelf to be merye, for yow degenerate from your 'father, yf yow find not yourſelf moſt able in wytte 'and bodye, to doe any thinge, when yow be moſt 'merye: But let your myrthe be ever void of all 'ſcurilitee, and bitinge woords to any man, for an 'wound given by a woorde is oftentimes harder to be 'cured, then that which is given with the ſwerd. Be 'you rather a herer, and bearer away of other mens 'Talke, then a begynner or procurer of ſpeeche, other-'wiſe yow ſhall be counted to delight to hear yourſelf 'ſpeake. Yf you heare a wiſe ſentence, or an apt 'phraſe, commytte yt to your memorye, with reſpecte 'of the circumſtaunce, when yow ſhall ſpeak yt. Let 'never Othe be hard to come out of your mouthe, nor 'word of rybaudrye; deteſt yt in others, ſo ſhall cuſ-'tome make to yourſelf a lawe againſt hit in yourſelf. 'Be modeſt in ych aſſemble, and rather be rebuked of 'light Felowes for meden-like ſhamefaſtnes, then of 'your ſad Frends for pearte boldnes. Thinke upon 'every woorde that you will ſpeak, before yow utter 'hit, and remembre how Nature hath rampered up (as 'yt were) the Tonge, with teeth, lippes, yea and here 'without the lippes, and all betokeninge raynes, or 'bridles, for the looſe uſe of that membre. Above 'all thinges tell no Untruthe, no not in triſels. The 'cuſtom of hit is naughte, and let it not ſatiſfie yow, 'that, for a time, the hearers take yt for a truthe; for 'after yt will be knowen as yt is, to your ſhame; for 'ther cannot be a greater reproche to a Gentellman, 'then to be accounted a lyare. Study and endevour 'yourſelf to be vertuouſly occupied: So ſhall you make 'ſuch an habite of well doinge in yow, that yow ſhall 'not knowe how to doe evell, thoughe you wold. 'Remember, my Sonne, the noble Blood you are 'deſcended of by your Mothers ſide; and think that, 'only by vertuous lyf and good action, yow may be 'an ornament to that illuſtre famylie; and otherwiſe, 'throughe vice and ſlouthe, you ſhall be counted *labes 'generis*, one of the greateſt curſes that can happen to 'man. Well (my litell Philippe) this is ynough for 'me, and too much I fear for yow. But, yf I ſhall 'finde that this light meale of digeſtione nouriſhe any 'thinge the weak ſtomake of your yonge capacitie, 'I will, as I find the ſame grow ſtronger, fead yt with 'toefer foode.

'Your lovinge Father,

'ſo long as you lyve in the fear of God,

'H. Sydney (3).'

(3) Letters and Memorials of State, as above, Vol. I. p. 8, 9, from the original at Penſhurſt. It is alſo printed among the Letters, at the end of Abp Uſher's Life, by R. Parr. p. 23.

kind

kind of learning (e). Upon his leaving the univerſity, in 1572, he was ſent to travel [D]; and, though aged but eighteen, gained reverence and eſteem among ſome of the moſt learned men abroad (f). Charles IX, King of France, under pretence of being taken with his knowledge and extraordinary merit, made him one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber [E]. But it was juſtly thought, that this was only one of the treacherous favours heaped by that baſe Prince on the Proteſtants, in order to trepan Admiral Coligni and his adherents to Paris, at the King of Navarre's wedding; when the Proteſtants, fancying themſelves ſecure by that marriage, were barbarouſly maſſacred on the 24th of Auguſt, 1572 (g). In that extremity of danger, Mr Sidney ſecured himſelf by taking refuge in the houſe of Sir Francis Walſingham (b), Embaſſador there from the Queen of England. Thence he went through Lorrain, and by Straſburg and Heidelberg, in September or October following, to Francford: where he lodged in the houſe of the famous Printer Wechel, and by that means became acquainted with the learned Hubert Languet, a lodger in the ſame houſe; who conceived the utmoſt tenderneſs and affection for him, as appears by his letters [F]. Continuing his travels in Germany, he arrived at Vienna in May 1573, where he met Languet, and ſtayed with him till September, when he went into Hungary, and parts adjacent. He paſſed next into Italy, where he remained all the winter following, and moſt of the ſummer 1574, and then returned with Languet into Germany. The next ſpring, he came back by Francford, Heidelberg, and Antwerp, into England, where he arrived about May 1575 (i). In the year 1576, when not above one and twenty years old, he was ſent by Queen Elizabeth to condole the death of the Emperor Maximilian II, and to congratulate his ſucceſſor, Rodolph II, upon his new dignity. But under the ſhadow of this compliment, he waited, at the ſame time, upon ſuch of the German Princes, as were intereſted in the defence and preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, or their own native Liberties; and prevailed upon them to enter into a religious League with England. He alſo took an opportunity, to condole with the Elector Palatine's ſons on the death of their father, Frederic III; and to demand of Count Caſimir, the money Queen Elizabeth had diſburſed for the wars in France (k) [G]. The next year, in his return, he waited upon that gallant Prince, Don John of Auſtria, Governor of the Low-Countries for the King of Spain, and William Prince of Orange: by the former of which, though received at firſt as a youth, a ſtranger, and an enemy; yet after ſome converſation, he was ſo ſtruck with him, that the beholders wondered to ſee, what tribute that brave and high-minded Prince paid to his worth, giving more honour and reſpect to this hopeful young Gentleman, than to the Embaſſadors of mighty Princes (l). In 1579, when a marriage was in agitation between Queen Elizabeth and Francis Duke of Alençon, or Anjou [H], Mr Sidney, though neither Magiſtrate nor Counſellor, took the liberty humbly,

(e) Fragmenta Regalia &c. by Sir Robert Naunton, edit. 1653. 12mo. p. 34.

(f) Life &c. as above, ap. 8. &c.

(b) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 145, and 152. Compleat Ambaſſador, or Letters of Negotiation of Sir Francis Walſingham &c. Lond. 1655. fol. p. 250.

(g) Memoirs of the Sidneys &c. as above, p. 98. and *Addenda & Corrigenda* to that Volume, after the Contents.

(i) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra.

(k) Camdeni Annales Elizabethæ, ad ann. 1576. and Life &c. as above, p. 48, 49, &c.

(l) Wood, ubi ſupra. And Life &c. as above, p. 37.

[D] *In* 1572, *he was ſent to travel*] Sir Fulke Grevil ſays (4), that he was ſent to travel 'at fourteen 'years old,' which ſurely muſt be a great miſtake (5). His words are theſe: 'Are not the Arts and Languages, which enabled him to *Travel at fourteen years old*, and in his Travail to win reverence amongſt the chief Learned men abroad, witneſſes beyond exception, that there was great inequality of worth and goodneſſe in him? Inſtance that reverend *Languet*, mentioned for honour's ſake in Sir Philip's Arcadia, learned *uſque ad miraculum*, &c.' But this is not the only miſtake in that ill-written Life: For what follows ſoon after, is equally full of faults . . . 'So as this reverend Languet, orderly ſequeſtered from his ſeverall funftions under a mighty King, and Saxonie the greateſt Prince of Germany, became a nurſe of knowledge to this hopefull young Gentleman, and without any other hire, or motive than this ſympathy of affections, *accompanied him in the whole courſe of his three years travail.*'——But it is certain, that Languet did not quit his other employments to accompany Mr Sidney in his three years travel.——'The like miſtakes, as A. Wood obſerves (6), are in that Life, concerning Languet's coming into England in February 1573, onely to ſee that excellent plant of his own poliſhing, at which time, it is ſaid, he was ſixty-ſix years of age, whereas he was but ſixty-one; that alſo he and Sidney parted *at the Sea*, which could not be, for Duke John Caſimire, with whom he came, went away ſo ſuddenly, that Languet could not take leave of him.'

(4) Letters and Memorials, ubi ſupra, p. 7.

(5) See Strype's Annals, as above, p. 145.

(6) Athen. ut ſupra, and Life of Sir Philip Sidney, p. 11.

[E] *Charles IX. . . . . made him one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber.*] And thereupon, his Majeſty certified, to the Great Chamberlain of France, the Maſters in ordinary of his houſehold, and the Maſter and Comptroller of his Chamber for moneys, &c. That conſidering how great the houſe of *Sidnay* was in England, and the rank it had always held near the perſons of the Kings and Queens, their Sovereigns, and deſiring well and favourably to treat the young Sir Philip Sidnay, for the good and commendable knowledge in him; He had retained and received him in the ſtate of Gentleman in ordinary of his Chamber, to ſerve him hereafter, and to receive the Honours, Authorities, Wages, Rights, Hoſtellages, Profits, and cuſtomary Emoluments thereunto appertaining, during pleaſure. With command to his faithful Counſellor, and firſt Gentleman of his Chamber, to take of the ſaid S. Baron of Sidenay, the uſual oath in ſuch caſe required, &c. Accordingly he was ſworn into that office Auguſt 9, 1572 (7). But he enjoyed it a very little time indeed.

(7) Memoirs of the Sidneys, &c. as above, p. 98. from the original at Penſhurſt.

[F] *As appears by his Letters.*] Theſe Letters of Hubert Languet to Sir Philip Sydney, were publiſhed at Francfort, in 1633. 12mo. and reprinted in 1646, with the beautiful types of Elzevir, 12mo. and the ſame year at Groningen. The title of them is, 'Huberti Langueti Epiſtolæ Politicæ et 'Hiſtoricæ ad Philippum Sydnæum equitem Anglum 'illuſtriſſimi Proregis Hyberniæ filium, Vliſſingenſem 'Gubernatorem.' In theſe Letters, are uncommon ſtrains of the utmoſt Affection, Tenderneſs, and Eſteem for Sir Philip; and they are written in a moſt pure and elegant Latin ſtyle.

[G] *The money Queen Elizabeth had diſburſed for the wars in France.*] In the Caſtrations to Holinſhed's Chronicle (8), it is obſerved, That Mr Sidney performed all theſe Commiſſions 'in ſuch exquiſit order, and adviſed wiſe courſe, omitting nothing he ſhould doo, 'nor fupplieng anie thing he ſhould not doo in ceremonie or otherwiſe, as he exceedinglie therein ſatisfied 'hir Majeſtie, both by his letters and report, and wan 'to himſelfe great credit and ſingular commendation.'

(8) p. 1554.

[H] *In* 1579, *when a marriage was in agitation between Queen Elizabeth, and Francis Duke of Alençon.*] Mr Strype hath placed this under the year 1572, which is void of all probability: for, it is not credible that Mr Sidney ſhould thus addreſs the Queen, when he was but a youth of about eighteen. Mr Strype mentions it again under the year 1579, but very imperfectly; and refers to the Letter in the Appendix, No XIX. which is not to be found there (9). It is at length in the Cabala (10). Perhaps he was miſled by the titles of Alençon and Anjou, which belonged to the ſame perſon.

(9) See Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 147, &c. 567.

(10) p. 363.

and privately by letter [*I*], to offer her Majeſty very ſtrong and ſubſtantial reaſons againſt that marriage. *(m)*. He was naturally of a warm and high ſpirit, ſo jealous of his honour and reputation, that he could not brook the leaſt intrenchment on either, from his equals or inferiors [*K*], nor even from perſons of the higheſt rank. Of which an inſtance is given, in a violent diſpute between him and Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford [*L*], who was born great, greater by alliance, as having married Anne, eldeſt daughter of the Lord Treaſurer Cecil, and ſuperlative in the Queen's favour *(n)*. That quarrel occaſioned his retiring from the Court in 1580: during which receſs, he wrote his eloquent and entertaining

(*m*) Life &c. as above, p. 53—71. See Cabala, p. 363. and Letters and Memorials of State of the Sidney family, Vol. I. p. 287.

(*n*) Memoirs of the Sidneys &c. as above, p. 100, 101. and Life by Grev. l, p. 74, &c.

[*I*] *Mr Sidney, though neither Magiſtrate nor Counſellor, took the liberty humbly and privately by letter.*] The minutes of that letter are printed in Mr Strype's Annals of the Reformation (11). But it is printed at length in the Cabala (12), as I have juſt now ſaid.——In it, he uſes many good Arguments for diſſuading her from this Marriage; particularly, the Diſadvantage and Danger that would thence redound to her Proteſtant Subjects; and the great Encouragement it would give to the Papiſts, and other diſaffected perſons.—Then he conſiders the Motives her Majeſty had alledged for this ſudden change; namely, Fear of ſtanding alone in reſpect of foreign powers; and Apprehenſion of Contempt from her own Subjects, from whom ſhe ought to have reſpect.—— But, with regard to the firſt, 'Truly, ſaith he, ſtanding 'alone, with good foreſight of Government, both in 'peace and warlike defence, is the honourableſt thing 'that can be to a well-eſtabliſhed Monarchy; thoſe 'buildings being ever moſt ſtrongly durable which lean 'to none other, but remain firm on their own founda-'tion.' Then he ſhews, how improbable it is, that the Duke of Anjou and She ſhould be united in *One Intereſt*, the chief ſtrength and ſupport of Government.—'*Mon-'ſieur*'s deſires, and yours, how they ſhould meet in 'publick matters, I think no oracle can tell: For as 'the Geometricians ſay, that parallels, becauſe they 'maintain divers lines, can never join; ſo truly, two, 'having in the beginning contrary principles, to bring 'forth one Doctrine, muſt be ſome miracle. He of the 'Romiſh Religion; and if he be a man, muſt needs have 'that manlike property, to deſire that all men be of his 'mind: You the Erecter and Defender of the contrary; 'and the only ſun that dazzleth their eyes. He French, 'and deſiring to make France great: Your Majeſty 'Engliſh, and deſiring nothing leſs then that France 'ſhould grow great. He, both by his own fancy, and 'his youthful Governours, embracing all ambitious 'hopes, having Alexander's image in his head, but, 'perhaps, evil painted: Your Majeſty, with excellent 'vertue, taught what you ſhould hope; and by no leſs 'wiſdom, what you may hope; with a Council re-'nowned over all Chriſtendom, for their well tempered 'minds, having ſet the utmoſt of their ambition in 'your Favour; and the ſtudy of their ſouls in your 'Safety.'——As to the Apprehenſion of Contempt; —'What is there, ſaith he, either within you or with-'out you, that can poſſibly fall into the danger of con-'tempt, to whom fortunes are tyed by ſo long deſcent 'of your royal Anceſtors. But our minds rejoyce with 'the experience of your inward Vertues, and our eyes 'are delighted with the ſight of you.' After many other arguments, to convince her Majeſty, that ſhe is in no manner of danger of Contempt; he concludes his letter thus:——'As for this man, as long as he is 'but *Monſieur* in might, and a Papiſt in profeſſion, he 'neither can, nor will greatly ſhield you: And if he 'grow to be King, his defence will be like Ajax's ſhield, 'which rather weighed them down, then defended thoſe 'that bare it. Againſt Contempt, if there be any, 'which I will never believe, let your excellent vertues 'of Piety, Juſtice, and Liberality, daily, if it be poſſi-'ble, more and more ſhine; let ſuch particular actions 'be found out (which be eaſie as I think to be done) 'by which you may gratifie all the hearts of your 'people. Let thoſe in whom you find truſt, and to 'whom you have committed truſt in your weighty 'affairs, be held up in the eyes of your ſubjects. 'Laſtly, doing as you do, you ſhall be as you be, the 'Example of Princes, the Ornament of this Age, the 'Comfort of the afflicted, the Delight of your people, 'and the moſt excellent Fruit of your progenitors, and 'the perfect Mirrour of your poſterity.'——A. Wood ſays, that this letter was written at the deſire of Robert Earl of Leiceſter, as he ſuppoſes; and that it was the occaſion of the quarrel between Mr Sidney and the Earl of Oxford (13). But there doth not ſeem to be ſufficient ground for either of thoſe aſſertions.

(11) Vol. II. p. 147, 148, 149, 150.

(12) p. 363. and in Letters and Memorials of State of the Sidney family, Vol. I. p. 287, &c.

[*K*] *So jealous of his honour and reputation, that he could not brook the leaſt intrenchment on either from his equals or inferiors.*] Arthur Collins Eſq; hath publiſhed an eminent inſtance of it, in a letter of his to Edward Mollineux Eſq; Secretary to his father as Lord Deputy of Ireland, which is as follows.

'Mr Mollineux,

'Few woordes are beſte. My Lettres to my Father 'have come to the eyes of ſome. Neither can I con-'demne any but yow for it. If it be ſo, yow have 'plaide the very knave with me; and ſo I will make 'yow know, if I have good proofe of it. But that for 'ſo muche as is paſt. For that is to come, I aſſure 'yow, before God, that if ever I know yow do ſo 'much as reede any Lettre I wryte to my Father, 'without his commaundment, or my conſente, I will 'thruſte my dagger into yow. And truſte to it, for I 'ſpeake it in earneſt. In the meane time farwell.

'From Courte, this laſt
'of May, 1578 (14).'

(14) Letters and Memorials of State, as above, Vol. I. p. 256.

See below, note [*AA*], Mr Walpole's obſervation upon this Letter.

[*L*] *Of which an inſtance is given, in a violent diſpute between him and Edward Vere Earl of Oxford.*] Fulke Grevil, Lord Brook, hath ſet down a long and circumſtantial account of that Diſpute (15), of which the ſubſtance is this. "One day as Mr Philip Sidney was at Tennis, the Earl of Oxford came abruptly into the court, and wanted the other to give place to him, and depart; 'forgetting to entreat that, which he could 'not legally command.' Mr Sidney not complying, the Earl began to expoſtulate more roughly, and at laſt commanded Mr Sidney and his companion to quit the court. Thereupon Mr Sidney calmly anſwers, 'That if his Lordſhip had been pleaſed to expreſs his 'deſire in milder terms, perhaps he might have led 'out thoſe, that he ſhould now find would not be driven 'out.' This anſwer blowing up the Earl into a flame, made him ſcornfully call Mr Sidney a Puppy. And the latter, pretending not to underſtand, cauſed his Lordſhip to repeat the epithet of Puppy a ſecond time. Upon which Mr Sidney gave my Lord the lie, ſaying, 'All the world knows, puppies are gotten by dogs, 'and children by men.' A crowd gathering about, Mr Sidney, with ſome ſharp words, led the way abruptly out of the Tennis-court; and the great Lord continued his play, not much to his reputation. Mr Sidney expected ſatisfaction, and ſends a Gentleman of worth upon that errand to the Earl; who there-upon reſolves to give his young antagoniſt a challenge. In the mean time the Privy-Council interpoſed, and endeavoured to reconcile them; but in vain. The Queen therefore undertakes to do it, and lays before Mr Sidney 'the difference in degree between Earls 'and Gentlemen; the reſpect inferiors owed to their 'ſuperiors; and the neceſſity in Princes to maintain 'their own creatures, as degrees deſcending between 'the people's licentiouſneſs, and the anointed ſove-'reignty of crowns; how the Gentleman's neglect of 'the Nobility taught the peaſant to inſult upon both.' To which Mr Sidney replied, with all due reverence: 'That place was never intended for privilege to wrong: 'witneſs herſelf, who, how ſovereign ſoever ſhe were 'by throne, birth, education, and nature; yet was 'ſhe content to caſt her own affections into the ſame 'moulds her ſubjects did, and govern all her rights 'by their laws. Again, he beſought her Majeſty to 'conſider, that although the Earl of Oxford were a 'great Lord by birth, alliance, and grace; yet he 'was no Lord over him: and therefore the difference 'of degrees between freemen could not challenge 'any other homage than precedency.' Theſe truths did not diſpleaſe the Queen, though he obeyed not her commands, but choſe rather to withdraw from the court."——Edward Earl of Oxford was a man of violent paſſions, and made a very bad Huſband to his wife, Anne, daughter of William Lord Burleigh (16).

(15) Life &c. as above, p. 74—81.

(16) See Mr Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 56.

Romance,

Romance, called Arcadia [*M*]. His noble and generous diſpoſition to relieve all who were in diſtreſs, appears from ſeveral inſtances, as well as from his Letters; and he was ſo univerſally applauded for it, that his fame ſpread even beyond the bounds of Europe. For, in 1580, when, upon the death of the King of Portugal, the Spaniards had ſeized that kingdom; Don Antonio, the chief competitor thereto (*o*), applied to Mr Sydney for his aſſiſtance. His Letter is ſo remarkable, that we thought proper to inſert it in the note (*p*) [*N*]. The treaty of marriage between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou being renewed in 1581, Mr Sydney was one of thoſe noble gallants, that performed, at the royal juſtings, barriers, and turney, for the entertainment of the Duke and his train (*q*): being very fond of thoſe paſtimes [*O*]. And upon the Duke's departure from England, in the February following, he attended him to Antwerp, with his uncle, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leiceſter, and the chief of the Engliſh court (*r*). In 1583, John, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, being made a Knight of the Garter, gave his procuration to Mr Philip Sydney, to receive his ſtall, and take poſſeſſion of it in his name; and thereupon he was *knighted* by the Sovereign, at Windſor-caſtle, January the 13th, the morning before he proceeded to take poſſeſſion of the ſtall (*s*). In 1584, he wrote an Anſwer to the Libel againſt his uncle, commonly known by the title of 'Leiceſter's Commonwealth:' which Anſwer was firſt publiſhed by Arthur Collins Eſq; (*t*). The year following, he projected an expedition to America, without the knowledge and conſent of the Queen or his own relations; wherein he was to be joined by the brave Sir Francis Drake [*P*]. But when he was got to Plimmouth, and ready to embark, the Queen, who was unwilling to riſk a perſon of his worth

(*o*) There were two other Competitors; viz. Philip II, King of Spain, and Don Juan of Portugal, Duke of Braganza.

(*p*) Memoirs of the Sidneys &c. p. 102. and Letters and Memorials of State, Vol. I. p. 294.

(*q*) Stow's Annales, edit. 1631. fol. p. 689.

(*r*) Camdeni Annales Elizab. ad ann. 1582.

(*s*) Aſhmole's Order of the Garter, p. 436, 438.

(*t*) In Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of the Sidneys &c. p. 62, &c.

[*M*] *Called Arcadia.*] He dedicated it to his dear ſiſter Mary, Counteſs of Pembroke; and there is a room at Wilton, the lower pannels whereof are finely painted, with repreſentations of the ſtories mentioned therein (17). One G. M. (probably Gervaſe Markham) wrote the ſecond and laſt part of the Arcadia, printed at London in 1615. 4to. And in the eighth edition, at London, 1633, Sir W. A. Knight, made a ſupplement of a defect in the third part of the Hiſtory; and R. B. of Lincoln's-Inn, Eſq; (18), added then to it a ſixth book. In 1662 the Arcadia was publiſhed again in ſix Books, with ſeveral of his other Works added to them (19). It hath borne fourteen editions; and been modernized by Mrs Stanley, in 1725. fol. It hath alſo been tranſlated into French, Dutch, and other languages. It ſeems he deſired upon his death-bed (but not in his will, as Sir Fulke Grevil ſays,) that it ſhould be deſtroyed or ſuppreſſed (20).

(17) Memoirs of the Sidneys &c. as above, p. 108.

(18) Richard Belling. Ware, and W. Harris, Writers of Ireland, p. 165.

(19) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 228.

(20) See Life by F. Grevil, p. 19. and Ed. Leigh's Foelix Conſortium, p. 324.

[*N*] *That we thought proper to inſert it in the note.*] Arth. Collins hath given the following tranſlation of it.

'Illuſtrious Nephew, Philip Sidney,

'I write this not only to incloſe and forward to you 'Captain Allen's Letters, but alſo to deſire you to 'write to me often, and preſerve me in your friendſhip. 'My affairs (praiſed be God) go on extremely well. 'The Fleet is ready to ſail, fully manned and well 'equipt, and I do expect to receive a conſiderable 'quantity of ſtores or ammunition by the ſhips from 'Flanders, in order to equip a ſecond expedition, on 'board which I intend to go, with about ſix or ſeven 'thouſand men; which number is getting ready by 'three or four friends, who are willing to riſque the 'ſame fate with me; theſe are Monſieur de Babues, 'Monſieur de St Luc, Monſieur de Sordiac, and Monſieur de Belleville (that is, if they can get leave for 'that purpoſe) there will come alſo Count Roxaſocar, 'who is now in Flanders. Beſides the abovenamed, 'there are other Gentlemen that will go in the beſt 'manner they can: This is to be underſtood, if they 'continue in the ſame mind, and do not retract: But 'I am of opinion they will not, or at leaſt the four 'abovenamed; and though many more ſhould go, if 'I did not ſee you in the company, I ſhall ſay, *Numerum non habet illa ſuum.* I have received good 'news from Portugal, both in regard to the Natives, 'as well as to Spaniards; the former wiſhing my preſence, and the latter deſiring to return into their 'own country. The King of France aſſiſts me 'ſufficiently, his Mother ſtill better, the States of 'Flanders very well; and only Dominga keeps ſilent, but ſhe is not to be blamed, conſidering her 'huſband's affairs. I remain in health, God grant 'you the ſame, according to my wiſhes.

'Tunis, 3d of May, 1581. 'Your greateſt Friend,

'The King (21).'

(21) Letters and Memorials of State &c. as above, Vol. I. p. 294.

[*O*] *Being very fond of thoſe paſtimes.*] So we are informed by Mr Edmund Molineux, who was ſecretary to his father.—'For at all ſuch diſports he commonlie 'made one; and he would bring in ſuch a livelie gallant ſhew, ſo agreeable to everie point, which is required for the expreſſing of a perfect deviſe (ſo rich 'he was in thoſe inventions) as, if he ſurpaſſed not all, 'he would equall, or at leaſt ſecond the beſt. Wherein, 'as he rightlie deſerved, he ever gained ſingular commendation (22).'

(22) Caſtations to Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1555.

[*P*] *Wherein he was to be joined by the brave Sir Francis Drake.*] This expedition was of Sir Philip's 'own 'projecting, wherein he faſhioned the whole body, with 'purpoſe to become Head of it himſelf. As the ſcope 'of this journey was mixt both of ſea and land ſervice; 'ſo had it accordingly, diſtinct Officers and Commanders, choſen by Sir Philip out of the ableſt Governors 'of thoſe martial times. The project was contrived 'between themſelves in this manner; that both ſhould 'equally be Governors when they had left the ſhore of 'England; but while things were preparing at home, 'Sir Francis was to bear the name, and by the credit 'of Sir Philip have all particulars abundantly ſupplied.' ... Accordingly the preparations went on with great vigour and chearfulneſs; through Sir Philip's intereſt, nothing being refuſed Sir Francis that he could aſk. When all was ready, Sir Francis repairs to the fleet at Plimmouth; having promiſed Sir Philip, that when he ſtaid for nothing but a wind, he would ſend poſt for him. A letter comes, according to agreement: And, in the mean time, our Court having advice that Don Antonio, candidate to the Crown of Portugal, was coming for England, and intended to land at Plimmouth; 'Sir 'Philip, turning occaſion into wiſdom, puts himſelf 'into the employment of conducting up that King; 'and under that veil leaves the Court without ſuſpicion; overſhoots his father-in-law, then Secretary of 'State (23), in his own bow; and comes to Plimmouth, 'where he is received with a great deal of outward 'pomp and compliment.' In the mean time Don Antonio not coming, and Sir Philip's deſign being found out; he is commanded back again to Court, as is above related.——His Project, it ſeems, was to plant a Colony upon the *main* of America, and to poſſeſs himſelf of *Nombre de Dios*, or ſome other good Port near; as a fit rendez-vous between the two ſeas, for the ſupply or retreat of an army upon all occaſions. For this purpoſe it was, that he had fitted out a Fleet, to which the United Provinces had promiſed to join one of theirs. And he had drawn in *thirty* Gentlemen, of great blood and ſtate here in England, every one of them to ſell a hundred pounds a year in land; to ſecond and countenance this firſt Fleet with a ſecond.——The reaſon of his keeping it ſo ſecret, (beſides the utmoſt point of Prudence with regard to the enemy) was, Becauſe he thought it impoſſible to obtain the Queen's, and his great Relations Conſent, for his engaging in an employment ſo remote, and of ſo hazardous a nature. His Unexperience would alſo be a very ſtrong objection. And while the affair was unknown, he knew it would paſs without interruption; or, when it was done, preſumed the Succeſs would put Envy and all her agents to ſilence (24).

(23) Sir Francis Walſingham.

(24) Life &c. as above, p. 81, 82——90. 131, 132.

in an employment ſo remote, and of ſo hazardous a nature, ſent meſſengers to ſtay him; or, if he did not readily comply, to ſtop the whole fleet. By his own management, the meſſengers being intercepted upon the road, and their letters forcibly taken from them by two ſoldiers, diſguized as ſailors; the Queen, thereupon, ſent her royal command to him by a Peer of the realm, abſolutely to quit the enterprize (*u*). At his return to Court, he was appointed Governor of Fluſhing, one of the cautionary towns delivered by the Dutch to Queen Elizabeth; as alſo General of the Horſe under his uncle, Robert Earl of Leiceſter: in both which employments, he manifeſted ſingular wiſdom and valour, and brought great honor to his country (*w*). His firſt exploit, after being arrived in the Low-Countries, was contriving, in July 1586, the ſurpriſe of Axel; in the execution of which, he behaved like a moſt conſummate General, uſing both ſuch diligence and ſecrecy, that he ſurpriſed the town, before the inhabitants could have intelligence of his coming, and without the loſs or hurt of any one of his men. Likewiſe, upon his entrance into the town, he placed a band of choice ſoldiers, to make a ſtand in the market-place, for ſecurity to the reſt: and, when the ſervice was over, rewarded every one liberally, out of his own purſe, according to their reſpective merits. Soon after, in an attempt to ſurpriſe Graveling in the night, he ſhewed a great deal of penetration, care, and judgment, worthy of an old officer; by venturing only a detachment, and not hazarding the lives and honor, of the whole Engliſh army, in that treacherous expedition (*x*). His fame and high deſerts were now ſo well known and eſtabliſhed, that he was put in nomination for the crown of Poland, upon the death of Stephen Batori; but Queeen Elizabeth refuſed to further his advancement, not out of emulation, but out of fear to loſe the jewel of her times (*y*). During thoſe unreaſonable diſcontents and jealouſies, that prevailed in the confederate army, between the two Generals, Robert Earl of Leiceſter, and Count Hohenloe; Sir Philip behaved with that incomparable goodneſs, prudence, and diſcretion, as diſſipated thoſe clouds, and turned much to the public advantage. So that, by the real proof he gave of his abilities above others, in a very little time his reputation and authority became ſo conſiderable in the United Provinces, that it would have been no hard matter for him, to the prejudice of his uncle, and the diſtraction of the public affairs in thoſe parts, to have raiſed himſelf a fortune. But in the whole courſe of his life, he did ſo conſtantly ballance Ambition with the ſafer precepts of divine and moral Duty, as no pretence whatſoever could have enticed him to break through the rules of a good Patriot (*z*). Good and happy man! but how ſhort is all human felicity! For, on the 22d of September, 1586, being ſent out with a party to intercept a convoy that was coming into Zutphen, he fell into an ambuſcade, and had his horſe killed under him. Taking another, he returned to the charge, when he received a terrible wound in his left thigh, which broke the bone quite in pieces [Q]. He then

(*u*) Life &c. as above, p. 84—88.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 135. and Pat. 27. Eliz. p. 13. m. 23.

(*x*) Life &c. p. 135, 136. Stow's Annales, p. 733. and Camdeni Annales Elizab. ad ann. 1586. and Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1551, 1552.

(*y*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, ut ſupra, p. 35.

(*z*) Life &c. as above, p. 139, 140, 141.

[Q] *Which broke the bone quite in pieces.*] The beſt account of this melancholy accident is comprized in a letter, from Robert Earl of Leiceſter to Sir Thomas Heneage, publiſhed by the ingenious William Oldys, Eſq; Norroy, in the Britiſh Librarian (25), and alſo communicated by him to Arthur Collins, Eſq; (26), part of which runs thus: 'Sithens my other Letters of 'the 20th it fell oute, that yeſterday morninge ſome 'intelligence was broughte, that the Enemie was bring-'ing a Convoye of Victual, garded with three hundred 'horſe. There was ſente out to ympeache that, two 'hundred horſe and three hundred footemen, and a 'nomber more both horſe and foote to ſecond them: 'Among other young men my nephew Sir Philip Syd-'ney was, and the rather for that the Colonell Norrice 'himſelf went with the ſtande of footemen, to ſecond 'the reſt; but the vanguard of the Prince was marched 'and came with this convoye, and being a myſtie 'morninge, our men fell into the Ambuſcade of Foote-'men, who were three thouſand, the moſt muſketts, 'the reſt pykes. Our horſemen being formoſte by their 'haſte indeed, would not turne, but paſt through and 'charged the horſemen that flede at the backe of their 'footemen ſo valientlie, as, albeyt they were eleven 'hundred horſe, and of the verie chief of all his troupes, 'they brake them, being not two hundred. Many of 'our horſes hurt and killed, among which was my 'Nephewes owne. He wente and changed to another, 'and woulde needes to the charge again, and onſte 'paſte thoſe muſketters; where he receyved a ſore 'wounde upon his thighe, three fingers above his knee, 'the bone broken quite in pieces; but for which chance, 'God did ſend ſuch a daye as I think was never many 'yeres ſene, ſo fewe againſte ſo many.'—Here the Earl proceeds to enumerate the Commanders and other perſons of Diſtinction in this rencounter, whoſe names were Colonel Norrice, who had the charge of the foot, my Lord of Eſſex, Sir Thomas Perrot, 'and my un-'fortunate Phillip, ſays he, with Sir William Ruſſel, 'and divers Gentlemen, and not one hurte, but only 'my Nephew. They killed four of their enemies chief 'Leaders, and carried the valient Count Hannibal 'Gonzaga away with them upon a horſe; alſo took 'Captain George Creſier, the principal Soldier of the 'camp, and Captain of all the Albanez. My Lord 'Willoughbie overthrew him at the firſt encounter, 'horſe and man. The Gentleman did acknowledge it 'himſelf. There is not a properer Gentleman in the 'world towards than this Lord Willoughbie is; but 'I can hardly prayſe one more than another, they did 'all ſo well; yet every one had his horſe killed or hurt.' And it was thought very ſtrange, 'that Sir William 'Stanley, with three hundred of his men, ſhould paſs 'in ſpight of ſo many muſketts, ſuch troops of horſe, 'three ſeveral times, making them remove their ground, 'and to return with no more loſs than he did. Albeyt, 'I muſt ſay (continues the Earl) yt was too much loſs 'for me; for this young Maune was my greateſt Com-'fort, next her Majeſtie of all the world, and if I could 'buy his lief with all I have, to my ſherte, I would geve 'yt. How God will diſpoſe of him I know not, but 'feare I muſt needes, greately, the worſte; the Blow 'is in ſo dangerous a place, and ſo great; yet did I 'never heare of any manne that did abide the dreſſinge 'and ſetting his bones better than he did: and he was 'carried afterwards in my barge to Arnheim, and 'I heare this day he ys ſtill of good hearte, and com-'forteth all aboute him as much as maye be. God of 'his mercie graunt me his lieffe, which I cannot but 'doubt of greately. I was abrode that tyme in the 'fielde, giving ſome order to ſupplie that buſineſs, 'which did indure almoſte twoe Owres in continuall 'fighte; and metinge Phillip commynge upon his horſe-'backe, not a litle to my greafe. But I woulde you 'had ſtode by to heare his moſt loyal Speeches to her 'Majeſtie; his conſtant minde to the cauſe; his lovinge 'care over me, and his moſte reſolute determination for 'deathe, not one jot appalled for his blow; which ys 'the moſt grievous that ever I ſawe with ſuch a bullet; 'ryding ſo a long myle and a halfe, uppon his horſe, 'ere he came to the campe; not ceaſing to ſpeak ſtill 'of her Majeſtie; being glad, yf his hurte and deathe 'mighte any waye honour her Majeſtie; for her's he 'was whileſt he lyved, and God's he was ſure to be 'yf he dyed: Prayed all men to thinke that the cauſe 'was as well her Majeſtie's as the Countrie's; and not 'to

(25) No. V. p. 271.

(26) See Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of the Sidneys, p. 104. &c.

then rode back to the camp, about a mile and a half, on horſe-back; and, after the dreſſing of his wound, was carried in a barge to Arnheim. For about ſixteen days there were great hopes of his recovery; but the ball not being extracted *(aa)*, and a mortification enſuing, he prepared himſelf for death [*R*], and at laſt expired on the 17th of October, in the thirty-ſecond year of his age *(bb)*. The States of Zealand requeſted of the Queen, and his noble friends, that they might have the honor of burying him at the public expence of their government: But their requeſt was not granted; the Queen, in regard to his great worth and accompliſhments, giving order for his burial at her own expence *(cc)*. Whereupon, his body was brought from Arnheim to Fluſhing; and, after having remained there eight days, was put on board a veſſel, the 1ſt of November, with all military honors, and landed at the Tower-wharf, the 5th day of the ſame month. Being conveyed to the Minories, it lay there in ſtate a conſiderable time, till his magnificent funeral *(dd)* in St Paul's cathedral, the 16th of February following. No monument was erected to him; but, ſome time after, the Inſcription, given below [*S*], was painted on a wooden tablet, and faſtened to a pillar near his grave. James, King of Scots, honoured him with an Epitaph of his own compoſition [*T*]. And the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge compoſed verſes to

(*aa*) Hollinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1552.

(*bb*) Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of the Sidneys &c. as above, p. 104. &c. and Stow's Annales, p. 739. It appears from the codicil to his will, that he did not die till the 17th. See alſo Holinſhed, p. 1552.

(*cc*) Life &c. as above, p. 165. and Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1552.

(*dd*) See a particular deſcription of it in Arthur Collins's Memoirs of the Sidneys &c. as above, p. 109. and in Stow's Annales, p. 739.

' to be diſcoraged, for you have ſeen ſuche ſucceſſe as ' maye encorage us all; and this my hurte is the ordi- ' nance of God, by the happe of the warre. Well ' I pray God, yf yt be his will, ſave me his lieſſe; ' even as well for her Majeſty's ſervice ſake, as for myne ' own comforte.'——Fulke Grevil, Lord Brooke, adds the following circumſtances (27): Before he ſet out upon this fatal expedition " he had compleatly put on his Armour, but meeting the Marſhal of the Camp lightly armed, out of emulation, he took off his cuiſſes [or thigh-armour] and ſo diſarmed that part, where he received his fatal wound. The weather being miſty, they fell unawares upon the enemy, who had made a ſtrong ſtand to receive them, near to the very walls of Zutphen; by reaſon of which accident, their troops happened not only to be unexpectedly engaged within the level of the great ſhot, that played from the ramparts, but more fatally within ſhot of their muſketts, which were layd in ambuſh within their own trenches. After he was wounded, the horſe he rode upon, being rather furiouſly choleric than bravely proud, forced him to forſake the field, but not his back, as the nobleſt and fitteſt biere to carry a martial commander to his grave. In which ſad progreſs, paſſing along by the reſt of the army, where his uncle the General was, and, being thirſty with exceſs of bleeding, he called for drink, which was preſently brought him: But, as he was putting the bottle to his mouth, he ſaw a poor ſoldier carryed along, who had been wounded at the ſame time, gaſtly caſting up his eyes at the bottle. Which Sir Philip perceiving, took it from his head before he drank, and delivered it to the poor man, with theſe words, " Thy neceſſity is yet greater than mine."——Mr Cibber rightly obſerves (28), That " this generous behaviour of our gallant Knight, ought not to paſs without a panegyric. All his deeds of bravery, his politeneſs, his learning, and courtly accompliſhments, do not reflect ſo much honour upon him, as this one diſintereſted, truly heroic action: It diſcovered ſo tender and benevolent a nature; a mind ſo fortified againſt pain; a heart ſo overflowing with generous ſentiments, to relieve, in oppoſition to the violent call of his own neceſſities, a poor man languiſhing in the ſame diſtreſs, before himſelf, that none can read it without the higheſt admiration.——Bravery is often conſtitutional; fame may be the motive to feats of arms; a ſtateſman and a courtier may act from intereſt; but a ſacrifice ſo generous as this, can be made by none but thoſe who are good as well as great, who are noble-minded, and glorioufly compaſſionate like Sidney."

(27) Life &c. p. 143, &c.

(28) Lives of the Poets, in the Life of Sir Philip Sidney, Vol. I. p. 79.

[*R*] *He prepared himſelf for death.*] Firſt, he called unto him the Miniſters, who were all excellent men, of divers nations, and before them made ſuch a confeſſion of Chriſtian Faith, as no book but the heart can truly and feelingly deliver: Then, deſired them to accompany him in Prayer. Next, he called for his will, which was dated the laſt day of September, 1586, and to which he then undoubtedly added the codicil that bears date the ſeventeenth of October (29), the ſame day he dyed. After that he called for muſick, eſpecially that ſong, which he had made himſelf, intituled, *La cuiſſe rompuë*, or The broken Thigh. The laſt ſcene of this tragedy, was the parting between him and his brother Sir Robert; of whom he took his leave in theſe words, ' Love my memory, cheriſh my friends; their ' faith to me may aſſure you they are honeſt. But, ' above all, govern your will and affections by the will ' and word of your Creator; in Me beholding the end ' of this world, with all her vanities (30).'

(29) Both Will, and Codicil, at length, in Collins's Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of the Sidneys &c. p. 109, &c.

(30) Life &c. p. 151—160.

[*S*] *The inſcription below.*] ' A briefe Epitaph upon ' the Death of that moſt valiant, and perfect honour- ' able Gentleman, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Knt, late Governor ' of Fluſhing in Zealand, who received his Death's ' wound at a Battel near Zutphen in Gelderland, the ' twenty-ſecond day of September, and died at Arn- ' heim the ſixteenth (31) day of October, 1586. Whoſe ' Funerals were performed, and his Body interred, ' within this Cathedral Church of St Paul in London, ' the ſixteenth day of February next following, in the ' yeare of our Lord God, 1586.

(31) It was the ſeventeenth.

England, Netherland, the Heavens, and the Arts,
The Souldiers, and the World, have made ſixe Parts
Of the noble *Sidney*; for none will ſuppoſe,
That a ſmall Heap of Stones can Sidney incloſe.
His Body hath England, for ſhe it bred,
Netherland his bloud, in her defence ſhed;
The Heav'ns have his Soule, the Arts have his Fame,
All Souldiers the Griefe, the World his good Name (32).

(32) Stow's Survey of London. Strype's edition, book iii. p. 161.

[*T*] *James, King of Scots, honoured him with an epitaph of his own compoſition.*] We ſhall give it here, for the ſake of the curious and learned reader, as his Majeſty compoſed it, both in Engliſh and Latin.

Thou mighty *Mars*, the Lord of Souldiers brave,
And thou *Minerve*, that dois in wit excell,
And thou *Apollo*, who dois knowledge have
Of ev'ry art that from Parnaſſus fell,
With all your Siſters that thaireon do dwell,
Lament for him, who duelie ſerv'd you all,
Whom in you wiſely all your arts did meil,
Bewaile (I ſay) his inexſpected fall;
I neede not in remembrance for to call
His race, his youth, the hope had of him ay,
Since that in him doth cruell death appall
Both manhood, wit, and learning, every way;
But yet he doth in bed of *honor* reſt,
And evermore of him ſhall live the beſt.

* * * * * * * *

Armipotens, cui jus in fortia pectora, *Mavors*,
Tu *Dea*, quæ cerebrum perrumpere digna *Tonantis*,
Tuque adeo bijugæ, *proles Latonia*, rupis
Gloria, deciduæ cingunt quam collibus *artes*,
Vos etiam huc lachrymas conferte Heliconides, iſtum
Plangite, quo veſtri non obſervantior alter
Nec fuerat veſtris inſignior artibus alter,
Plangite talem inquam, quem fata inopina tulere
Cujus quid memorem, quid carmine perſequar altum
Aut genus, aut virides annos, aut quam dederat ſpem?
Exuit heu rapido mors illœtabilis ictu,
Quo *Mars*, quo *Pallas*, quóque ipſum ornavit *Apollo*.
Sed venerandus *bonos*, cineri ſuperinduit urnam
Parte etiam meliore ſui ſuper æthera vivit.

his memory, which were ſeverally printed *(ee)* [*V*]. So general was the mourning for him, that, many months after his death, it was accounted indecent for any Gentleman of quality, to appear at court or in the city, in any light or gaudy apparel *(ff)*. A match was at firſt propoſed between him and Anne daughter of Sir William Cecil, on the recommendation of his uncle, the Earl of Leiceſter *(gg)*; but he married Frances, the only daughter of the ever-memorable Sir Francis Walſingham, by whom he left an only daughter, Elizabeth, born in 1585 [*W*]. He was not only learned himſelf [*X*], but alſo a great encourager of learning, and learned men [*Y*]. His contemporaries agree to give him the higheſt character poſſible. They extol his Abilities [*Z*], his Modeſty, his Piety, his Generoſity,

(*ee*) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra, col. 228, 229.

(*ff*) Mem. ...rs of the Sidn...y ... 22 above, p. 109

(*gg*) Ibid. p. 113. and Letters of State, p. 44. and Stryp...'s Annals &c. Vol. III. p. 59.

[*V*] *And the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge compoſed verſes to his memory, which were ſeverally printed.*] The Oxford verſes were printed there in 1587. 4to, and ſome in particular made by the members of New College, under the title of *Peplus Sidnæi*. Oxon. 1587. 4to.——Thoſe made at Cambridge, were publiſhed by Alexander Nevill, Lond. 1587. 4to.

[*W*] *Elizabeth, born in* 1585.] The eminent Civilian, Scipio Gentilis, wrote a Latin poem on her Nativity, intituled, *Nereus, ſive de natali Elizabethæ, illuſtriſſimi Philippi Sydnæi filiæ*. Lond. 1585. one ſheet in 4to (33). She was married thrice; firſt, to Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland, by whom ſhe had no iſſue; ſecondly, to Robert Devereux, Earl of Eſſex, who had by her one ſon, and two daughters; and, thirdly, to Richard Bourk, Earl of Clanrickard in Ireland, and of St Albans in England, to whom ſhe brought forth one daughter and one ſon (34).

(33) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra, col. 229.

(34) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 181. and Iriſh Compendium, under the title Bourk, Earl of Clanrickard. See Lord Lytelton's Dialogues.

[*X*] *He was not only learned himſelf.*] Beſides his *Arcadia*, already mentioned; the monuments he left of his learning were as follows: 1. 'Aſtrophel and 'Stella; wherein the excellency of ſweet poeſie is con-'cluded.' Lond. 1591. 4to, ſaid to be written for the ſake of one whom he entirely loved, viz. the Lady Rich, by whom was underſtood *Philoclea* in the Arcadia. 2. 'An Apology for Poetry.' Lond. 1595. 4to, in proſe. 3. '*Ourania*, a Poem.' Lond. 1606. publiſhed by N. B. 4. 'Sonnets; Remedy for Love;' printed at the end of the eleventh edition of the Arcadia. Lond. 1662. fol. 5. 'England's Helicon; or a Collection 'of Songs.' They were not all written by Sir Philip, but only the greateſt part of them. Lond. 4to. 6. 'Va-'lour anatomized in a Fancie. By Sir Philip Sidney, '1581.' Printed among *Cottoni Poſthuma*. Lond. 1651. 8vo. Aſcribed by ſome to Sir Thomas Overbury. 7. 'Almanzor and Almanzaida, a Novel.' Lond. 1678. 8vo. This book coming out ſo long after Sir Philip's death, it is juſtly queſtioned whether he was the author. Probably, his great name was ſet to it, for the ſake of promoting the ſale. 8. 'Inſtructions, deſcribing what 'ſpecial Obſervations are to be taken by Travellers, 'in all Nations, States, and Countries.' 12mo. The names of Robert Earl of Eſſex and Sir Philip Sidney are put to this book (35); but it is a queſtion whether either of them had a hand in it. 9. He began to tranſlate from French into Engliſh, 'A work concerning the 'Trueneſs of Chriſtian Religion, againſt Atheiſts, &c. 'written by Philip de Mornay.' But that tranſlation being left by him imperfect, Arthur Golding finiſhed it, and had it printed at London, 1587. 4to. Afterwards it was reviſed and corrected by Thomas Wilcocks, a Miniſter, 1604. 10. Sir Philip turned alſo the Pſalms of David into Engliſh verſe; which are in manuſcript, curiouſly bound in crimſon velvet, in the Library of the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton, being left to it by his ſiſter Mary, Counteſs of Pembroke (36). One of them, namely the 137th, is printed in the Guardian, No. 18. 11. Ten of his Letters are printed in the Firſt Volume of the Letters and Memorials of State of the Sydney family, publiſhed by Arthur Collins, Eſq; (37). But moſt of them are not of a very intereſting nature, and ſeem to have been written in haſte.——His works were reprinted in 1725, three Volumes, 8vo.——The Lord Brooke ſays (38), that 'his end was not writing, 'even while he wrote; nor his knowledge moulded for 'tables or ſchools; but, both his wit and underſtand-'ing bent upon his heart, to make himſelf, and others, 'not in words or opinion, but in life, and action, good 'and great.'

(35) A letter of his, to his brother beyond the ſeas, concerning Travel, is among the MSS of Univerſity-college, Oxon. No. 152. Catalog. MSS Angliæ.

(36) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 228.

(37) p. 247, 256, 283, 287, 293, 296, 298, 389, 392, 393.

(38) Life &c. p. 21.

[*Y*] *But alſo a great encourager of learning, and learned men.*] 'The Univerſities abroad, and at home, ac-'counted him a general *Mecænas* of learning; dedicated 'their Books to him; and communicated every inven-'tion, or improvement of knowledge with him..... 'His heart and capacity were ſo large, that there was 'not a curious Painter, a ſkilful Ingenier, an excellent 'Muſician, or any other Artificer of extraordinary fame, 'that made not himſelf known to this famous ſpirit, 'and found him his true friend without hire; and the 'common rendezvous of worth in his time..... It 'will be confeſſed by all men, that this one man's ex-'ample, and perſonall reſpect, did not only encourage 'Learning, and honour in the Schooles, but brought 'the affection, and true uſe thereof both into the 'Court, and Camp (39).'

(39) Life &c. as above, p. 38, 39, 40.

The ingenious Author of the Life of Mr Edmund Spencer gives a remarkable inſtance of Sir Philip Sidney's exquiſite judgment, and of his great munificence to the truly learned (40). His words are theſe: "It is ſaid Spencer was a ſtranger to Sir Philip Sydney, when he had begun to write his *Fairy Queen*; and that he took occaſion to go to Leiceſter-houſe, and to introduce himſelf, by ſending in to Sir Philip a copy of the ninth Canto of the firſt book of that Poem. Sir Philip was much ſurprized with the deſcription of Deſpair in that Canto, and is ſaid to have ſhewn an unuſual tranſport, on the diſcovery of ſo new and uncommon a genius. After he had read ſome ſtanzas, he bid his ſteward give the perſon that brought thoſe verſes fifty pounds; but, upon reading the next ſtanza, he ordered the ſum to be doubled. The Steward was no leſs ſurprized than his Maſter, and thought it his duty to make ſome delay, in executing ſo ſudden and laviſh a bounty: But, upon reading one ſtanza more, Sir Philip raiſed his gratuity to two hundred pounds, and commanded the Steward to give it immediately, leſt, as he read further, he might be tempted to give away his whole eſtate."..... No wonder, therefore, that 'the Poets of his time, eſpe-'cially *Spenſer*, reverenced him not only as a Patron, but 'a Maſter; ſince he was almoſt the only perſon in any 'age (not excepting Mecænas) that could teach the beſt 'rules of Poetry, and moſt freely reward the perform-'ances of Poets (41).'

(40) Life of Spenſer, prefixed to his works, p. 4.

(41) Wood, Ath. col. 226.

[*Z*] *They extol his abilities.*] They were obſerved, at his firſt appearance into the world, by that wiſe man, William of Naſſau, Prince of Orange; who, having converſed with him, both by word of mouth and letters, about the moſt important Affairs of Europe, conceived ſuch a high idea of his extraordinary Merit; that he deſired Sir Fulke Grevil, (when he waited upon his Highneſs at Delft) to acquaint the Queen with Mr Sidney's great Abilities. 'Proteſting, that, if he could 'judge, her Majeſty had one of the ripeſt and greateſt 'Counſellors of Eſtate in that young Man, at that time 'in Europe: to the trial of which he was pleaſed to 'leave his own credit engaged, until her Majeſty might 'employ that Gentleman, either amongſt her friends 'or enemies (42).'—Henry King of Navarre, after-wards the great Henry IV. King of France, having 'found out this Maſter-Spirit among us, uſed him like 'an equal in nature, and a perſon fit for friendſhip with 'a King (43).'——His uncle, Robert Earl of Leiceſter, when he firſt carried him over to the Low-Countreys, 'not only deſpiſed his youth for a Counſellor, but alſo 'bore a ſtrict hand over him as a forward young man. 'But, in a ſhort time, he ſaw this ſun ſo riſen above his 'horizon, that both he and his ſtars were glad to fetch 'light from him. And in the end acknowledged, that 'he held up the Honour of his caſual Authority by him 'whilſt he lived, and found reaſon to withdraw himſelf 'from that burthen after his death (44).'——His Father-in-law, Sir Francis Walſingham, that wiſe and active Secretary, who had influence in all countries, and a hand upon all affairs; often confeſſed alſo to Sir Fulke Grevil, 'that his Philip did ſo far over-ſhoot him in his own 'bow, that thoſe Friends, which at firſt were Sir Philip's 'for the Secretary's ſake, within a while became ſo 'fully poſſeſſed by Sir Philip, that now he held them 'at the ſecond-hand, by his ſon-in-law's native courte-'ſie (45).'——And he merited even the Praiſe and Eſteem of his Enemies. Don John of Auſtria's regard for him hath been already mentioned. And the Spaniſh Secretary, Don Bernardine de Mendoza, 'acknow-'ledged openly; That howſoever he was glad, King 'Philip

(42) Life &c. as above, p. 22—31.

(43) Ibid. p. 36.

(44) Ibid. p. 34. Sir Fulke Grevil had it from the Earl's own mouth.

(45) Ibid. p. 56.

nerosity, his Goodneſs, his Sincerity, his Honeſty [*AA*], and all thoſe amiable Virtues, which conſtitute either one of the moſt accompliſhed of Men, or the beſt of Chriſtians. Mr Camden, in particular *(hh)*, ſtyles him, 'the great glory of his family, the great hopes of mankind, the moſt lively pattern of virtue, and the darling of the learned world. This is, (adds he) that Sidney, whom as Providence ſeems to have ſent into the world, to give the preſent age a ſpecimen of the Ancients; ſo did it on a ſudden recall him, and ſnatch him from us, as more worthy of heaven than of earth. Thus, when Virtue is come to perfection, it preſently leaves us; and the beſt things are ſeldom laſting. Reſt then in peace, O Sidney! if I may be allowed this addreſs; we will not celebrate thy memory with tears, but with admiration. Whatever we loved in thee, as the beſt of authors ſpeaks of that beſt Governor of Britain *(ii)*, whatever we admired in thee, continues, and will continue in the memories of men, the revolutions of ages, and the annals of time. Many, as inglorious and ignoble, are buried in oblivion; but Sidney ſhall live to all poſterity. For, as the Greek poet has it, 'Virtue's beyond the reach of fate.' 'But, to ſpeak more of him, were to make him leſs;' as Sir Robert Naunton rightly obſerves *(kk)*.

(*hh*) Britannia, in Kent.

(*ii*) Tacitus, Life of Agricola.

(*kk*) Fragmenta &c. ut ſupra p. 36.

'Philip his maſter had loſt, in a private gentleman, a 'dangerous enemy to his ſtate, yet he could not but 'lament to ſee Chriſtendom deprived of ſo rare a light 'in theſe cloudy times; and bewail poor widow Eng-'land (ſo he termed her) that, having been many years 'in breeding one eminent ſpirit, was in a moment be-'reaved of him.——Indeed, as Sir Fulke Grevil goes 'on, he was a true model of worth; a man fit for 'conqueſt, plantation, reformation, or what action ſo-'ever is greateſt and hardeſt among men.'... Souldiers 'honoured him, and were ſo honoured by him, that 'no man thought he marched under the true banner of 'Mars, that had not obtained Sir Philip Sidney's ap-'probation. Men of affairs, in moſt parts of Chriſten-(46) Life &c. as above, p. 38, 39. 'dom, entertained correſpondency with him (46).' 'He was a Stateſman, Soldier, and Scholar, a compleat 'maſter of matter and language, as his immortal pen 'ſhews. Certain it is, he was a noble and matchleſs 'Gentleman; and it may be juſtly ſaid, without hyper-'bole or fiction, as it was of Cato Uticenſis, that he (47) Naunton's Fragmenta, as above, p. 36. 'ſeemed to be born to that only which he went 'about (47).'

[*AA*] *His Modeſty, his Piety, his Generoſity, his Goodneſs, his Sincerity, his Honeſty.*] Fulke Grevil, Lord Brook, teſtifies, that he was 'ſuch a *lover of Mankind, and* 'Goodneſs, that whoſoever had any reall parts, in Him 'found comfort, participation, and protection to the 'uttermoſt of his power; like *Zephyrus* he giving life 'where he blew.'... A man of 'ſuch eminence, that 'he was not only a nouriſher of *Vertue* in Courts, but 'a reformed Standard, by which even the moſt humour-'ous perſons could not but have a reverend ambition 'to be tried and approved.... Beſides which honour 'of Nature and Education, his very waies in the world 'did generally adde reputation to his Prince, and coun-'try, by reſtoring amongſt us the ancient majeſtie of 'noble and *True Dealing*..... His heart and tongue 'went both one way, and ſo with every one that went 'with the Truth; as knowing no other kindred, partie, 'or end. Above all, he made the *Religion* he profeſſed, 'the firm baſis of his life: For this was his judgement '(as he often told Sir Fulke Grevil) that our true-heart-'edneſſe to the Reformed Religion in the beginning, 'brought Peace, Safetie, and Freedom to us; con-'cluding, that the wiſeſt and beſt way, was that of the 'famous William Prince of Orange, who never divided 'the conſideration of Eſtate from the cauſe of Religion, 'nor gave the ſound party occaſion to be jealous or 'diſtracted, upon any appearance of ſafety whatſoever. '.... The Greatneſs which he affected was built upon 'true worth; eſteeming Fame more than Riches, and (48) Life &c. as above, p. 38, 40, 41, 42, 45. 'Noble actions far above Nobility itſelf (48).'——This 'Gentleman's large, yet uniform, diſpoſition was every 'where praiſed; greater in himſelf than in the world; 'yet greater there in Fame and Honour than many 'of his ſuperiors; reverenced by forrain Nations in one 'form, of his own in another; eaſily cenſured, hardly 'imitated.——The *Ingenuitie* of his Nature did ſpread 'itſelf ſo freely abroad; as who can ſay he ever did him 'harm; whereas there be many, that may thankfully 'acknowledge he did them good. Neither was this 'in him a private, but a publique affection; his chief 'ends being not Friends, Wife, Children, or him-'ſelfe; but, above all things, the honour of his 'Maker, and Service of his Prince, or Country (49).' (49) p. 46, 47.

This further Character is given of him in Holinſhed's Chronicle (50). He was 'a gentleman of great hope, (50) Edit. 1587. 'and exceeding expectation, endowed with manie rare Vol. III. p. 1551, 'Gifts, ſingular *Vertues*, and other *Ornaments both of mind* 1552. '*and bodie*; one generallie beloved and eſteemed of all 'men.——He greatlie abounded in ſundrie good Ver-'tues, which, wherever he came, procured him Love, 'but chiefly in *Juſtice* and *Liberality* (a worthy and moſt 'ſpeciall note in a Governor) which gained him hearty 'love, coupled with Fame and Honor. For the which, 'eſpecially thoſe under his late charge and government 'greatly loved, honoured, and in a ſort adored him, (51) This laſt paragraph is taken from the Caſtrated Sheets of Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1554. 'when he was alive.——' He was reckoned, for his '*Modeſtie, Courteſie, Affabilitie*, and other ſpeciall Ver-'tues, amongeſt the verie prime Gentlemen for his 'yeares that this age hath bred, or our countrie affoord-'ed; and ſo complet a man to everie *Perfection*, as the 'memorie of him ought not to be forgotten (51).'

In a modern Life of him (52), he is ſtyled, 'the (52) Lives of the Poets, as above, Vol. I. p. 76. 'great Ornament to human Nature, to Literature, and 'to Britain.'——And the immortal Grotius pays a juſt tribute to his memory, by taking notice of his learning, 'and ſaying, That he was born for every great thing. (53) Grotii Annal. et Hiſt. de Rebus Belgicis, edit. 1657. fol. p. 98. *Juvenis* ad maxima quæque nati, *ut qui claris natalibus opibuſque, rarum decus! literas adjunxiſſet; hoc major avun-culo Leiceſtrio, cui & fortunæ, quantacunque ea futura erat, ſucceſſor deſtinabatur* (53).

But the Hon. Horace Walpole doth not paſs ſo favorable, and as ſome may think a more impartial, judgment upon him. His words are, ... 'No man ſeems 'to me ſo aſtoniſhing an object of temporary admiration 'as the celebrated friend of the Lord Brooke, the famous 'Sir Philip Sidney. The learned of Europe dedicated 'their works to Him; the republic of Poland thought 'him at leaſt worthy to be in the nomination for their 'crown. All the muſes of England wept his death. 'When we at this diſtance of time inquire what pro-'digious merits excited ſuch admiration, what do we 'find.'——Great valour.——But it was an age of he-'roes.——In full of all other talents we have a tedious, 'lamentable, pedantic, paſtoral romance, which the 'patience of a young virgin in love cannot now wade 'through; and ſome abſurd attempts to fetter Engliſh 'verſe in Roman chains; a proof that this applauded 'author underſtood little of the genius of his own lan-'guage. The few of his letters extant are poor mat-'ters; one to a ſteward of his father, an inſtance of 'unwarrantable violence. By far the beſt preſumption 'of his abilities [to us who can judge only by what we 'ſee] is a pamphlet publiſhed amongſt the Sidney-'papers (54), being an anſwer to the famous libel (54) In the Introduction, p. 62. 'called *Leiceſter's commonwealth*. It defends his uncle 'with great ſpirit: What had been ſaid in derogation 'to their blood ſeems to have touched Sir Philip moſt. 'He died with the raſhneſs of a volunteer, after having 'lived to write with the *ſang froid* (55), and prolixity (55) Cool blood. 'of Mademoiſelle Scuderi (56).'——After all, there (56) Noble Authors of England, Vol. I. p. 284. muſt have been ſomething very extraordinary in Sir Philip Sydney's Perſon and Manner, now loſt at this diſtance of time, which could draw ſuch a volume of letters, as Hubert Languet wrote to him, and thoſe very uncommon Commendations of his Cotemporaries, mentioned above.

C

SYDNEY, or SIDNEY (ALGERNOON), was the second surviving son of Robert Earl of Leicester, by his wife Dorothy, eldest daughter of Henry Piercy Earl of Northumberland. He was born about the year 1621, or 1622 (*a*) [*A*]. His noble father was very careful to give him a good education; and in 1632, when he went embassador to Denmark, took him with him; as also when he was embassador in France (*b*) [*B*]. Upon the breaking out of the rebellion in Ireland, in the year 1641, he had a commission for a troop of horse in his Father's regiment, who was Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom; and went over thither with his brother the Lord Viscount Lisle, where he behaved very gallantly. In 1643, he had the King's permission to come to England, with his brother the Lord Lisle, but, withal, they received express orders on their allegiance to repair to his Majesty at Oxford: which the Parliament hearing of, sent into Lancashire where they landed, and had them taken into custody [*C*]. The King believing it happened through their own management, was greatly offended with them; and thereupon they entered into the measures of the Parliament (*c*), under which Algernoon accepted of a command: And 2000 l. was ordered him for his arrears (*d*). The Earl of Manchester (Serjeant-Major-General of the counties of Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Hertford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Lincoln) constituted him, May 10, 1644, Captain of a troop of horse, in his own regiment, consisting of one hundred, to be raised for the defence of the King, Parliament, and Kingdom. And, April the 2d, 1645, Sir Thomas Fairfax, Commander in chief of all the forces raised for the defence of the kingdom, made him Colonel of a regiment of horse. He was in the battles of York, and other places; and likewise Governor of Chichester. His brother, the Lord Viscount Lisle, being appointed Lieutenant-general of Ireland, and Commander of the forces there, made him Colonel of a regiment of horse, to serve in the expedition into Ireland, which was in 1646. He became Lieutenant-general of the horse in that kingdom, and Governor of Dublin. But in 1647, that Government was taken from him, and given to Colonel Jones. However, the House of Commons ordered that some recompence might be given to Colonel Algernoon Sydney (*e*). He came over to England about that time; and, May 7, 1647, had, among others, the thanks of the House of Commons, for his good service in Ireland: and was afterwards made Governor of Dover (*f*). In 1648, he was nominated one of the Judges of King Charles I, but did not appear in that tragical affair (*g*) [*D*]. He was, by inclination and principle, so grounded in his opinion for a Commonwealth, that, when Oliver Cromwell had assumed the government, he refused to act under him; or his son Richard, who succeeded him in the Protectorship: During which time, he lived retired at Penshurst, and other places, when it is conceived he began to write his Discourses on Government, or at least some part of them. But, on the resignation of Richard, and the restoration of the Long Parliament, and their Speaker, Lenthall; they having voted, on the 7th of May, 1659, a Declaration to secure the Liberty and Property of the people, both as Men and Christians, without a single Person, King, or House of Peers, he then came into their measures. Whereupon, on the 13th of the month just now mentioned, he was named by that Parliament one of the Council of State, with the Lord Fairfax, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and others (*h*). The 5th of June following, he was nominated one of the Commissioners, with Sir Robert Honeywood, and Bulstrode Whitelock Esq; to go and mediate a peace between the Kings of Sweden and Denmark. But Mr Whitelock declining that employment, and Mr Thomas Boone being appointed in his room (*i*), Sir Robert Honeywood, Colonel Sydney, and Mr Boone, went on that embassy, which was not ended at the Restoration of King Charles the Second (*k*). They were successful in their negotiations, and obtained a peace between Denmark and Sweden (*l*).

(*a*) Memoirs of Algernon Sidney Esq; prefixed to his Discourses concerning Government, fol. edit. 1751. p. 1.

(*b*) Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of the Sidneys &c. prefixed to Letters of State &c. published by Ar. Collins Esq; Vol. I. edit. 1746. fol. p. 249, &c.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 148, 250.

(*d*) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732. p. 233.

(*e*) Memoirs &c. by Ar. Collins, as above, p. 150, 151, 152. and Whitelock's Memorials, p. 242.

(*f*) Whitelock, p. 246, 487.

(*g*) Dugdale's Short view of the Troubles, p. 368.

(*h*) Memoirs &c. as above, p. 152. and Whitelock, p. 678. and Ludlow's Memoirs, edit. 1699. 8vo. Vol. II. p. 656.

(*i*) One of the reasons given by Mr Whitelock for his declining that employment, is, because he 'knew well 'the over-ruling 'temper, and 'height of Col. 'Sidney.' Memorials, p. 680.

(*k*) See Thurloe's State-Papers, Vol. II.

(*l*) See Letters and Memorials of State, Vol. II. p. 686, 687, &c.

(*z*) See Letters and Memorials of State, &c. Vol. II. p. 709.

(*a*) Memoirs &c. as above, by Collins. See also Letters and Memorials of State &c. Vol. II. p. 445.

[*A*] *Born about the year* 1621, *or* 1622.] He says, in April 1661, that he was 'growing very near forty (*z*).'

[*B*] *As also when he was embassador in France.*] Whilst he was there, the Countess his mother, in a Letter to the Earl at Paris, dated Nov. 10, 1636, acquaints his Lordship, 'That she hears him [her son Algernoon] 'much commended by all that come from thence, for 'a huge deal of Wit, and much Sweetness of Nature (*a*).'

[*C*] *And had them taken into custody.*] The order of the House of Commons for that purpose was in these words.

'*Die Jovis ult. Augusti*, 1643.

'A letter was read from the Committee at Liverpoole 'and Manchester, and an intercepted letter, there taken 'from Captayne *Sidney*, newly come out of Ireland, to 'Orlando Bridgman at Chester, of his intentions to goe 'to the Kinge, were read:

'Ordered,

'That a letter bee written to the Deputy Lieutenants 'and Committees in the Countie of Lancaster, to send 'upp in safe custody the Lord Lisle, Captayne Sidney, 'and Sir Richard Grinville, guarded with a strong con'voy: And that the Committees and Deputie Lieute'nants in the Counties betwixt this and Lancashire, 'respectively, doe appointe a good convoy with the 'said persons, through their severall Counties, and that 'a stay bee made of all their goods and armes, till this 'Howse take further order. And Mr Ashurst is to 'prepare this letter, and to write the same accord'ingly.'

[*D*] *But did not appear in that tragical affair.*] The anonymous Author of the *Reflections upon Col. Sidney's last Paper* (3), says, that 'He was not only named in 'this execrable commission, but was actually in the 'Court, and upon the bench as a coasessor with that 'villain Bradshaw and the rest at the tryal of that il'lustrious sufferer; as *he was* able to make appear from 'a true transcript of every several day's proceeding, 'in the Tryal; the original whereof is attested under 'Phelps the Clerk of that pretended Court's own hand, 'and was by him drawn up, and the names of all that 'were present each day entered by order from the 'Keepers of the Liberties of England. It is true he 'was not present when the sentence was passed, nor 'the execrable warrant for the barbarous execution 'signed.'——In April 1651, he had a great quarrel with the Earl of Oxford, the occasion not known, which ended in a duel; as appears by this entry in Whitelock's Memorials (4), 'That the Earl of *Oxford*, and Colonel 'Sidney, were gone into Flanders to fight a duel with 'seconds.'

(3) p. 5.

(4) p. 492.

But

But Col. Sydney was ſo noted a Republican [*E*], and had acted all along with ſuch earneſtneſs againſt the King's friends, that he did not think it ſafe or adviſable to return to England, though he was adviſed to it by General Monk [*F*]; therefore, according to his father's

[*E*] *But Col. Sydney was ſo noted a Republican.*] With what eye he was looked upon at the Court of England, appears plainly from the following Extract of a Letter of his Father's to him ..... 'Concerning you, 'what to reſolve in myſelf, or what to adviſe you, 'truly I know not; for you muſt give me leave to 'remember, of how little weight my opinions and 'counſels have been with you, and how unkindly and 'unfriendly you have rejected thoſe exhortations and 'admonitions, which, in much affection and kindneſs, 'I have given you upon many occaſions, and in almoſt 'every thing, from the higheſt to the loweſt, that hath 'concerned you: and this you may think ſufficient to 'diſcourage me from putting my advices into the like 'danger. Yet ſomewhat I will ſay: and, firſt, I think 'it unfit, and perhaps as yet unſafe, for you to come 'into England; for I believe Powell (5) hath told you, 'that he heard, when he was here, that you were likely 'to be excepted out of the general act of pardon and 'oblivion: and, though I know not what you have 'done or ſaid here or there, yet I have ſeveral ways 'heard, that there is an ill opinion of you, as of any, 'even of thoſe that condemned the late King. And 'when I thought there was no other exception to you, 'than your being of the other party, I ſpoke to the 'General in your behalf, who told me, that very ill 'offices had been done you; but he would aſſiſt you 'as much as juſtly he could. And I intended then alſo 'to ſpeak to ſomebody elſe; you may gueſs whom 'I mean (6): But ſince that I have heard ſuch things 'of you, that, in the doubtfulneſs only of their being 'true, no man will open his mouth for you. I will 'tell you ſome paſſages, and you ſhall do well to clear 'yourſelf of them. It is ſaid, that the univerſity of 'Copenhagen brought their *album* unto you, deſiring 'you to write ſomething therein; and that you did '*ſcribere in albo* theſe words;

.... Manus hæc inimica tyrannis
Enſe petit placidam ſub libertate quietem.

'And put your name to it (7). This cannot chooſe 'but be publicly known, if it be true. It is alſo ſaid, 'that a miniſter, who hath married a Lady Laurence, 'here at Chelſea, but now dwelling at Copenhagen, 'being there in company with you, ſaid, "I think "you were none of the late King's judges, nor guilty "of his death," meaning our King. "Guilty! ſaid "you: do you call that guilt? why, it was the juſteſt "and braveſt action that ever was done in England, "or any where elſe;" with other words to the ſame 'effect. It is ſaid alſo, that, you having heard of a 'deſign to ſeize upon you, or to cauſe you to be taken 'priſoner, you took notice of it to the King of Den-'mark himſelf, and ſaid, "I hear there is a deſign to "ſeize upon me; but who is it that hath that deſign? "*Eſte nôtre bandit* (8)?" by which you are underſtood 'to mean the King. Beſides this, it is reported, that 'you have been heard to ſay many ſcornful and con-'temptuous things of the King's perſon and family, 'which, unleſs you can juſtify yourſelf, will hardly be 'forgiven or forgotten; for ſuch perſonal offences make 'deeper impreſſions than public actions, either of war 'or treaty (9).'

[*F*] *That he did not think it ſafe or adviſable to return to England,* &c.] This account he gives us himſelf: 'I choſe rather to remaine beyond the ſeas, then to 'return into my owne country, though general Monk, 'upon the account of many obligations receaved from 'me, did deſire me to returne, with large offers of all 'the advantages he could procure for me (10).'—— He had ſome thoughts of returning home at firſt, but ſuffered himſelf to be directed by his relations, and at laſt had reaſon to think, that he acted wiſely by ſtaying abroad. This appears from the following extracts of ſome of his letters to his father .... 'I did hope, 'that, by the time I could returne from hence, our 'Meſſenger might have met me with an Anſweare 'unto my letters at Copenhagen. I now deſpaire of 'that, and am abſolutely uncertaine what courſe I ſhall 'take, unleſſe I find ſomme other letters, at my returne, 'that may inſtruct me. ..... I ſhall conclude what 'I have to ſay relating unto my own concernements, in 'deſiring your Lordſhip, and my Lord of Northumber-'land, to doe that which you think beſt, according to 'the preſent ſtate of things, and to ſend me directions 'how to diſpoſe of myſelf, which I ſhall exactly fol-'lowe. ..... Your Lordſhip may better know my 'motions then myſelf; for I ſhall take my meaſures, 'for ſtaying or returning, juſt according to what I ſhall 'heare from England (11).'... In the following letter we find, it had been his Father's 'opinion, He ſhould 'returne immediately home.'... But very ſoon after, he ordered him, 'to remove from Stockholm to Ham-'burgh, and from thence into Holland, or ſome place 'in Germany (12).' He acknowledges in another letter (13), how prudent that courſe had been. 'I think, 'ſays he, the councell given me by all my Freinds, to 'keep out of England for a while, doth too clearely 'appeare to have bin good, by the uſage my compa-'nions have already receaved, and perhaps will be yet 'further verified by what they will find. Nothing doth 'ſeeme more certaine to me, then that, I muſt either 'have procured my ſafety, by ſuch meanes as Sir Arthur 'Haſelrigg is ſayed to have uſed; or runne the fortune 'of ſomme others, whoe have ſhewed themſelves more 'reſolute.'——In another Letter, he expreſſes himſelf in a yet more ſtrong and pathetick manner. .... 'I confeſs, 'we are naturally inclined to delight in our own coun-'try, and I have a particular love to mine. I hope I 'have given ſome teſtimony of it. I think, that be-'ing exiled from it is a great evil; and would redeem 'myſelf from it with the loſs of a great deal of my 'blood. But, when that country of mine, which 'uſed to be eſteemed a paradiſe, is now like to 'be made a ſtage of injury; the liberty, which we 'hoped to eſtabliſh, oppreſſed; luxury and lewdneſs 'ſet up in its height, inſtead of the piety, virtue, 'ſobriety, and modeſty, which we hoped, God by our 'hands would have introduced; the beſt of our nation 'made a prey to the worſt; the parliament, court, 'and army, corrupted; the people enſlaved; all 'things vendible; no man ſafe, but by ſuch evil and 'infamous means, as flattery and bribery; what joy 'can I have in my own country in this condition? Is 'it a pleaſure to ſee, that all I love in the world is ſold 'and deſtroyed? Shall I renounce all my old princi-'ples, learn the vile court-arts, and make my peace 'by bribeing ſome of them? Shall their corruption 'and vice be my ſafety? Ah! no: better is a life 'among ſtrangers, than in my own country upon ſuch 'conditions. Whilſt I live, I will endeavour to pre-'ſerve my liberty; or, at leaſt, not conſent to the 'deſtroying of it. I hope I ſhall die in the ſame prin-'ciples, in which I have lived, and will live no 'longer than they can preſerve me. I have in my life 'been guilty of many follies; but, as I think, of no 'meanneſs. I will not blot and defile that which is 'paſt, by endeavouring to provide for the future. I 'have ever had in my mind, that when God ſhould 'caſt me into ſuch a condition, as that I cannot ſave 'my life, but by doing an indecent thing, he ſhews 'me the time is come, wherein I ſhould reſign it. 'And when I cannot live in my own country but by 'ſuch means as are worſe than dying in it; I think he 'ſhews me, I ought to keep myſelf out of it. Let 'them pleaſe themſelves with making the King glo-'rious, who think a whole people may juſtly be ſa-'crificed for the intereſt and pleaſure of one man, and 'a few of his followers: let them rejoice in their ſub-'tilty, who, by betraying the former powers, have 'gained the favour of this, not only preſerved, but 'advanced themſelves in theſe dangerous changes. 'Nevertheleſs, perhaps they may find the King's 'glory is their ſhame; his plenty the people's miſery; 'and that the gaining of an office, or a little mony, is 'a poor reward for deſtroying a nation (which, if it 'were preſerved in liberty and virtue, would truly be 'the moſt glorious in the world) and that others may 'find they have with much pains purchaſed their own 'ſhame and miſery; a dear price paid for that, which 'is not worth keeping, nor the life that is accom-'panied with it. The honour of Engliſh Parliaments 'hath ever been, in making the nation glorious and 'happy, not in ſelling and deſtroying the intereſt of 'it, to ſatisfy the luſts of one man. Miſerable nation! 'that, from ſo great a height of glory, is fallen into 'the moſt deſpicable condition in the world; of hav-'ing all its good depend upon the breath and will of 'the

(5) His manſervant.

(6) Undoubtedly King Charles II.

(7) See Lord Moleſworth's Account of Denmark, Preface, near the end.

(8) i. e. Is it our banditti?

(9) Familiar Letters, written by John, late Earl of Rocheſter, and ſeveral other perſons of honour, &c. Lond. 1697. 8vo. p. 53, &c.

(10) His Apology, prefixed to the laſt edition of his Diſcourſes concerning Government.

(11) Letters and Memorials of State, Vol. II. p. 690.

(12) p. 691.

(13) p. 700.

father's command, he determined to remove to Hamburgh, and from thence into Holland, or ſome place in Germany, where he might lie ſtill a while, and ſee what was to be expected for him *(m)*. In September 1660, he was at Francford *(n)*, and the November following at Rome [*G*]: But, to all appearance by orders from England, he was forced, about the middle of the year 1661, to remove from thence to Fraſcati *(o)* [*H*]; and next to

(m) The ſame Volume, p. 691, 695.

(n) See the ſame Volume, p. [illegible].

(o) See Let. p. 708, 721, &c.

' the vileſt perſons in it! cheated and ſold by them ' they truſted! infamous traffic, equal almoſt in guilt ' to that of Judas! In all preceding ages Parliaments ' have been the palace of our liberty; the ſure de- ' fenders of the oppreſſed: they, who formerly could ' bridle Kings, and keep the balance equal between ' them and the people, are now become inſtruments of ' all our oppreſſions, and a ſword in his hand to de- ' ſtroy us; they themſelves led by a few intereſted ' perſons, who are willing to buy offices for them- ' ſelves, by the miſery of the whole nation, and the ' blood of the moſt worthy and eminent perſons in it. ' Deteſtable bribes, worſe than the oaths now in ' faſhion in this mercenary court! I mean to owe ' neither my life nor liberty to any ſuch means: when ' the innocence of my actions will not protect me, I ' will ſtay away till the ſtorm be over-paſſed. In ſhort, ' where Vane, Lambert, and Haſelrigg cannot live in ' ſafety, I cannot live at all. If I had been in Eng- ' land, I ſhould have expected a lodging with *them*; ' or, though they may be the firſt, as being more emi- ' nent than I, I muſt expect to follow their example in ' ſuffering, as I have been their companion in acting. ' I am moſt in a maze at the miſtaken informations, ' that were ſent to me by my friends, full of expecta- ' tions of favours and employments. Who can think, ' that they, who impriſon them, would employ me; ' or ſuffer me to live, when they are put to death? ' If I might live, and be employed, can it be expect- ' ed, that I ſhould ſerve a government that ſeeks ſuch ' deteſtable ways of eſtabliſhing itſelf? Ah! no: I ' have not learnt to make my own peace, by perſe- ' cuting and betraying my brethren, *more innocent* ' and worthy than myſelf. I muſt live by juſt-means, ' and ſerve to juſt ends, or not at all. After ſuch a ' manifeſtation of the ways by which it is intended the ' King ſhall govern, I ſhould have renounced any ' place of favour, *into which the kindneſs and induſtry* ' of my friends might have advanced me; when I ' found thoſe, that were better than I, were only fit ' to be deſtroyed. I had formerly ſome jealouſies: ' the fraudulent proclamation for indemnity increaſed ' them: the impriſoning of thoſe three men, and ' turning out of *all the officers* of the army, contrary ' to *promiſe*, confirmed me in my reſolutions not to ' return. To conclude, the tide is not to be diverted, ' nor the oppreſſed delivered; but God, in his time, ' will have mercy on his people: he will ſave and ' defend them, and avenge the blood of thoſe, who ' ſhall now periſh, upon the heaps of thoſe, who, in ' their pride, think nothing is able to oppoſe them: ' happy are thoſe, whom God ſhall make inſtruments ' of his juſtice in ſo bleſſed a work. If I can live to ' ſee that day, I ſhall be ripe for the grave, and able ' to ſay with joy, " Lord, now letteſt thou thy ſer- " vant depart in peace &c." Farewel. My thoughts ' as to King and ſtate depending upon their actions, ' no man ſhall be a more faithful ſervant to him than I, ' if he make the good and proſperity of his people his ' glory; none more his enemy, if he doth the con- ' trary ——— (14).'

(14) Letters &c. as above, p. 62.

[*G*] *And the November following at Rome.*] In a letter from thence to his Father, he ſays, ... ' I hope my ' being heare, will in a ſhort time ſhewe, that the Place ' was not ill choſen, and that, beſides the liberty and ' quiet which is generally granted to all perſons heare, I ' may be admitted into that company, the knowledge ' of which will very well recompence my journey. I ' was extreamely unwilling to ſtay in Hamburgh, or ' any place in Germany, finding my ſelfe too apt to ' fall too deepe into melancholy, if I have neither bu- ' ſineſſe nor company to divert me; and I have ſuch ' an averſion to the converſation and entertainments of ' that country, that if I had ſtayed in it, I muſt have ' lived as a hermite, though in a populous city. I ' am heare well enough at eaſe, and believe I may ' continue ſoe, *unleſſe ſome boddy from the Court of Eng- ' land doth think it worth theire paines to diſturbe me.* I ' ſee nothing likely to ariſe heare to trouble me. I ' have already viſited ſeverall Cardinalls; to morrowe ' I intend to pay the ſame reſpect to the Cardinal ' Gizi, nephew to the Pope. .... They are all ge- ' nerally civill, and I aſk no more..... I doe not ' heare ſee thoes ſignes of Eaſe, Satisfaction, and ' Plenty, that weare in Pope Urban his time, but that ' littell concernes Strangers; the company of perſons ' excellent in all Sciences, which is the beſt thing ' Strangers can ſeeke, is never wanting ——— (15).' In one of his ſubſequent Letters he gives a very curious account, and characters, of the ſeveral Cardinals (16).

(15) Letters &c. p. 700, 701.

(16) p. 711, &c.

[*H*] *But, to all appearance by orders from England, he was forced, about the middle of the year* 1661, *to remove from thence to Fraſcati.*] ' I heare (ſaith he in one of ' his Letters to his father) of an Iriſh Prieſt, one Plunket, ' nephew to Nickleſſe Plunket, who is very buſy in ' prating and ſcribling. I know not the Man, nor ' what exceptions he can have unto me, unleſſe it be ' for being an Engliſhman, ſommtimes imployed in ' Ireland: But I apprehend nothing but Orders *from* ' England to my prejudice: He ſayeth, ſuch will ' comme, as ſhall force me to change my ſtation (17).' ..... ' Heare is, ſaith he in another Letter (18), ' one Plunket, a young Iriſh Prieſt, that gives me ' ſomme trouble, by fooliſh diſcourſes; amongſt others, ' he ſayes I am an Atheiſt, and bred up in your Lord- ' ſhip's houſe under a Maſter, from whom I learnt ' thoes opinions. He was anſweared, that was very ' improbable, and that my life and converſation gave ' teſtimony of the contrary; but though that weare, ' it concerned no body heare —— (19).' .... ' The ' other day, as he goes on, I was informed, that ' Orders had bin ſent from the Court heare, to the ' Internuntio in Flanders, to make the beſt enquiry ' he could of me, my birth, perſon, and quality. To ' whom *information* was given by one White..... ' that I was ever found to be violent againſt Monarchy, ' a friend unto Roman Catholiques, one that in our laſt ' troubles, meddled littel with private Buſineſſe; and ' that had made my fortune by the warre, with ſome ' other things like unto theis, part true, and part ' falſe; but none that I can learne which doth me any ' prejudice. They weare put upon this enquiry by ' the fooliſh prating of ſome Prieſts, who ſpoke of ' me, as the *only Enimy the King had left, and that I* ' *being taken away, his Majeſty might reagne in quiet.* ' Theis are but very ſlight vapours, and if nothing ' commes from England to my prejudice, I will eaſily ' blowe them away ———.' However, he thought fit to remove to Fraſcati; from whence writing to his Father, he ſays (20), ... ' I find myſelf at preſent ' as well as I can be, untill the time comme that I ' may conveniently returne *into my owne country.* ' The Prince Pamphilio, *nephewe to the* laſt Pope, ' hath given me very convenient lodgings in his Villa ' de Belvedere, which is one of the fineſt of *Italy.*' .... ' Here are walks and fountains in the greateſt ' perfection; and, though my natural delight *in ſoli-* ' tude is very much increaſed this laſt year, I cannot ' deſire to be more alone than I am, and hope to ' continue. My converſation is with birds, trees, and ' books. In theſe laſt months, that I have had no bu- ' ſineſs at all, I have applied myſelf to ſtudy a little ' more than I have done formerly: and though one ' who begins at my age, cannot hope to make any ' conſiderable progreſs that way; I find ſo *much ſa-* ' tisfaction in it, that, for the future, I ſhall very un- ' willingly (though I had the opportunity) put myſelf ' into any way of living, that ſhall deprive me of that ' entertainment. Whatſoever hath been formerly the ' objects of my thoughts and deſires, I have now in- ' tention of ſeeking very little more than quietneſs and ' retirement ———.' And again; ' I left Rome, ' wheare I had made a great deale of acquaintance, to ' avoid the neceſſity of making and receiving viſits, ' and live now as a hermite in a palace.' .... ' I ' cannot but rejoice a littell to finde, that when I wan- ' der as a vagabond through the world, forſaken of ' my Friends, poore, and knowne only to be a broken ' limbe of a ſhip-wrack'd Faction; I yet finde huma- ' nity and civility from thoes who are in the height of ' fortune and reputation. But I doe alſoe well knowe, ' I am in a ſtrange land, how farre thoes civilityes doe ' extend, and that they are too aery to feed or cloath a ' man (21).' ..... ' I intend this half-buriall (as a prepa-

(17) p. 708.

(18) p. 709.

(19) *He came afterwards and made his apology to Mr Sydney.* Ibid.

(20) p. 718.

(21) p. 720.

to other parts of Italy; as also to Germany, and France [*I*]. In December, 1663, he dates a letter from Bruſſels (*p*). And from Ludlow it appears (*q*), that a proſpect of ſome Troubles in England had brought him thither; 'thinking convenient to draw nearer home, 'that if an opportunity ſhould offer, he might not be wanting to [what he thought] his 'Duty and the publick ſervice.' About that time, he had the offer of a commiſſion in a regiment raiſed in England for the ſervice of the Emperor; and, if he did not obtain it, he propoſed to paſs the ſummer following as a volunteer in Hungary (*r*). He was far from being in his Father's good graces; and, at times, during his exile, was reduced to great ſtreights and neceſſities [*K*]. So obnoxious likewiſe was he to our court, that ſome perſons are ſaid to have been ſent to aſſaſſinate him at Augſburg; but he eſcaped, by being then come to Holland (*s*). Thus he continued for ſeventeen years wandring from place to place, in indigence, and not without danger ſometimes of loſing his life; becauſe it was known that he could not be corrupted, as his own words are (*t*). But, at laſt, his Father, the Earl of Leiceſter, deſiring to ſee him before his death, he obtained leave from King Charles II. for his return, in 1677, as alſo his Pardon; through the intereſt of the Earl's grandſon, Robert Earl of Sunderland [*L*], who was then a great favorite at court. His

(*p*) Letters, p. 725.

(*q*) Memoirs, 8vo. edit. Vol. III. p. 119.

(*r*) Letters of State &c. Vol. II. p. 725.

(*s*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 172. and Author's Apology, as our above.

(*t*) Apology, as above, p. 2.

'preparative) be an entire one, and ſhall not be much 'troubled, though I find, if upon the knowledge of 'my manner of life, they, whoe the laſt yeare at 'Whitehall did exerciſe their tongues upon me, as a 'very unruly headed man, doe ſo farre change theire 'opinion of me, on the ſudden, as to believe me ſoe 'dull and lazy, as to be fit for nothing. When that 'opinion is well ſettled, I may hope to live quietly in 'England, and then ſhall think it a ſeaſonable time to 'returne. I have ſomme inclinations this autume to 'goe to Naples, and from thence to Sicily, and Malta, 'to paſs the winter in ſome of thoes places, and re-'turne to Rome in the Springe. It is not uſual for 'me, to look ſoe many moneths before-hand, nor 'poſſible to extend my ſight any farther. I muſt then 'knowe from my friends at home, wheather it be yet 'time to returne thither; I have ever had it in my 'thoughts to chooſe that before any thing; but if it 'be ſtill inconvenient for me to take that reſolution, 'I muſt then think of making another pauſe at Rome, 'or ſomme other place, that may prove convenient (22).' So much of his Letters we thought neceſſary, upon this ſubject, to lay before the Reader; as they ſhew his circumſtances, deſigns, and motions.

(22) Letters &c. as above, p. 721.

[*I*] *And France.*] He had the following Licence from the King of France, to come from Germany to Montpelier. 'To all Governors, and our Lieutenants-gene-'ral, &c. greeting. Mr Sydney Son to the Earl of 'Leiceſter, having deſired, notwithſtanding the war 'againſt England, that he might change his place of 'abode from Germany, to go to Montpelier; To which 'We having aſſented. We command you to let him paſs 'freely through your ſeveral juriſdictions, with his 'domeſticks, to Montpelier, without interruption, and 'to ſhew him all the favour, and aid him as far as you 'can. Given at our caſtle of Vincennes, Auguſt 3, '1663.

(23) Memoirs of the Sidneys &c. as above, p. 152.

'Signed LOUIS (23).'

He tells us, that he 'caſt himſelf into unſuſpected 'retirement in the moſt remote parts of France, [in 'Gaſcogne] where he paſſed above eleven years; and 'was drawn out of it only by a deſire of ſeeing his 'aged father before he dyed (24).'

(24) Apology, as above.

[*K*] *He was far from being in his Father's good graces; and reduced to great ſtreights,* &c.] This is abundantly evident from the following extracts from ſome of his letters to his father... 'Though it is long ſince I heard 'from your Lordſhip, and the contents of the laſt letter 'I receaved were ſuch, as gave me littel expectation 'of having others, or reaſon to think mine would be 'acceptable unto you, I eſteeme it my duty to continue 'writing, untill I doe, by ſomme more indubitable 'teſtimony, find, your Lordſhip hath ſoe farre rejected 'me, as to be unwilling to heare of me, or my con-'cernments (25),'... 'I write to your Lordſhip ſome-'tymes, becauſe I am not forbidden: Not often, becauſe 'I am neither commandyd, nor have reaſon to think 'that diligence would be acceptable unto you (26)... 'According to my couſtume, I give your Lordſhip this 'teſtimony of my being alive; which I think neceſſary, 'ſince your Lordſhip gives no ſigne of remembering 'I am ſoe (27).'... 'I heare your Lordſhip hath 'ſomme Suſpicions concerning me; if I might knowe 'in what, I doe upon my word promiſe your Lordſhip, 'to let you know my Thoughts punctually, without 'either diſſimulation, or reſervation (28).'

(25) Letter, dated Dec. 12, 1660. p. 701.

(26) Letter of Dec. 29, 1660. p. 702.

(27) Letter of Jan. 29, 1660. p. 704.

(28) p. 709. Lett. of April 8, 1661.

And, that he was reduced to great ſtreights and neceſſities, the following extracts from two of his letters will plainly ſhew.... 'I did intend to have ſayed no 'more; but it is a folly to conceale the Evills that 'oppreſſe me. I have with difficulty writ this; and 'the troubled thoughts into which the letters receaved 'by the laſt poſt have caſt me, give me not eaſily the 'liberty of ſaying more. The Misfortunes into which 'I was fallen, by the deſtruction of our Party, did not 'ſhake me. The cheates and thefts of Servants were 'too ordinary to trouble me. I ſuffered my Mother's 'Legacy, to be drawne from me, upon which I might 'have ſubſiſted a good while. I was not very much 'ſurpriſed to find myſelf betrayed, and robbed of all 'that with which I had truſted Lady Strangford, but 'I confeſſe, that I am ſorely troubled to find, that 'Sir Jo. Temple is going into Ireland; the agreement 'which he had ſoe often ſaied ſhould be made with 'Strangford broken; from which I might expect ſomme 'part of what is due unto me, to live upon. The 'mortgage to the Earl of Thanet to continue upon 'Andrewes his land, which is the ſoreſt miſchiefe that 'ever fell upon me ſince I was borne, and that I was 'ſoe often promiſed ſhould be taken of, and put upon 'Portling lands, as it ought to be: And by all theis 'meanes together, I find myſelfe deſtitute of all help 'at home, and expoſed to all thoſe troubles, inconve-'niencies, and miſchiefs, unto which They are expoſed, 'whoe have nothing to ſubſiſt upon; in a place farre 'from home, wheare no aſſiſtance can poſſibly be ex-'pected, and wheare I am knowne to be of a quality, 'which makes all lowe and mean wayes of living 'ſhamefull and deteſtable. Theis are part of the evils, 'with which I finde myſelf encompaſſed, and out of 'which I ſee noe iſſue; nor can I make one ſtep, that 'is not as likely to prove my deſtruction, as preſerva-'tion. It will not, I think, be thought ſtrange, that 'I am ſenſible of them, ſince he that is not, muſt be 'an Angell, or a Beaſt: My only hope is, that God 'will, ſomme way or other, put an end to my troubles, 'or my life (29).'.... 'Perhaps, ſharp-ſighted braines 'might, in a condition like unto mine, find more oc-'caſion of trouble then I doe: I finde ſtupidity an ad-'vantage; Nature hath given me a large proportion of 'it; and I did artificially encreaſe it, to that degree, 'that if I weare not awakened with the bitter ſenſe 'of ſomme miſchiefes, that the Lady Strangford hath 'brought upon me (which Sir John Temple ever made 'me hope he would remove) I ſhould reſt well enough 'at eaſe, in a dull indolence, and never trouble myſelf 'with the thoughts of examining, wheare I ſhould have 'bread for three moneths: This may ſhewe your Lordſhip, 'into what ſtate Nature and Fortune have brought one 'that receaved life from you (30).'——However his Father remitted him Money now and then (31).

(29) Letters &c. Vol. II. p. 727.

(30) p. 720, 721.

(31) p. 721.

[*L*] *Through the intereſt of the Earl's grandſon, Robert Earl of Sunderland.*] Biſhop Burnet ſays (32), 'That it 'was the Court of France obtained leave for him to 'return in 1678, when the Parliament was preſſing the 'King into a war. He did all he could to divert peo-'ple from that war; ſo that ſome took him for a pen-'ſioner of France: But to thoſe to whom he durſt ſpeak 'freely, he ſaid, he knew it was all a juggle; that our 'Court was in an entire confidence with France, and 'had no other deſign, in this ſhew of a war, but to raiſe 'an army, and keep it beyond-ſea till it was trained 'and modelled.' Such is the Biſhop's account; but it appears from a Letter of our Author's to Henry Savile, Eſq; then Embaſſador in France, that it was that Gen-

(32) Hiſtory of his own Time, edit. 1753. 8vo. Vol. II. p. 193.

His father left him a legacy of five thouſand one hundred pounds (*u*) [*M*]. In 1678, he ſtood candidate for Member of Parliament for the burgh of Guilford in Surry; but the Court oppoſing him, he loſt his election; as he did alſo in the next Parliament (*w*) [*N*]. He was ſo imprudent, as to reſort chiefly with the Duke of Monmouth, and other diſcontented perſons [*O*], which in the end proved his ruin. For, by being one of their companions,

(*u*) Memoirs of the Sidneys &c. as above, p. 153.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 153—155.

tleman who obtained leave for him to return. The letter is dated from Nerac in Gaſcogne, Dec. 18. N. S. 1682 (33), and is as follows. 'I received yeſterday, 'in one and the ſame packet, three letters from you, 'of which one had paſſed through Paris whilſt I was 'there, and that would have ſpared me a journey of 'four hundred leagues, if I had then received it. This 'would have been a convenience unto me; but my 'obligation unto you is the ſame, and I ſo far acknow-'ledge it to be the greateſt that I have in a long time 'received from any man, as not to value *the leave you 'have obtained for me to return into my country, after ſo 'long an abſence*, at a lower rate than the ſaving of my 'life. You having proceeded thus far, I will, without 'any ſcruple, put myſelf intirely upon the King's word; 'and deſire you only to obtain a paſs to ſignify it, and 'that his Majeſty is pleaſed to ſend for me; ſo as the 'officers of the ports or other places may not ſtop me, 'as they will be apt to do as ſoon as they know my 'name, if I have not that for my protection. . . . . 'I have no other buſineſs than what ſolely concerns my 'perſon and family. I deſire not to be a day in Eng-'land unknown to the King or his Miniſters; and will 'loſe no time in waiting upon the Secretary as ſoon as 'I can after my arrival. I think it no ways reaſonable 'that I ſhould ſtay in England, if the King do not ſee 'I may do it without any ſhadow or poſſibility of pre-'judice unto him; and, unleſs I can ſatisfy him in that 'point, I deſire no more than to return on this ſide the 'ſeas after the three months, where I intend to finiſh 'my days, without thinking any more of living in 'England (*).'——Though, in the printed copy, this Letter is dated in the year 1682; there is very great reaſon to believe, that it was written in 1677.

(33) Letters to the Honourable Henry Savile, p. 147, 148.

(*) Letters &c. as above, p. 169, &c.

[*M*] *His father left him a legacy of* 5,100 l.] He informs us himſelf (34), that his 'father dyed within a 'few weeks after his coming over; and when he pre-'pared himſelf to return into Gaſcony, there to paſs 'the remaining part of his life, he was hindred by the 'Earl of Leiceſter, his brother, who queſtioned all 'that his father had given him for his ſubſiſtance; 'and by a long and tedious ſuit in Chancery, detained 'him in England, until he was made a priſoner; 'when a favourable decree, obtained in Chancery, 'gave him hopes of being freed from ſuch vexatious 'buſineſs. I reaſſumed (continues he) my former de-'ſigne of returning into France; and to that end 'bought a ſmall parcell of ground, in a friend's name, 'with an intention of going immediately unto it: 'this proceeded from the uneaſineſs of my life, when 'I found, that not only the reall diſcontents, that 'grew to be too common, weare aſcribed unto me, 'but ſham plots faſtened upon me, ſoe as I could 'never think my life a day in ſafety.'

(34) Apology, p. 2.

[*N*] *He loſt his election; as he did alſo in the next Parliament.*] He takes notice of his being elected, in one of his letters to Henry Savile Eſq; dated October 29. . . . . 'I am not able, ſaith he, to give ſo much as 'a gueſs whether the Parliament ſhall ſit the 26th of 'January or not, and though I think myſelf in all 'reſpects well choſen, am uncertain whether I ſhall be 'of it, or not, there being a double return; and no-'thing can be aſſured, until the queſtion ariſing there-'upon be determined, unleſs it be that as I and my 'Principles are out of faſhion; my inclinations going 'one way, my friendſhip and alliance with thoſe that 'are like to give occaſion for the greateſt conteſts 'drawing another, I ſhall be equally diſliked and ſuſ-'pected by both parties, and thereby become the moſt 'inconſiderable member of the Houſe.'

[*O*] *He was ſo imprudent as to reſort chiefly with the Duke of Monmouth, and other diſcontented perſons.*] That gave the Court an opportunity of involving him in their guilt: Notwithſtanding he proteſts his innocence, and ſeems to be conſcious that no legal advantage could have been taken againſt him. His own account is in theſe words. 'In Aprill laſt [1683] I was told 'by a perſon of eminent quality, virtue, and under-'ſtanding, that I ſhould infaillibly be made a priſoner. 'I aſked upon what pretence: he alleagued ſomme 'things that weare entirely frivolous, relating unto 'vild perſons, whoes faces and names I did not know; 'but concluded ſomme or other would be found; and 'that if I was once taken, it mattered not for what 'cauſe; it being impoſſible to avoid condemnation, 'before ſuch judges and juryes as I ſhould be tryed by. 'About the middell of June the towne was full of 'rumours of a plot, ſayd to be diſcovered by Keeling, 'and not long after by Weſt: ſomme perſons fled, 'and a proclamation iſſued to have them apprehended; 'my name was in every coffee-houſe, and ſeverall in-'formations weare given me, that I ſhould certainly 'be ſeaſed: I mentioned this to ſeverall perſons; but, 'knowing no raiſons why I ſhould abſent myſelf, re-'ſolved not to do it; and continued in that minde, 'though I was told, earely in the morning one the '26 of June, that the Duke of Monmouth was re-'tired, and Coll. Rumſey had rendered himſelf. This 'concerned me ſoe littell, that I ſpent that morn-'ing upon my uſuall ſtudyes, or entertaining ſuch 'freinds as came to ſee me; and whileſt I was at 'dinner, a meſſenger came and arreſted me in the 'Kings name, by an order from four Lords of the 'Privy Councell (35).'——And, whereas part of his indictment was, 'Conſpiring the death of the King;' He endeavours to clear himſelf of that imputation, in the following words: . . . . 'but noe man ſayd, that 'any mention was ever made of it in my preſence; 'even the King knowes I am not a man to have any 'ſuch deſigne; and I am noe more capable of it then of 'eating of him, if he weare (†) death: I think I may 'ſay, I did once ſave his life; but I am ſure I never 'endeavoured to take it away: if the *meetings* men-'tioned weare to be taken for conſpiracyes againſt his 'Majeſtyes life, ſomething muſt have been there pro-'poſed and reſolved concerning the wayes, manner, 'time, place, or perſons, by whome it ſhould be 'effected; of which not one word is pretended, nor 'that he was ſo much as named (36).'

(35) Apology, p. 3. We have retained his own manner of ſpelling.

(†) Dead.

(36) Apology, p. 10.

But, if the Secret Hiſtory of the Rye-houſe Plot, and of Monmouth's rebellion, written by Ford Lord Grey, and lately publiſhed (37), is to be credited; Col. Sydney had a greater ſhare in that Plot, than he was willing to own, or imagined could be proved. The ſhare he had in it appears from the following extracts from that Hiſtory. . . . . 'In February at Chi-'cheſter the Duke of Monmouth acquainted me, that 'my Lord of Eſſex, Lord Howard, Lord Ruſſell, *Co-'lonel Sidney*, Mr Hambden, and himſelf, had been 'contriving *Inſurrections* in ſeveral parts of this king-'dom, and *deſigned* to engage ſome in Scotland to do 'the like; that he was to have a meeting, at his return 'to London, with the perſons above named, but be-'lieved it would not be long before they diſagreed, 'for he feared my Lord of Eſſex, *Colonel Sidney*, and 'Mr Hambden intended a Commonwealth, which 'could not be without the deſtruction of the King; and 'if that was their intention, my Lord Ruſſell, and 'himſelf were reſolved to quit them *entirely*, and to 'think of ſaving themſelves; for they would both 'rather lie at the King's mercy for what was paſſed, 'than that his life ſhould be indangered, or his liberty 'taken away, which was next to death (38).'—— 'Col. *Sidney* addreſſing his diſcourſe to me [Lord Grey] 'began with a long prologue of the neceſſity we were 'reduced to of taking up arms, and of the lawfulneſs 'of it; and from thence deſcended to a particular 'account of their ſeveral proceedings and reſolutions, 'ſince the firſt time of their meeting (39).'—— 'Col. *Sidney* ſaid he had heard, when wiſe men drew 'their ſwords againſt their King, they laid aſide the 'thoughts of treating with him (40).'——I aſked *Col. Sidney* in what hands they had reſolved to place the 'management of the War; he ſaid, they had not re-'ſolved that, but he thought it would not be in any 'others, than thoſe perſons who made up our little 'Council, and one or two more who might be thought 'on (41).'—— 'My Lord of Eſſex and *Colonel Sidney* 'had undertaken to draw the Declaration (42).'—— 'The Duke of Monmouth told me, he found my 'Lord of Eſſex, *Colonel Sidney*, and all of them, 'ſhould agree in every thing; and he was confident, 'that when we were in arms, and the King ſaw how 'ſtrong we were in ſeveral places, there would be 'little

(37) Lond. 1754. 8vo.

(38) p. 50.

(39) p. 59.

(40) p. 64.

(41) Ibid.

(42) p. 67.

panions, he was looked upon as one of the accomplices in the Presbyterian Plot, in 1683 (x): 'And though (being admitted into his Majesty's presence) he did truly shew 'unto him, that there neither was nor could be any such plot, as matters then stood (y) [P]; yet, on the 26th of June, a messenger came and arrested him; and one of the Clerks of the Council seized his papers. The same day, by a warrant from the Secretary of State, he was committed to the Tower for high-treason. A little while after, all his effects were likewise secured (z). On the 7th of November following he was brought to the bar of the court of King's-bench, and arraigned upon an indictment of high-treason [Q]. The Court, for fashion-sake, allowed him a fortnight for his tryal (aa); to which he was brought the 21st of November [R]. The three first witnesses against him were Robert West, Colonel Romsey, and Mr Keeling; whose depositions not being grounded upon their own knowledge, but upon the report of others [S], were only Hearsay Evidence; and consequently invalid in case of Treason. The single Evidence against him was the Lord Howard of Escrick, a man of an abandoned character; 'whose deposition was very 'rhetorical, but nothing at all to the purpose (bb) [T].' So, to corroborate this lame evidence, Col. Sydney's Discourses on Government were produced; as 'a seditious and 'traiterous libel [V], the design of which was, to persuade the People of England, that it is 'lawful,

(x) Account of the Conspiracy by Bishop Sprat, edit. 1686. 8vo: p. 28, 86, 170. &c. and our Author's Apology, p. 2.

(y) Apology, p. 2.

(z) Ibid. p. 3, 4.

(aa) Ibid. p. 5.

(bb) Ibid. p. 7.

'little blood shed, for all would end in an accommo-
'dation between the King and a Parliament (43).'

(43) Secret Hist. as above, p. 69.

[P] *He did truly shew unto him, that there neither was nor could be any such plot, as matters then stood.*] His reason for it was, 'because it would cast his Majestye 'into conjunction with the Popish, which they [the 'Nonconformists] did most abhorre.' However, as our Author informs us, 'the sham was continued, as 'appeared by the Meal-tub business: though *his* name 'was not there found, *he was* well informed, that if it 'had succeeded, *he* should have bin involved in it.
'Other wayes were invented to vex and ruin him.
'When he only looked over a balcony to see what
'passed at the election of the Sheriffs of London (44),
'*he* was indicted for a riot (45).'

(44) Dubois and Papillon, in 1682.

(45) Apology, p. 3.

[Q] *Upon an indictment of high-treason.*] The points he was indicted for, were, his 'contriving and intend-
'ing, to disturb the peace and tranquillity of this king-
'dom of England; to stir up war against the King;
'to subvert his government; to depose and deprive
'him; and to bring and put him to death: For
'which purpose, he had, the 30th day of June, 1683,
'and divers other times, as well before as after, met
'and consulted with divers traytors; promised, that
'he would be aiding and assisting in their treasons;
'had sent one Aaron Smith into Scotland, to invite
'divers evil disposed subjects of that kingdom to come
'into England, to consult with him and other tray-
'tors. And, that in order to persuade the subjects of
'the King of England that it is lawful to make and
'stir up an insurrection and rebellion against him, he
'had composed and written a certain false, seditious,
'and traiterous libell (46), in which, among other
'things, is contained as followeth, viz. "The Power
"originally in the people of England is delegated
"unto the Parliament. He (meaning King Charles II)
"is subject unto the law of God, as He is a man to
"the People that makes him a King, inasmuch as He
"is a King, the Law sets a measure unto that sub-
"jection, and the Parliament judges of the particular
"cases thereupon arising &c."——Col. Sidney makes the following observations upon this indictment. 'The
'meetings to conspire were said to be on the 30th of
'June, and many other days, both before and since;
'whereas he was then, and had been some days be-
'fore, and ever since, a close prisoner.——He was
'brought into the palace-yard, Westminster, between
'ten and eleven o'clock in the morning, before the
'grand jury was assembled, or the King's counsell
'could know the bill would be found, unless they had
'the faculty of divining, or held such an intelligence
'with the grand jury, as utterly overthrows all justice.
'——Upon his being arraigned, he desired a copy
'of the indictment, leave to make his exceptions, or
'to put in a special plea that he had in his hand ready
'engrossed, which was all rejected: and being threatned,
'that, if he did not immediately plead guilty, a judg-
'ment of high-treason should be entered, he was
'forced, contrary to law as he supposed, to comme
'to a general issue in pleading not guilty (47).'

(46) Discourses of Government.

(47) His Apology, p. 4, 5. and Petition to the King.

[R] *To which he was brought the 21st of November.*] He complained extremely of the Jury that was impannelled upon that occasion. . . . . 'The life, says he,
'I have led might have given me somme kind of know-
'ledge of such as reasonably might be thought fit to be
'my judges; but I did not know the face of one, nor
'the names of more than three (48) of the whole pan-
'nell, and they last, as did not appeare: upon exa-
'mination I found, that they had not only put in very
'many that weare not freeholders, but picked up a
'rabble of men of the meanest callings, ruined fortunes,
'lost reputation, and hardly endowed with such under-
'standing as is required for a jury in a *nisi prius* court
'for a business of five pounds (49).'

(48) Sir Charles Gerard, Mr Burta, and Mr Hawtry.

(49) Apology, p. 6, 7. See also his Petition.

[S] *Whose depositions not being grounded upon their own knowledge, but upon the report of others.*] Mr Sydney objected to West's evidence; because he had confessed many Treasons, and was not pardoned. But the Chief Justice Jeffreys replied, That he knew no legal objection against him, and that he was a good witness in my Lord Russel's tryal. What he gave an account of, was only of a general insurrection intended in England; without any thing particular to Col. Sydney, or his indictment. And *he* declared, that, 'as to him *in particular*, he
'knew nothing, and did never speak with him till
'since the discovery of the plot. . . . Mr Keeling de-
clared, 'he did not know Col. Sydney (50).'

(50) Tryal of Algernon Sidney Esq; printed in 1684. fol. p. 13, 14, 15, 17. and his last Speech. They are both in the State-Tryals.

[T] *The Lord Howard of Escrick, ... whose deposition was very rhetorical, but nothing to the purpose.*] Col. Sydney made the following objections against him, and his testimony. 'I have this to say concerning my Lord
'Howard: He hath accused himself of divers treasons,
'and I do not hear that he has his pardon of any:
'He is under the terror of those treasons, and the
'punishment for them: He hath shewn himself to be
'under that terror: He hath said, That he could not
'get his pardon, until he had done some other jobbs,
'till he was past this drudgery of swearing: That is,
'that he having incurred the penalty of High-Treason,
'he would get his own indemnity by destroying others.
'This, by the law of God and man, I think, destroys
'a man's testimony. Besides, he is my Debter, he
'owes me a considerable sum of money I lent him in
'time of his great necessity; he made some covenants
'with me for the payment of that money, which he
'hath broken; and when his mortgage was forfeited,
'and I should take the advantage the law gives me, he
'finds out a way to have me laid up in the Tower. . . .
'Another thing is, when I was a prisoner, he comes
'to my house, and speaks with my servant, and says,
'how sorry he was that I should be brought in danger
'upon this account of the Plot, and there he did in the
'presence of God, with hands and eyes lifted up to
'heaven, swear, he did not believe any plot, and that
'it was but a sham.'——[The Earl of Anglesey, the Lords of Clare, and Paget, Mr Philip and Mr Edward Howard, and Dr Burnet, being produced in Col. Sydney's behalf, unanimously testified, that they heard the Lord Howard declare the same things.]——Col. Sydney depreciated moreover the Lord Howard's character, by alledging, that he endeavoured slily to get possession of his plate and other goods . . . . 'He was
'desirous to go further (says the Colonel) and he would
'not only pay my debt by his Testimony against me;
'but he would have got my plate and other goods in
'my hands into his hands, and he desired my men,
'as a place of trust, to put them into his hands (51).'

(51) Tryal, p. 31, 42.

[V] *Col. Sydney's Discourses on Government were produced, as a seditious and traiterous libel.*] There were only a few extracts of them read (52), though Mr Sydney desired that it might be All read. They were seized, with the rest of his papers, at his house, upon a Table where it was supposed he usually did write. And they were proved to be his hand-writing by several persons

(52) See Tryal, p. 23.

with

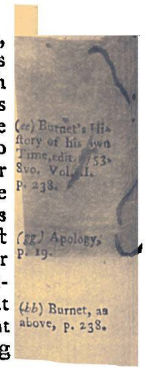
‘ lawful, nay, that they have a right to ſet aſide their Prince, in caſe it appear to them, ‘ that he hath broken the truſt laid upon him by the people *(cc)*.’ However, upon this imperfect evidence, the Colonel was brought in guilty of high-treaſon; and, on the 26th of November, condemned to be drawn, hanged, and quartered *(dd)* [*W*]. Two days before ſentence, he ſent, by the Lord Halifax *(ee)*, a Petition to his Majeſty, wherein he repreſented the hardſhip of his Caſe; and prayed that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to admit him into his preſence; and if he did not ſhew, that it was for his Majeſty's Honour and Intereſt to preſerve him from the ſaid oppreſſion, he would not complain, though he were left to be deſtroyed *(ff)*. But the King was pleaſed to refer him to the ſame Judges of whom he complained *(gg)*. And all the favour he could obtain, was, to have the moſt ignominious part of his ſentence changed into beheading. His Execution was reſpited for ſome days [*X*], the tryal being univerſally cryed out on, as a piece of moſt enormous injuſtice *(hh)*. At length he was beheaded upon Tower-hill, on the 7th of December; at which time he delivered a Paper to the Sheriffs [*Y*], that was printed about a fortnight after *(ii)*. The next day after his execution, he was buried at Penſhurſt in Kent, among

(cc) Tryal, as above, p. 12.

(dd) Ibid. p. 62, 67.

(ff) This Petition was printed at the time, upon a half-ſheet; and is alſo inſerted in his Apology.

(ii) Ibid.



with whom he had dealings. But Mr Sidney pleaded in his own defence, That ‘ Similitude of hands can be ‘ no evidence;—that it is nothing. For we know that ‘ hands will be counterfeited, ſo that no man ſhall know ‘ his own hand. . . . . But theſe very papers, ſuch as ‘ they are, (added he) do abhor, as much as any one ‘ can, ſuch a deſign [as the plot he was accuſed of]. ‘ Look upon them; you ſee they are all old ink. Theſe ‘ papers may be writ perhaps theſe twenty years, the ‘ ink is ſo old. But it is a polemical diſcourſe; it ſeems ‘ to be an anſwer to *Filmer*, &c.——I ſay firſt, it is not ‘ proved upon me: and ſecondly, it is not a crime if ‘ it be proved.’ Afterwards he proves, that he never publiſhed any part of it; and that no man could ſay he ever printed a ſheet in his life. But, to uſe his own words, he was ‘ not heard:’ And therefore had nothing left but to ‘ appeal to God and the world.’ He inſiſted all along, that, at moſt, it could amount but to *conſtructive* treaſon. But Lord Chief Juſtice Jeffreys affirmed, that it was plain treaſon within 25 Edw. III. Whereupon the Colonel aſked, whether writing was an act? ‘ Yes, ſaid Jeffreys, it is *agere* (53).’ . . It appears from the very beginning and whole draft of the book, that it was intended as an Anſwer to Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha*; and not writ with a deſign to raiſe an inſurrection at that time. The beginning of it is in theſe words: ‘ Having lately ſeen a book, intituled ‘ *Patriarcha*, written by Sir Robert Filmer, concerning ‘ the univerſal and undiſtinguiſhed right of all Kings, ‘ I thought a time of leiſure might be well employed ‘ in examining his doctrine, and the queſtions ariſing ‘ from it; which ſeem ſo far to concern all mankind, ‘ that, beſides the influence upon our future life, they ‘ may be ſaid to comprehend all that in this world ‘ deſerves to be cared for.’ . . . . But, from *names* mentioned in it, it is undeniable, that ſome parts of it, at leaſt, had not been written twenty years. As for inſtance . . . . ‘ Old Audley, Dog Smith, Biſhop Duppa, ‘ Brownloe, Child, Daſhwood, Fox, &c. are to be ‘ eſteemed fathers of the people of England (54).’ And this other paſſage, where he names ‘ Hide, Arlington, Danby, their graces of Cleveland and Portſmouth, Sunderland, Jenkins, and Chiffinch;’ immediately after mentioning the ‘ bawds, whores, thieves, ‘ buffoons, paraſites, and ſuch vile wretches as are ‘ naturally mercenary, that had *too much* power at ‘ Whitehall (55).’——However this was the firſt indictment of high-treaſon, upon which any man loſt his life for writing any thing, without publiſhing it; and it is hoped will be the laſt.——Sir John Hawles rightly obſerves, That the evidence in this caſe, and almoſt all the circumſtances of the Tryal, were originals: and that Col. Sydney was talked to death under the notion of a Commonwealth's-man (56).

(53) Tryal, p. 66.

(54) Edit. 1751. p. 52.

(55) Ibid. p. 205.

(56) Remarks on Col. Sydney's, and other Tryals. Lond. 1689. fol. p. 76. &c.

[*W*] *Condemned to be drawn, hanged, and quartered.*] At the hearing of this ſevere ſentence, Col. Sydney broke out into theſe words . . . ‘ Then, o God, o God, ‘ I beſeech thee to ſanctify theſe ſufferings unto me, ‘ and impute not my blood to the country, nor the city, ‘ through which I am to be drawn; let no inquiſition ‘ be made for it: but if any, and the ſhedding of blood ‘ that is innocent, muſt be revenged, let the weight of ‘ it fall only upon thoſe that maliciouſly perſecute me ‘ for righteouſneſs ſake.’ Whereupon Lord Chief Juſtice Jeffreys ſaid to him; ‘ I pray God work in you a temper ‘ fit to go unto the other world, for I ſee you are not fit ‘ for this.’ But the Colonel, holding out his hand, replied, ‘ My Lord, feel my pulſe, and ſee if I am ‘ diſordered; I bleſs God, I never was in better temper ‘ than I am now (57).’ . . . He tells us in his Apology, That ‘ the Chief Juſtice, having performed this exploit, ‘ is ſaid to have bragged unto the King, that noe man ‘ in his place had ever rendered unto any King of Eng‘ land ſuch ſervices as he had done, in making it to ‘ paſſe for lawe, that any man might be now tryed by ‘ a jury not conſiſting of freeholders; and that one ‘ witneſſe, with any concurrent circumſtance (as that ‘ of the buying the knife) was ſufficient to convict ‘ him (58).’

(57) See the end of his Tryal, p. 67. and his Apology.

(58) p. laſt but one.

[*X*] *His execution was reſpited for ſome days.*] Biſhop Burnet, in his inaccurate way, ſays (59), that it ‘ was ‘ reſpited for three weeks.’ But, if we reckon from the time of his conviction, it was but ſixteen days; and, ‘ from his ſentence, only eleven days.’

(59) As above, p. 238.

[*Y*] *At which time he delivered a Paper to the Sheriffs.*] It began thus: ‘ Men, Brethren, and Fathers; Friends, ‘ Countrymen, and Strangers.’———And, after ſetting forth the Hardſhip of his Caſe, and the Inſufficiency of the Evidence againſt him, concluded in theſe words . . . . . ‘ But I was long ſince told that I muſt die, or the ‘ Plot muſt dye. Leaſt the means of deſtroying the ‘ beſt Proteſtants in England ſhould fail, the Bench ‘ muſt be filled with ſuch as had been blemiſhes to the ‘ bar. None but ſuch as theſe would have adviſed with ‘ the King's Council, of the means of bringing a man ‘ to death; ſuffered a Jury to be packed by the King's ‘ Solicitors, and the Under-Sheriff; admit of Jury-men ‘ who are not freeholders; receive ſuch evidence as is ‘ above-mentioned; refuſe a copy of an indictment, ‘ or to ſuffer the ſtatute of 46 Edw. III. to be read, ‘ that doth expreſly enact, It ſhould in no caſe be denied ‘ unto any man upon any occaſion whatſoever; over‘ rule the moſt important points of law without hearing. ‘ And whereas the Stat. 25 Ed. III. upon which they ‘ ſaid I ſhould be tried, doth reſerve unto the Parliament all conſtructions to be made in points of treaſon, ‘ They could aſſume unto themſelves not only a power ‘ to make conſtructions, but ſuch conſtructions as nei‘ ther agree with law, reaſon, or common ſenſe. By ‘ theſe means I am brought to this place. The Lord ‘ forgive theſe practices, and avert the evils that threaten ‘ the Nation from them. The Lord ſanctifie theſe my ‘ ſufferings unto me; and, though I fall as a ſacrifice ‘ unto Idols, ſuffer not Idolatry to be eſtabliſhed in this ‘ land. Bleſs thy people, and ſave them. Defend ‘ thy own cauſe, and defend thoſe that defend it. Stir ‘ up ſuch as are faint; direct thoſe that are willing; ‘ confirm thoſe that waver; give wiſdom and integrity ‘ unto all. Order all things ſo as may moſt redound ‘ unto thine own glory. Grant that I may dye glorifying thee for all thy mercies, and that at the laſt thou ‘ haſt permitted me to be ſingled out as a witneſs of thy ‘ truth; and even by the confeſſion of my oppoſers, ‘ for that *Old Cauſe* in which I was from my youth ‘ engaged, and for which thou haſt often and wonder‘ fully declared thyſelf.’ . . . . . The Colonel ſuſpecting the Sheriffs might ſuppreſs it, gave a copy of it to a friend. It was a fortnight before it was printed: but when it was underſtood that written copies of it went about, it was at length printed (60). Several Animadverſions were made upon it, particularly one, intituled, ‘ Reflections upon Col. Sidney's Arcadia; the *Old Cauſe*, ‘ being ſome Obſervations upon his laſt Paper, given ‘ to the Sheriffs at his execution.’ Lond. 1684. in four ſheets fol.

(60) Burnet, as above, p. 238.

his

his noble anceſtors *(kk)*. His attainder was reverſed at the Revolution [Z]. Such was the end of the famous Col. Sydney; who met death with an unconcernedneſs that became Him, who had ſet up Marcus Brutus for his pattern *(ll)*. He appears indeed to have been a perſon of a rough and inflexible temper; and quite an enthuſiaſt for a Commonwealth. He had ſtudied Politics to the bottom, and was thoroughly ſkilled in the nature of Government. But he ſhews too great a rancour againſt certain Perſons in the Adminiſtration, who were not of his ſentiments; and ſeems even, upon that account, not to have wiſhed well to his Country, as all good men ought to do, in whatever hands it is *(mm)*. But, to judge by his writings, he would not have been ſorry to have ſeen it brought to the greateſt difficulties, nay to deſtruction, that he might have had the pleaſure of beholding his enemies involved in its ruins. He was naturally paſſionate *(nn)*: and a man of low ſpirits, and weak body *(oo)*. The character given of him by Biſhop Burnet, is ſet down below [AA]. He ſays himſelf *(pp)*, that he 'believed he had burned more papers of his 'own writing, than a horſe could carry.' Nothing of his is extant but his 'Diſcourſes 'concerning Government [BB]; and ſome Letters to Henry Savile Eſq; [CC].' But there remain at Penſhurſt, in his own hand-writing, Treatiſes in Latin and Italian; as alſo an Eſſay on virtuous Love in Engliſh *(qq)*.

(kk) Memoirs of Algernon Sidney Eſq; as above, p. 25.

(ll) Burnet, as above, p. 239.

(mm) Puſchrum eſt bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud abſurdum eſt. Salluſt. Bell. Catilinar. ſub init.

(nn) Burnet, as above, p. 237.

(oo) At leaſt, it is what Jeffreys told him at his tryal, p. 34.

(pp) Tryal, p. 44, 45.

(qq) Memoirs &c. as above, by Ar. Collins Eſq; p. 161.

[Z] *His attainder was reverſed at the Revolution.*] It was one of the firſt Acts of the Parliament, which met after the Revolution; being paſſed Feb. 13, 1688-9. The preamble of that Act runs thus: "Whereas Algernoone Sydney Eſq; in the term of St Michael, in the 35th year of the reign of our late Sovereign Lord, King Charles the Second, in the Court of King's-Bench at Weſtminſter, by means of an unlawful return of Jurors, and by denial of his lawful Challenges to divers of them for want of freehold, and without ſufficient legal evidence of any Treaſons committed by him; there being at that time produced a Paper, found in the cloſet of the ſaid Algernoon, ſuppoſed to be his hand-writing, which was not proved by the teſtimony of any one witneſs to be written by him; but the Jury was directed to believe it, by comparing it with other writings of the ſaid Algernoon: And, beſides that Paper ſo produced, there was but one ſingle Witneſs to prove any matter againſt the ſaid Algernoon; and by a partial and unjuſt conſtruction of the Statute, declaring what was his treaſon, was moſt unjuſtly and wrongfully convicted, and attainted, and afterwards executed for high-treaſon." ... Therefore it is enacted, that the Records and Proceedings, relating to his conviction, judgment, and attainder, ſhould be cancelled.

[AA] *The character given of him by Biſhop Burnet,* &c.] It is in theſe words: He was 'a man of moſt extra-'ordinary courage, a ſteady man even to obſtinacy, ſin-'cere, but of a rough and boiſterous temper that could 'not bear contradiction. He ſeemed to be a Chriſtian, 'but in a particular form of his own: He thought it 'was to be like a divine Philoſophy in the mind: But 'he was againſt all publick worſhip, and every thing 'that looked like a Church.'——[Upon this the author of Memoirs of Algernon Sidney Eſq; cited above, makes the following note: 'This the reader will 'underſtand with ſome allowance. That our Author 'was an enemy to all the civil eſtabliſhments of Chriſti-'anity, is very certain; but it does not follow from 'thence, that he was againſt all public worſhip (61).' ——Whereby we are to underſtand, He was in the ſame ſentiments upon that point as the late Dr Matthew Tindal; who frequently declared, That even his very notions, if any one ſhould endeavour to eſtabliſh by Authority, he would for that very reaſon oppoſe them to the utmoſt of his power. His maxim being, That there muſt be no civil eſtabliſhment of Religion, but every one is to be left to do what is right in his own eyes.]——But, to proceed with Biſhop Burnet's character of Col. Sydney. 'He was ſtiff to all repub-'lican principles; and ſuch an enemy to every thing 'that looked like a monarchy, that he ſet himſelf in 'a high oppoſition againſt Cromwell, when he was 'made Protector. He had ſtudied the hiſtory of go-'vernment in all its branches beyond any man I ever 'knew. He had a particular way of inſinuating him-'ſelf into people that would hearken to his notions, 'and not contradict him (62).'

(61) p. 28.

(62) Hiſtory, as above, p. 192, 193.

[BB] *His Diſcourſes concerning Government.*] They were firſt publiſhed in 1698. fol reprinted in 1704. and a third very beautiful edition of them came out in 1751. To which edition are added, 'Memoirs of his 'Life, and an Apology for himſelf, both now firſt pub-'liſhed, and the latter from his original manuſcript. 'With an alphabetical Index of the principal matters.' They are very much admired; and the Earl of Orrery gives the following great character of them: 'Har-'rington (63) has his admirers, he may poſſibly have his 'merits, but they *flow not* in his ſtyle. A later writer, 'of the ſame republican principles, has far excelled 'him; I mean *Algernon Sydney*, whoſe diſcourſes con-'cerning government are admirably written, and con-'tain great hiſtorical knowledge, and a remarkable 'propriety of diction; ſo that his name, in my opinion, 'ought to be much higher eſtabliſhed in the temple of 'literature, than I have hitherto found it placed (64).' There are ſome chaſms in them, and are very probably thoſe ſheets which were taken to be produced at his tryal.

(63) Author of Oceana.

(64) Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr Swift; edit. 1752. 8vo. p. 218.

[CC] *And ſome Letters to Henry Savile Eſq;*] The title of them is, 'Letters of the Honourable Algernon 'Sydney, to the Honourable Henry Savile Ambaſſa-'dor in France. In the year 1679 &c. Now firſt 'printed from the Originals in Mr Sydney's own hand.' Lond. 1742. 8vo They relate chiefly to the Proceedings of Parliament and the Popiſh Plot.——Several of his Letters, often cited in this article, are inſerted in the Letters and Memorials of State of the Sidney family, publiſhed by Arthur Collins Eſq;

C

SYNGE [EDWARD], the late moſt excellent Archbiſhop of Tuam in Ireland, was in a particular manner of an epiſcopal family [A], being the ſon of a Biſhop [B], the nephew of

[A] *Was in a particular manner of an epiſcopal family.*] The original name of the family was *Millington* (1), but changed afterwards into *Synge*, or Singe, on account of a ſweetneſs of Voice, and ſkill in vocal Muſick, which ſome of the Millingtons were poſſeſſed of; and the ſame talent, as we are informed, continues in that family to this day (2)

(1) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 167.

(2) Sir James Ware's Works, as publiſhed by W. Harris Eſq; Vol. I. p. 570.

[B] *Being the ſon of a Biſhop.*] His father was Edward Synge, born at Bridgnorth in Shropſhire, and from thence removed into Ireland by his eld ſt brother George Synge, afterwards biſhop of Cloyne; (of whom an account is given in the next note;) under whoſe care he ſpent his younger days at the ſchool of Droghedah: and, growing up, was ſent to the univerſity of Dublin, where he became exemplary for a diligent application to his ſtudies. He had early ſome eccleſiaſtical preferments in the cathedral of St Patrick's, Dublin. Afterwards he became vicar of Iniſhonane in the county of Cork (3), and was promoted to the Deanery of Elphin. During the uſurpation, he conſtantly uſed the Common-Prayer in all the public offices of his miniſtry; being ſecured from proſecution by his intereſt with Dr Gorge, the then Auditor-general. After the Reſtoration, he was advanced to the biſhoprick of Limerick, and conſecrated January 27, 1660. On the 21ſt of December, 1663, he was tranſlated to the united biſhopricks of Cork, Cloyne, and Roſs. He dyed December 22, 1678. He was a learned and zealous Preacher, very much admired and approved of by all that heard him; and, beſides an eaſy, familiar, correct ſtyle to recommend his Sermons, he had one peculiar excellence in his manner of ſpeaking or delivery; that every one of his congre-

(3) Mr Harris is miſtaken, when he ſays, that 'he 'had ſome pre-'ferments in the 'county of De-'negall.' Vol. I. p. 569. Memoirs communicated to us.

of another [C], and the father of two Biſhops [D]. He was the ſecond and youngeſt ſon of Edward, Biſhop of Cork &c and was born April 5, 1659, at Iniſhonane, a village within ten miles of Cork (a). His father was then Vicar of the pariſh, and lived there in the time of the Uſurpation, uſing conſtantly the Common-Prayer, notwithſtanding the ſevere prohibition to the contrary. The father living at Cork from the time he was promoted to that See, the ſon was educated in the Dioceſe-ſchool there. From thence he was admitted a Commoner in Chriſt-Church, Oxford; where he took the Degree of Batchelor of Arts. Soon after that, he went to Cork to viſit his father; on whoſe death, which happened about that time, inſtead of returning to Oxford, he choſe to finiſh his ſtudies in the univerſity of Dublin. There he was admitted *ad eundem*, and at the uſual time took the degree of Maſter of Arts. In what years he was ordained Deacon and Prieſt, we cannot learn. His firſt preferment was two ſmall pariſhes in the dioceſe of Meath, Laracor and Augher, both together of about the yearly value of 100 l. Some time after, he exchanged theſe for the Vicarage of Chriſt-Church in the city of Cork, of about the ſame value, but one of the heavieſt Cures in Ireland. This he ſerved for above twenty years: the greateſt part of them without an aſſiſtant; his ſcanty income not allowing him to pay one. During theſe years he preached Himſelf twice every Sunday, catechiſed, and diſcharged all the other duties of his function. Some benefices of no note, conſiſtent with his great Cure, were at different times given him by the Biſhops of Cork and Cloyn, which at laſt increaſed his income to about 400 l. a year. In this ſituation, an offer was made him by the Government, in the year 1699, of the Deanery of Derry. But though this was a Dignity, and double in value to all he had, he declined it. His motive was filial piety: He would not ſeparate himſelf from an aged Mother, who could not, or would not remove with him. Continuing at Cork, he was choſen Proctor for the Chapter, in the Convocation called in 1702-3. Soon after, the late Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, gave him the Crown's title to the Deanery of St Patrick's in Dublin. This title the Chapter diſputed, claiming a right of election in themſelves; and, to aſſert this right, they choſe Dr John Stearne, then Chancellor of the Cathedral, who died Biſhop of Clogher, their Dean. The title of the Crown being then thought defective, as ſince on a full diſcuſſion it has been found, Dr King, Archbiſhop of Dublin, propoſed an Accommodation, which took place with a full conſent of the Government, and the approbation of the Crown-lawyers. By this, Dr Stearne continued Dean, and the Archbiſhop gave the Chancellorſhip to Mr Synge. This brought him to Dublin, without any addition of income, or eaſe from labour. For, the Chancellor of St Patrick's, as ſuch, has the care of the Pariſh of St Werburg, one of the moſt noted in Dublin. This great Cure he ſerved for eight years, preaching almoſt conſtantly to a crowded audience. In this time he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity. A new Convocation being ſummoned in 1713, he was choſen Proctor for the Chapter of St Patrick's. On Dr Stearne's promotion to the ſee of Dromore, Dr King, Archbiſhop of Dublin, appointed him his Vicar-general: And he continued ſo, till he was made Biſhop of Raphoe in 1714 [E]. His diſtinguiſhed zeal for the late Revolution, and the Hanover ſucceſſion, which had effectually obſtructed his preferment in the latter years of Queen Anne's reign, were the cauſe of his immediate advancement, as ſoon as that ſucceſſion happily took place. In 1716 he was made Archbiſhop of Tuam [F]; preſently after a Privy-Counſellor; and in the years 1716, 1717, 1718,

(a) This article is chiefly compoſed from Memoirs communicated by the Right Reverend Father in God, Edward Synge, Lord Biſhop of Elphin.

congregation thought the diſcourſe particularly addreſſed to himſelf, and that the preacher was privately inſtructing him in his duty, and perſuading him to the practice of it (4).

(4) J. Ware, and W. Harris, as above, Vol. I. p. 569, 570.

[C] *And nephew of another.*] Namely, of George Synge, Biſhop of Cloyne in the laſt century. This Dr George Synge was elder bother of Edward mentioned in the laſt note, and born at Bridgnorth in Shropſhire, in the year 1594; being deſcended from an ancient and good family. In 1609, he was admitted a Commoner in Balliol-college in Oxford, where he diligently applied himſelf to his ſtudies for eight years, and in 1616 commenced Maſter of Arts. Thence paſſing into Ireland, he was, on the merit of his many eminent virtues, received with ſingular humanity by Chriſtopher Hampton, Archbiſhop of Armagh; who appointed him his Chaplain, conſtituted him Vicar-general of his dioceſe, and cauſed him to be promoted to the deanery of Dromore. On the 11th of November, 1638, he was conſecrated Biſhop of Cloyne. Upon the breaking out of the Iriſh rebellion in 1641, he was forced to fly to Dublin, and remain ſome time there for his own ſafety. In February, 1644, his Majeſty appointed him one of his Privy-Council for Ireland; and, on the vacancy of the Archbiſhoprick of Tuam in 1646, nominated him to that See; of which the national troubles hindered his having any enjoyment. The year following he returned to his native town of Bridgnorth, where he dyed in 1653, and was buried in the church of St Mary Magdalen in that town. He was a prelate of ſingular gravity and great learning, eſpecially in polemic Divinity, and in the knowledge of the civil and canon law. He was tall of ſtature, of a graceful preſence, and polite converſation; charitable to the poor, beneficent to all, and in a conſtant exerciſe of hoſpitality and generoſity ſecond to none (5).

(5) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 167. J. Ware, and W. Harris, as above, Vol. I. p. 578, 579.

[D] *And the father of two Biſhops.*] Namely of *Edward,* (the preſent Lord Biſhop of Elphin) educated in Trinity-college, Dublin, of which he was fellow; conſecrated by his own father, [aſſiſted by the Biſhops of Elphin, Killala, and Achonry] Biſhop of Clonfert and Kilmacduah, June 7, 1730; tranſlated to Cloyne, March 21, 1731; thence to Leighlin and Ferns, February 8, 1733 (6); and again to Elphin in May, 1740——The other ſon of our worthy Prelate, who is a Biſhop, is *Nicolas* Biſhop of Killaloe.

(6) Ware, and Harris, Vol. I. p. 646, 582, 452.

[E] *Till he was made Biſhop of Raphoe in* 1714.] He was promoted to that See, by letters patent, dated the 2d of November, 1714, and was conſecrated in the church of Dunboyn, in the dioceſe of Meath, the 7th of the ſame month. He laid out, in improvements on the caſtle, or epiſcopal houſe of Raphoe, 280 l. of which he made proof to the ſatisfaction of Primate Lindſay, and had an allowance of it, and was paid two thirds of that ſum by his ſucceſſor, purſuant to the ſtatute of 10 William III. c. 6. (7)

(7) Walter Harris's improved edition of Sir James Ware's works, Vol. I. Dublin, 1739. fol. p. 283.

[F] *In* 1716 *he was made Archbiſhop of Tuam.*] He was tranſlated to that See, by letters patent dated the 8th of June, 1716. And, very ſoon after, voluntarily and generouſly gave up the quarter-archiepiſcopal parts, which his predeceſſors had enjoyed for a long time. Theſe were originally that portion of Oblations, which, before the Inſtitution of Pariſhes, was reſerved to the Biſhop for his maintenance; the other three parts being employed for the ſupport of the inferior Clergy, the repairing the fabricks of Churches, and the Suſtenance

of

1718, 1721, appointed one of the Keepers of the Great Seal in the abſence of the Lord High Chancellor (*b*). This learned Prelate, in the courſe of his Miniſtry, compoſed and publiſhed ſeveral very excellent Treatiſes for the promotion of Religion, Piety, and Virtue; of which an account is given below [*G*]. He died at Tuam, July 24, 1741, with

(*b*) From the ſame Memoirs. See alſo The Works of Sir James Ware, with continuation by W. Harris Eſq; Vol. II. p. 115, 116.

of the poor. After the inſtitution of pariſhes, the Tythes were diſtributed for a time in the ſame way. But when Biſhopricks came to be endowed with lands and other firm poſſeſſions, then the Biſhops, to encourage a quick foundation of Churches, and to eſtabliſh a better proviſion for the reſiding Clergy, did tacitly recede from their Quarter part.——This portion the Archbiſhop of Tuam, and his ſuffragan Biſhops, were originally intitled to, as well as the reſt, in their reſpective Biſhopricks, to make up a ſufficient revenue for the ſupport of the dignity of their places. At the Reformation, the Conaught clergy became more poorly provided for than in any other part of the kingdom; which was partly occaſioned by lay-impropriations, partly for want of a ſettled form of tything, and partly by the Quarter-Epiſcopals, which gave the Biſhops a fourth part of the Tythes of moſt of the pariſhes in their dioceſes; and that, with the Impropriator's right to two parts, left the Clergy but a fourth, a poor and miſerable maintenance. The Biſhops of that province were not much better provided for; and without the Quarter-Epiſcopals would have been in as mean a condition as the reſt of the Clergy. The Archbiſhopric of Tuam, for inſtance, was reduced to 160*l. per annum.*——In 1636, the then Archbiſhop of Tuam, jointly with the Biſhops of Elphin, Clonfert, and Killala, petitioned K. Charles I. to grant them ſuch lands as they could by good proof, or ſtrong probability, ſhew to have belonged to their Sees; or which they had an equitable right to; and that were with-held from them by unjuſt pretences: to the end they might be enabled to maintain themſelves with their own lands, without the epiſcopal Quarter part of Tythes, any great addition of charge to the King, or the plurality of commendams. This petition, through the hearty concurrence of the Lord Deputy Wentworth, met with a favourable reception. But the enſuing rebellion, in 1641, hindered the final and happy ſettlement of that affair.——Good Archbiſhop Synge, at the meeting of the next parliament after his conſecration, took care to have an act paſſed, in 1717, for diveſting his See for ever of the ſaid Quarter-epiſcopal part, and for ſettling the ſame on ſuch Rectors, Vicars, or Curates, as do perſonally diſcharge the reſpective cures within the dioceſes of Tuam and Enaghdune. He alſo procured a clauſe in that act, to enable him to demiſe a ſhare of the demeſne lands of the Archbiſhoprick, in the ſame manner as he by law could demiſe other lands, not demeſne, belonging thereto, at the rent of three fourths of the full yearly value (8).

(8) Harris, as above, Vol. I. p. 619—621.

[*G*] *Compoſed and publiſhed ſeveral very excellent treatiſes.*] The following is an exact liſt of them. 1. A peaceable and friendly Addreſs to the Nonconformiſts, written upon their deſiring an Act of Toleration without the Sacramental Teſt. Dublin, 1697. 4to. 2. A Defence of the peaceable and friendly Addreſs to the Nonconformiſts, againſt the Anſwer lately given to it. Dublin, 1698. 4to. 3. Plain Inſtructions for the Young and Ignorant, comprized in a ſhort and eaſy Expoſition of the Church-Catechiſm, adapted to the Underſtanding and Memory of thoſe of the meaneſt capacity. Lond. 8vo. 4. Some ſhort and plain directions for ſpending one Day well, by which (if every day carefully obſerved) a Man may be much enabled, through God's grace, to ſpend his whole Life well. Lond. 8vo. 5. An Anſwer to all the Excuſes and Pretences, which Men ordinarily make for their not coming to the holy Communion. To which is added, A brief Account of the End and Deſign of the holy Communion, the Obligation to receive it, the Way to prepare for it, and the Behaviour of ourſelves both at and after it. With Prayers and Meditations ſuitable to the occaſion. Fitted for the meaneſt capacities, and very proper to be given away by ſuch as are charitably inclined. Lond. 8vo. 6. An Eſſay towards making the Knowledge of Religion eaſy to the meaneſt Capacity. Being a ſhort and plain Account of the Doctrines and Rules of Chriſtianity. Lond. 8vo. 7. A Gentleman's Religion: in three Parts. The 1ſt contains the Principles of Natural Religion. The 2d and 3d the Doctrines of Chriſtianity, both as to Faith and Practice. With an Appendix, wherein it is proved, That nothing contrary to our Reaſon can poſſibly be the Object of our Belief: But that it is no juſt Exception againſt ſome of the Doctrines of Chriſtianity, that they are above our Reaſon. The firſt Part was publiſhed by itſelf; and the ſecond and third Parts were added in the ſecond edition. Lond. 1705. 12mo. 8. A Defence of the eſtabliſhed Church and Laws, in anſwer to a book, intitled, 'A Vindication of Marriage, as ſolemnized by Preſbyterians in the North of Ireland.' Dublin. 1705. 12mo. 9. A brief Enquiry into the Original and Power of Eccleſiaſtical Synods. Lond. 1705. 8vo. Written at the inſtance of Dr Wake, then engaged in the controverſy with Dr Atterbury upon that ſubject. Lond. 1705. 8vo. 10. The Wiſdom of being Religious. A Sermon preached at the Caſtle-chapel in Dublin, Feb. 20, 1703-4. 8vo. 11. Some Rules for the Conduct of Human Life, ſhewing the way of living; 1. Wiſely. 2. Harmoniouſly. 3. Peaceably and Quietly. 4. In buſineſs. 5. In much buſineſs. 6. In the intervals of buſineſs. 7. In Travel. 8vo. 12. A true Churchman ſet in a juſt and clear Light: Or An Eſſay towards the right Character of a faithful Son of the Eſtabliſhed Church. To which is added the learned Mr Chillingworth's Demonſtration of the Apoſtolick Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy. Lond. 1709. 13. The divine Authority of Church-government and Epiſcopacy ſtated and aſſerted upon Principles common to all Chriſtians; in a Sermon preached in the College-chapel, at the conſecration of Peter Brown, late Provoſt of the ſaid College, and Biſhop of Cork and Roſs, on Sunday April 2d, 1710. Dublin, 1710. 12mo. 14. A Sermon preached at St Andrew's church, Dublin, before the Houſe of Commons, October 23d, 1711. Dublin, 1711. 4to. 15. Dr Synge's Defence of himſelf againſt the unjuſt Aſperſions thrown on him, in a late pamphlet, intitled, "A Reply to a Vindication of a Letter "publiſhed in a pamphlet, called *Partiality de-* "*tected.*" Dublin, 1711. 4to. Which was anſwered the ſame year by William Percival, Archdeacon of Caſhel. 16. The value of a good Name; the Way and Duty of getting and preſerving it; together with the Sin of depriving another of it, in a Sermon preached in the Pariſh Church of St. Werburgh's, Dublin, Nov. 1, 1713. 8vo. 17. Eternal Salvation the only End and Deſign of Religion. A Sermon. 1714. 12mo. 18. The Rule of Self-Examination, or the only way of baniſhing Doubts and Scruples, and directing the Conſcience in the ſatisfactory Practice of all Chriſtian Duties. 1715. 19. A plain and eaſy Method, whereby a Man of a moderate Capacity may arrive at full Satisfaction in all Things that concern his Everlaſting Salvation: To which is added, A Paraphraſe on St Athanaſius's Creed. 1715. 20. Unanimity in the preſent time of Danger, recommended in a Sermon preached before the Lords Juſtices of Ireland, in Chriſt-Church, Dublin, on Sunday Feb. 5, 1715. Dublin, 1716. 8vo. 21. The Happineſs of a Nation and People. In a Sermon preached at Chriſt-Church, Dublin, before the Government and Houſe of Lords, May 29, 1716. Dublin, 1716. 8vo. 22. A modeſt Enquiry into the Danger of the Church. Dublin, 1716. 23. An Abſtract of the Church-Catechiſm, briefly containing the Subſtance of all that is neceſſary to Salvation. Dublin, 1717. 24. A Convert's Vindication, in a Letter to his Friend of the Church of Rome. Dublin, 1718. 25. A Sincere Convert diſtinguiſhed from an Hypocrite.—— And a Sincere Convert's Vindication of himſelf. 26. The Reward of converting Sinners from the Errors of their Ways. A Sermon preached in the Pariſh Church of St Bridget, Dublin, Feb. 8th, 1718, at the Annual Meeting of the Children educated in the Charity-Schools in Dublin. Dublin, 1719. 4to. 27. Univerſal Benevolence. A Sermon. Dublin, 1721. 12mo. 28. A Sermon againſt Perſecution on account of Religion, preached before the Duke of Grafton, Lord Lieutenant, and the Houſe of Lords, in Chriſt-Church, Dublin, on Monday, October 23d, 1721. Dublin, 1721. 12mo. 29. An Account of the Laws now in force in Ireland for encouraging the Reſidence of the Parochial Clergy, and erecting of Engliſh Schools; with the good uſe that may be made of them. With an Appendix, ſhewing how the Fund of Firſt-fruits ſettled in Truſtees by Queen Anne has been applied. Dublin, 1723. 8vo. 30. *De Religionis Chriſtianæ Fundamentalibus.* 31. A brief Diſcourſe of the Fundamentals of Chriſtianity; and

with the character of a gentleman of true piety, an excellent ſcholar, and a great divine; and lies buried in the church-yard of that cathedral.

and the Uſe that is to be made of them. With an Appendix, in which, from the Principles laid down or ſuggeſted in the Diſcourſe, an Anſwer is given to three important Queſtions; the determination whereof would much conduce to the reſtoring Communion between different Churches. 32. The Caſe of the Poor of Ireland ſtated and conſidered upon the common Principles of Chriſtianity. 33. Short and plain Directions for all that go to Service. 34. Free-Thinking in Matters of Religion ſtated and recommended. Lond. 1727. 8vo. 35. Religion tried by the Teſt of ſober and impartial Reaſon. 1713. 36. The Sin of Schiſm moſt unjuſtly and groundleſsly charged by the Non-Jurors upon the preſent eſtabliſhed Church of England. 37. Catholick Chriſtianity; or an Eſſay towards leſſening the Number of Controverſies among Chriſtians. 38. A Charitable Addreſs to all who are of the Communion of the Church of Rome. Dublin, 1728. 8vo. This was anſwered by Dr Cornelius Nary. 39. An Anſwer to two Objections made againſt the foregoing Tract. Dublin, 1729. 8vo. 40. A Defence of the Charitable Addreſs to the Roman Catholicks, in reply to Dr Nary's Anſwer. Dublin, 1729. 8vo. To which Dr Nary writ a Rejoinder. 41. Obſervations on Dr Nary's Rejoinder. 42. The Abſtruſe Philoſophy of Tranſubſtantiation conſidered. 43. The Authority of the Church in Matters of Religion. Dublin, 1733. 44. A ſhort Diſſertation upon eating Blood. Dublin, 1733. 45. The Root and Spring of true Virtue and Piety. A Sermon preached at Tuam. Dublin, 1733. 12mo. 46. The Way to Eternal Salvation plainly pointed out. A Sermon. Dublin, 1734. 47. A Help to the devout Performance of private Prayer. Dublin, 1735. 48. A Perſuaſive to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, in a Letter to a ſober Gentleman of the Church of Rome. Dublin, 1736. 49. The true Nature of an Oath; a Letter to a ſober Quaker, occaſioned by the Act of Parliament, whereby it is enacted, That the ſolemn Affirmation of the Quakers ſhall be of like force with an Oath taken in the common Form of Law. Dublin, 1736. 50. Honeſty the beſt Policy: An Eſſay concerning the true Way of rendering a Nation happy, and its Government firm and laſting. Dublin, 1738. 51. An Eſſay on Fooliſh Queſtions: Another on contending for the Faith. Being the Subſtance of two Viſitation-Sermons on Matt. xiii. 25. Dublin, 1738. 52. St Paul's Deſcription of his own Religion opened and explained. 1721. 53. Sober Thoughts for the Cure of Melancholy, eſpecially that which is Religious. Dublin, 1738. 54. Advice to a young Divine concerning Preaching. Dublin, 1738. 55. Two Tracts; the one, Directions to a ſober Chriſtian, for the acceptable offering up the Lord's Prayer in his private Devotions; the other, Sober Thoughts on the Doctrine of Predeſtination. 56. A brief and plain Abridgment of the Chriſtian Religion. 57. A Diſcourſe of Confirmation, in a Dialogue between the Miniſter of a Pariſh and a young Servant-maid, containing proper Inſtructions for ſuch perſons as are to be confirmed: Humbly offered to the conſideration of all Parents, and others who have the Care of educating Youth. Dublin, 1739. 58. The Neceſſity and true Nature of Repentance. A Sermon. Dublin, 1740. 59. A Sincere Chriſtian and Convert from the Church of Rome, exemplified in the Caſe of Daniel Herley, a poor Iriſh Peaſant.

Our learned Author wrote likewiſe, in 1713, 1714, 1715, ſome Letters, in anſwer to Dr Peter Brown, Biſhop of Cork, his once famous Books about Drinking to the Memory of the Dead, or againſt Healths in general.

He alſo publiſhed Two Letters concerning the Juriſdiction of the Houſe of Lords of Ireland. They were writ at the time when it was queſtioned, and before a Britiſh Act of Parliament took it away. They were very well liked (9).

Theſe ſeveral Treatiſes are written in a polite, ſenſible, eaſy, and rational manner: and have been ſo well received by the Public, that many of them have paſſed through ſeveral Editions. The 21ſt Edition, for inſtance, of the "Anſwer to all the Excuſes which Men "make for not coming to the Communion," was publiſhed in 1752, as was alſo the 13th of his "Eſſay "towards making the Knowledge of Religion eaſy," in 1754. And ſome of the other pieces are come to a ſeventh and eighth Edition. C

(9) This Liſt is taken from the Memoirs, as above communicated to us: and from Mr Harris's edition of Sir James Ware's works, Vol. III. p. 297. &c.

T.

TALBOT [CHARLES], Duke of Shrewſbury, well deſerves a place in theſe memoirs, as a patriot Stateſman. He was born on St. James's Eve, 1660, and, in reſpect to his family [*A*], King Charles II. ſtood his God-father, being the firſt to whom that monarch did this honour after his Reſtoration *(a)*. He loſt his father when he was ſeven years of age *(b)*, and being brought to enquire into the popiſh religion (in which he had been bred) by the diſcovery of the popiſh plot in 1679, he applied to Dr *Tillotſon*, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who having ſoon reconciled him to the Church of England, he attended the Doctor for the firſt time at the public worſhip in Lincoln's-Inn Chapel, on Sunday the 4th of May that year *(c)*. However, this change of his religion had not, it ſeems, a ſuitable influence upon the moral part of his conduct. His Lordſhip, among other excellent endowments, was particularly diſtinguiſhed by a very handſome perſon, which procuring him an eaſy acceſs to the Ladies *(d)*, he indulged himſelf in ſome exceſſes with the ſex. This reaching the ears of his Converter, Doctor Tillotſon, gave occaſion to the moſt elegant and polite letter, that was ever penned by that eloquent Divine [*B*]. As it was his loyalty that apparently

(a) Life of Charles, Duke of Shrewſbury, p. 4.

(b) He died March 16, 1667, of a wound received in a duel with George Villars, ſecond Duke of Buckingham. See that Duke's article.

(c) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 56. Edit. 1753.

(d) Memoirs of the Noble Family of Talbot, &c. p. 9. Edit. 1737. 8vo.

[*A*] *In reſpect to his family.*] This family (1) is ſaid to have been in England before the Conqueſt, but the firſt mentioned in our records, is *Richard Talbot*, who is declared to have great poſſeſſions in the time of the Conqueſt (2). From him, after ſeveral deſcents, ſprung *Gilbert Talbot*, who flouriſhed in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I, and having married *Guenthlian*, daughter of *Rheſe ap Griffith*, Prince of Wales, his deſcendants reliuquiſhed their paternal arms, a bend of ten peeces argent and gules, and bore *a lion rampant, or, in a field gules, within a bordure engrailed of the firſt*, which were the arms of the ſaid Rheſe and his anceſtors, Princes of Wales (3). Gilbert's great grandſon, *Richard*, was ſummonſed to Parliament by the title of *Lord Talbot*, July 5, ann. 1330. Edward III, whoſe grandſon of the ſame name had iſſue Gilbert, his ſon and heir, who dying without male iſſue, his younger brother became heir to Gilbert's only daughter. This younger brother was the famous Sir John Talbot, who makes ſuch a figure in our hiſtory for his heroic atchievements, eſpecially in France, under Henry V. (4), and was Earl of Shrewſbury, May 20, 1442, in the 20th year of the reign of Henry VI, and in the 24th of that King, ann. 1446, was Earl of Wexford, and created by Patent Earl of Waterford in Ireland. From this great Earl was deſcended lineally Edward the eighth Earl of Shrewſbury, who dying Jan. 14, ann. 1616, without male iſſue, the titles came to the heirs of Sir Gilbert Talbot of Grafton, ſecond ſon to John the ſecond Earl of Shrewſbury, of this houſe. This Sir Gilbert Talbot being twice married, was immediately ſucceeded by the eldeſt ſon of the firſt marriage, Sir Gilbert Talbot, Knight, of Grafton, who dying without iſſue male, his younger brother by their father's ſecond marriage became Sir John Talbot of Grafton, Knight, who being twice married, was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon of the firſt marriage (5), Sir John Talbot of Grafton, whoſe grandſon, George Talbot, by the death of Edward the eighth Earl of Shrewſbury, without iſſue male, in the 15th year of the reign of James I, became the ninth Earl of Shrewſbury, to whoſe ſon, John the tenth Earl, ſucceeded his ſon and heir, Francis the eleventh Earl, Father to the Subject of the preſent article, who was the twelfth Earl, and both firſt and laſt Duke of Shrewſbury.

(1) The pedigree of this family being drawn out at length in the Peerage of England, Vol. II, Edit. 1756, we ſhall only mention a few of the principal heads of it.

(2) Lillie's Pedigree of the Nobility. MS. p. 7. penes Johan. Com. de Egmont.

(3) Regiſter of the Order of the Garter by Anſtis, Vol. I. p. 227.

(4) It has been obſerved of this noble Earl, that he was victorious in forty ſeveral battles and dangerous ſkirmiſhes. MS. in Bibl. John Anſtis Armig.

(5) The preſent Earl Talbot is deſcended from the ſecond marriage. See Lord Chancellor Talbot's article.

[*B*] *Doctor Tillotſon wrote a letter to him.*] It was in theſe terms.

'My Lord,

'It was a great ſatisfaction to me to be any ways inſtrumental in the gaining your Lordſhip to our religion, which I am really perſuaded to be the truth. But I am, and always was, more concerned, that your Lordſhip ſhould continue a virtuous and good man, than become a Proteſtant; being aſſured that the ignorance and errors of men's underſtanding will find a much eaſier forgiveneſs with God, than the faults of the will. I remember that your Lordſhip once told me, that you would endeavour to juſtify the ſincerity of your change by a conſcientious regard to all other parts and actions of your life. I am ſure you cannot more effectually condemn your own act, than by being a worſe man after your profeſſion to have embraced a better religion. I will certainly be one of the laſt to believe any thing of your Lordſhip that is not good; but I always feared I ſhould be one of the firſt, that ſhould hear it. The time I laſt waited upon your Lordſhip, I had heard ſomething that afflicted me very ſenſibly, but I hoped it was not true, and was therefore loth to trouble your Lordſhip about it. But having heard the ſame from thoſe, who, I believe, bear no ill will to your Lordſhip, I now think it my duty to acquaint you with it. To ſpeak plainly, I have been told, that your Lordſhip is of late fallen into a converſation, dangerous both to your reputation and virtue, two of the tendereſt and deareſt things in the world. I believe your Lordſhip to have a great command and conduct of yourſelf; but I am very ſenſible of human frailty, and of the dangerous temptations to which youth is expoſed in this diſſolute age. Therefore I earneſtly beſeech your Lordſhip to conſider, beſides the high provocation of Almighty God, and the hazard of your ſoul, whenever you engage in a bad courſe, what a blemiſh you will bring upon a fair and unſpotted reputation; what uneaſineſs and trouble you will create to yourſelf from the ſevere reflections of a guilty conſcience; and how great a violence you will offer to your good principles, your nature, and your education, and to a mind the beſt made for virtuous and worthy things. And do not imagine you can ſtop when you pleaſe. Experience ſhews us the contrary, and that nothing is more vain, than for men to think they can ſet bounds to themſelves in any thing that is bad. I hope in God no temptation has yet prevailed on your Lordſhip

apparently firſt prompted a diſlike to the religion of his Anceſtors, ſo this principle being embelliſhed (to ſpeak in the courtly phraſe of theſe times) with a turn to gallantry, a ſweet temper, and fine addreſs, rendered him very acceptable to the gay Court of Charles. And at the coronation of King James, he was pitched upon to bear the *curtana*, or pointleſs ſword *(e)*. In this reign, he had alſo the command of a regiment of horſe; but when that unfortunate prince broke into the conſtitution, by aſſuming an arbitrary and diſpenſing power, the Earl reſigned his regiment, and went to the Prince of Orange, having firſt borrowed 12000 *l.* to ſupport him, part of which was from Father Peters *(f)*. Biſhop Burnet, who was well acquainted with the Prince's affairs at this time, tells us, that the Earl of Shrewſbury was one of the nobles chiefly truſted by his Highneſs, and on whoſe advice he governed all his motions, and drew his declaration *(g)*. On the Prince's landing in the Weſt, the Earl was ſent by him to take poſſeſſion of Briſtol, and he was principally concerned in promoting the aſſociation to revenge any attempt that ſhould be made upon his Highneſs's perſon. He was afterwards appointed, with the Earls of Oxford and Clarendon, to treat with the Lords ſent by King James, to know what the Prince demanded, and was primarily conſulted in all affairs of the Revolution. During the debates about ſettling the nation, ſome methods being propoſed, which gave the Prince great uneaſineſs, the Earl of Shrewſbury was one of the three Lords to whom he choſe to explain himſelf diſtinctly. When the Prince and Princeſs were declared King and Queen of England, the Earl was ſworn of the Privy Council, and made ſole Principal Secretary of State *(h)*: he was alſo one of the Commiſſioners appointed to hear and determine the claims exhibited, to be performed at the Coronation, in which he bore one of the three ſwords, April 11, 1689: and on the 18th he was conſtituted Lord Lieutenant of Worceſterſhire, and was alſo Lord Lieutenant of Herefordſhire *(i)*. But the Court afterwards taking ſome meaſures he did not approve, he reſigned the Secretary's place *(k)* in December, 1690, and was ſucceeded by the Lord Viſcount Sidney *(l)*, but was ſworn into the other department of that office on the 4th of March, 1693, in the room of the Earl of Nottingham. On the 25th of April following, 1694, he was elected Knight of the Garter *(m)*, and on the 30th of that month advanced to the dignities of Marquis of Alton and Duke of Shrewſbury *(n)*. May 11, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Angleſey, as he was alſo of Flintſhire and Denbyſhire on the 31ſt of that month. On the 5th of November, 1695, King William did him the honour to dine with him at his ſeat at Heythrop in Oxfordſhire *(o)*, and the ſame year, as alſo in 1697, he was one of the Lords Juſtices of England during his Majeſty's abſence abroad [C]. In May 1699, he reſigned the ſeals of Secretary of State *(p)*, on account of his ill ſtate of health, occaſioned by an unlucky fall from his horſe in a fox-chace, when the creature happened to give him a blow upon the breaſt in riſing, which brought on him ſuch a ſpitting of blood, and ſhortneſs of breath, as made him uncapable of going through the buſineſs of his poſt. However, on the 25th of October following, he was appointed Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold *(q)*, as a place of eaſier management; but the diſcharge of blood increaſing, he was adviſed by his phyſicians to go to a warmer climate, as the only means of effecting his recovery *(r)*. Hereupon he reſolved to reſign his ſtaff and key as Chamberlain, and prepared to go abroad. This happening at the juncture when his friends, the Earl of Orford, the Lord Somers and Halifax, were haraſſed by the Parliament *(s)*, gave a handle to ſuch as would not believe his illneſs, to report him for a deſerter, who was leaving the Kingdom out of cowardice *(t)* [D].

(e) Between the Earls of Derby and Pembroke. Account of that Coronation.

(f) Hi Life, page 8 [illegible] er of [illegible] ſays, that a boat for the purpoſe was provided privately by Mr Ruſſel, then one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber to King James, and afterwards Earl of Oxford.

(g) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 712. Vol. I. Folio Edition.

(h) The Earl of Nottingham was prevailed on in a few days after to accept the other department in this office on that occaſion.

(i) Memoirs of the Noble Family of Talbot, as before.

(k) Gen. Hiſt. of England.

(l) Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under this year.

(m) Id. under the year 1693.

(n) He was inſtalled at Windſor the 5th of June following. Peerage by Collins, as before.

(o) Id. ibid. However, it is certain that he had lately made this purchaſe; the houſe in all its branches was not intirely finiſhed. MS. penes me.

(p) He was ſucceeded by the Earl of Jerſey on the 14th of that month. Salmon, under this year.

(q) Gazette, No. 3543.

(r) Particularly Sir Thomas Millington ſpoke to King William to adviſe him to go to Montpelier. His Life.

(s) See Gen. Hiſt. of England.

(t) His Life, as before.

'ſhip ſo far, as to be guilty of any looſe act. If it 'has, as you love your ſoul, let it not proceed to an 'habit. The retreat is yet eaſy and open, but will 'every day become more difficult and obſtructed. God 'is ſo merciful, that upon your repentance, and reſolu'tion of amendment, he is not only ready to forgive 'what is paſt, but to aſſiſt us by his Grace to do better 'for the future. But I need not enforce theſe conſi'derations upon a mind ſo capable of, and eaſy to re'ceive, good counſel. I ſhall only deſire your Lord'ſhip to think again and again, how great a point of 'wiſdom it is in all our actions to conſult the peace of 'our minds, and to have no quarrel with the conſtant 'and inſeparable companion of our lives. If others diſ'pleaſe us, we may quit their company; but he that 'is diſpleaſed with himſelf, is unavoidably unhappy, 'becauſe he has no way to get rid of himſelf.

'My Lord, for God's ſake and your own, think of 'being happy, and reſolve by all means to ſave your'ſelf from this untoward generation. Determine rather 'upon a ſpeedy change of your condition, than to gra'tify the inclinations of your youth in any thing but 'what is lawful and honourable; and let me have the 'ſatisfaction to be aſſured from your Lordſhip, either 'that there has been no ground for this report, or that 'there ſhall be none for the future; which will be the 'welcomeſt news to me in the world. I have only to 'beg of your Lordſhip to believe, that I have not done 'this to ſatisfy the formality of my profeſſion; but that 'it proceeds from the trueſt affection and good-will, 'that one man can poſſibly bear to another. I pray 'God every day for your Lordſhip, with the ſame con'ſtancy and fervour, as for myſelf, and do moſt ear'neſtly beg, that this counſel may be acceptable and 'effectual.' I am &c.

[C] *He was one of the Lords Juſtices in* 1697.] It is ſaid, that the year before, Lord Peterborough promiſed Sir John Fenwick his life, if he would accuſe the Duke of Shrewſbury and the Lord Orford of having a deſign to bring in King James, and that the firſt mentioned Lord wrote a book, with the aſſiſtance of Dr D'Avenant, and put one Smith's name to it (6), againſt the Duke, which loſt Lord Peterborough, with all honeſt men, the Houſe of Commons, voting the firſt a ſcandalous deſign to make a difference between the King and his beſt friends (7), and the Houſe of Peers ordering the ſecond to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

[D] *Leaving the kingdom out of cowardice.*] The Writer of his life tells us, that he retired to his friend, Mr Mackey's houſe, at Dover, for two or three days, till the yacht could be got ready, that was to tranſport him. And that he there received the King's ſurprizing order from a Secretary of State, to take Paris in his way to Montpelier, and to viſit the French King. Accordingly he went to that Monarch at Verſailles, who received him coolly, and entertained him with nothing but *bagatelles* [trifles]; that in coming from the King, he met the Count *de Lauſun*, who, after the uſual civilities, aſked him if he would not ſee the Chevalier St George: to which the Earl anſwered, that if he was to ſee him, he ſhould chuſe rather to ſee him there than in England. The ſame Writer aſſures us, that he even never viſited the Earl of Middleton, who was married to his mother's ſiſter, and with whom he had been for many years in the moſt intimate and affectionate friendſhip (*).

(6) It was entituled, Memoirs of Secret Service, by Matthew Smith of the Inner Temple, Eſq.

(7) The Houſe ordered the Paſſage-office to be ſearched, to ſee if a paſs had ſlippped his office at the aſſignation, but all proved clear. Mackey's Characters, p. 65.

(*) His Life, p. 12. where this Writer ſays, that when it was afterwards told him, that the Earl of Jerſey had employed people to know if he had ſeen the Earl of Middleton, he anſwered, that he hoped he [Jerſey] was ſo well ſerved, as to know he did not

He

He had ſcarce got to Montpelier, when the King of Spain dying, his Grace concluded we ſhould be drawn into a new war, and therefore haſtening out of France, he retired to Geneva, where he paſſed his time very agreeably for a year; but the fogs from the lake bringing a return of his diſorder, obliged him to croſs the Alps to Italy. Naples was the place he had deſigned for his reſidence; but King Philip having got poſſeſſion of that kingdom, his Grace went to Rome, took a very handſome palace near the Capitol, and lived there above three years (*u*). On Queen Anne's acceſſion to the throne, having reſigned the Chamberlain's place (*w*), he received letters both from the Duke of Marlborough and Earl Godolphin, offering him the place of Maſter of the Horſe to her Majeſty; and entreating him to come and ſhare in the adminiſtration with them (*x*): but his health would not permit him to think of a return to England, and public buſineſs at that time. His enemies there, who had before repreſented his diſtemper as a meer ſtate trick, now gave out that he was a Roman Catholic again, and the Engliſh Papiſts, joining in the cry, ſaid, his journey to Rome was to reconcile himſelf to their Church. But this was ſo far from being a true ſtate of the caſe, that the more he ſaw of Popery abroad, the more he was confirmed in the Proteſtant Religion and intereſt [*E*]; inſomuch, that by expoſing the follies of the former, he converted the Earl of Cardigan and his brother from it, even at Rome (*y*). He converſed indeed indifferently with all ſorts of people, eſpecially the *Literati*, and improved his knowledge in painting and architecture, to which laſt he applied aſſiduouſly; and made a very good collection of the firſt (*z*). His evenings he generally paſſed at the Princeſs *Carpigni*'s, where he firſt ſaw his Dutcheſs; ſhe was the widow of a Count belonging to the late Queen of Sweden, and daughter to the Marquis *Paliotti* of Bologna in Italy (*aa*). As ſhe had a great many engaging qualities, and he of a generous, as well as amorous temper, there grew a ſtrict friendſhip between them, which at length concluded in a marriage [*F*]; but was not celebrated till he got into a Proteſtant country, and ſhe had made an abjuration of the Romiſh Faith, at Augſburgh in Germany, to which place ſhe followed him, after he had made the tour of Lombardy, Venice, Padua, and Verona. The ceremony being completed, they left Augſburgh, and paſſing, in their way to England, through Cologne to Francfort (*bb*), his Grace communicated his marriage in a letter from thence to the Duke of Marlborough [*G*], then in Flanders. This great general arriving, November the 1ſt, at Francfort, in order to proceed to Vienna, was entertained, with his retinue, at dinner by the Duke of Shrewſbury, who, on the 22d of that month, arrived at the Hague, and landed in England with the Duke of Marlborough, December 30, 1705. On his arrival, meeting with a cool reception from his old friends, the Whigs, he retired firſt into Worceſterſhire and Shropſhire, and from thence to his purchaſe at Heythrop, near Woodſtock, in Oxfordſhire (*cc*). During this retirement, the other party left no ſtone unturned to get ſo conſiderable a man on their ſide, knowing the great regard the Queen had for him, and the reputation he had with the people. And repreſenting to him the ingratitude of a party to whom he had been ſo uſeful, he was at laſt prevailed upon to come to Court, and April 15, 1710, was made again Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold by Queen Anne, and ſworn again of her Privy Council. Alſo May 10, 1712, his Grace was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and Cuſtos Rotulorum of Shropſhire. Afterwards he entered into all the meaſures of the miniſtry for obtaining a peace (*dd*); and to give the finiſhing ſtroke to it, he accepted of going Ambaſſador extraordinary to the French court, in order to complete it, on the 23d of November (*ee*). However, as he was neither to be flattered nor cajoled, and inſiſting on ſeveral beneficial articles of commerce, which the French would have declined, he ſoon found a coldneſs in that court towards him, and thereupon ſollicited his return, which however he did not preſently obtain. When he came to England, he had hardly time to ſettle his private affairs before he was ſent out of the way (as the Writer of his Life relates) Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in September the ſame year. The uncommon reception he met with at Dublin, where the Recorder complimented him with the great ſhare he had in the Revolution, and the Peers and Clergy complimented him on the great ſhare he had in making the peace, was the genuine effect of party infatuation. However, no man in his poſt could behave with more care for the Proteſtant Intereſt, and the liberties of that country [*H*], tempering, as much as poſſible, the rage

(*u*) His Life, as before.

(*w*) He was ſucceeded in it by the Earl of Jerſey. Salmon, under the year 1702.

(*x*) His Life, as before.

(*y*) The Duke's mother, Anna Maria, was daughter to Robert Earl of Cardigan. Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 50.

(*z*) Many of theſe adorned his elegant houſe at Heythrop, near Woodſtock.

(*aa*) Her name was Adelhida. She was deſcended by her mother from Sir Robert Dudley, the ſuppoſed ſon of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leiceſter, the great favourite of Queen Elizabeth; of which Sir Robert, ſee an account in the article of Sir Henry Wotton.

(*bb*) During his ſtay here, he received a letter from Sir Rowland Guynn, inviting him to take the court of Hanover in his way, which he declined. His Life, page 15.

(*cc*) His Life.

(*dd*) He was the firſt to treat with Meſnager, whom Prior brought back with him to London. Id.

(*ee*) Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under this year, who alſo obſerves, that he arrived at Calais, in his way to that court, on the 27th of Dec. following, but did not take the character of Ambaſſador before the concluſion of the peace, any more than the Duke d'Aumont did in England. Not making his public entry at Paris till June 11, 1713. The peace had been proclaimed, May the 5th preceding.

[*E*] *The more he was confirmed in the Proteſtant Religion and intereſt.*] He often ſaid, that all Engliſhmen ought to travel, to value the more their ſo happy conſtitution; for that the more we ſaw of the foppery of the Romiſh Religion, and the oppreſſion in deſpotic governments, the more we ſhould ſupport that eaſy and happy government in Church and State we are under at home. He abhorred the proceſſions made to the Madonas, and the worſhipping of our Saviour in the ſhape of a wafer erected on a throne as an earthly King. He was ſo ſtrict, that he would never enter into their Churches to ſee any curioſities during the time of any ſervice whatſoever, to avoid any indecency from himſelf, or ſcandal to others (8).

(8) His life, ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *Concluded in a marriage.*] The ſtory which paſſed current in England, that his Grace was bullied into this marriage by two of the Lady's brothers in Italy, is ſaid to be intirely falſe and groundleſs. Since he was gone from her above ſix months before the marriage; and the Marquis Paliotti, her brother, who was ſaid to be the perſon that bullied him, he never ſaw till ſix weeks after his marriage; when he came to meet them at Cologne, in their way to England from the Palatine court at Duſſeldorp, to which Paliotti then belonged (9).

(9) Ibid. This gentleman, however, followed his ſiſter afterwards to England, where he was executed for the murder of one of his ſervants. See Matthew Tindal's article.

[*G*] *He communicated his marriage to the Duke of Marlborough.*] His Grace, it is ſaid, diſcovered, by the ſtile of this letter, that the Duke of Shrewſbury had done a thing, for which he wanted to make an apology; and his friends in England believed he was aſhamed of it, ſince the notice they had of it, was by his letter to Mr *De la Faye*, one of the Clerks of the Secretary's Office, who took care of his letters (10).

(10) His Life.

[*H*] *He maintained the Proteſtant Intereſt, and the liberty of that country.*] Though he was now under the influence of a Tory-Adminiſtration, yet the Writer of his Life obſerves that did not bias him to either party, of which he gives the following inſtances. He could have had Sir Richard Leving (ſet up by the Tories) choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, inſtead of Mr Broderick, ſet up by the Whigs; but he would, neither

rage and animoſities of both parties. The conſequence of which was, as might be expected, that the Whigs feared to truſt him, and the Tories ſuſpected him: ſo that when he returned to England, they had the inſolence to print a Satire, and cry it about the ſtreets, before he was on ſhip-board, intituled *Polyphemus, or Ireland's Eye*, alluding to his ſingle eye (*ff*). His coming over was occaſioned by the great variance between Oxford and Bollingbroke, and the illneſs of the Queen, who in the laſt extremity, took the ſtaff from Oxford, and delivered it, two days after, on her death-bed, to the Duke of Shrewſbury. So that at the Queen's death, he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord High-Treaſurer of Great Britain, and Lord Chamberlain, three great places never before in the hands of one perſon at the ſame time. His Grace ſigned the Proclamation for proclaiming King George I, and was one of the Lords appointed by his Majeſty to govern the nation till his arrival. After which, on September 26, 1714, he was made Groom of the Stole and Privy Purſe (*gg*); and, on the appointing of a new Privy Council, he was ſworn into it. He was alſo conſtituted Lord Lieutenant of Worceſterſhire; and on the 17th of October, declared Lord Chamberlain of the houſhold to his Majeſty, in whoſe favour he ſtood very well to the laſt. But his diſorder turning into an obſtinate aſthma, he grew to be frequently out of order, and reſigned the Chamberlain's key ſome months before his death, the immediate cauſe whereof was a fever, which coming upon his aſthma, carried him off on the 1ſt of February, 1717-18, at his ſeat at Iſleworth, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. On the Monday before he died, he ſent for all his ſervants into his room, and telling them, that let his Phyſicians ſay what they would, he was ſure he muſt die ſoon, deſired, if death ſhould carry him off ſuddenly, they would do that juſtice to his memory, to declare, as he did, that he died in the communion of the Church of England, of which he had been above thirty years an unworthy member. On Tueſday he received the Sacrament, from the hands of William Talbot, Biſhop of Saliſbury, his relation, and Dr Chark, his pariſh Miniſter. He preſerved his judgment, and ſenſes, to the laſt minute. Even on the day he died, he bid the Dutcheſs and his Phyſician go to dinner, and come and chat with him when they had done; but before dinner was over, he expired.

(*ff*) His Life, ubi ſupra, p. 54.

(*gg*) His Dutcheſs was alſo made one of the Ladies of the Bedchamber to her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline. Peerage of England.

As to his Lordſhip's character, the Writer of his Life aſſures us, that he was one of the fineſt gentlemen of the age he lived in, very handſome in his perſon, of an admirable addreſs, and the charmingeſt way of ſpeaking; he was the kindeſt maſter to his ſervants, and the juſteſt to his creditors, that ever was known. He was a nobleman of great gallantry, when young, among the Ladies (*bb*). He might have had many great matches in his own country, and ſome he liked well enough in that view, if he had not found the Ladies facile. He was always a Courtier as long as he was perſuaded the Court acted for the intereſt of his Country; but whenever a ſtep was taken there, which he thought againſt that intereſt, he went out of the great offices with as much eaſe as he ſhifted his cloaths. This reſolution to join implicitly with no party, brought him under a misfortune which generally attends a true Patriot Spirit, not to be thought ſteady to any. But though his conduct did not always eſcape ſuch miſrepreſentations as are the ordinary effect of miſtake or malice, yet, in general, he had the good opinion of all; ſo that King William uſed to ſay, that *the Duke of Shrewſbury was the only man of whom the Whigs and Tories both ſpoke well* (*ii*).

(*bb*) Many of theſe are miſtaken in the Atalantis.

(*ii*) Memoirs of the Noble Family of Talbot, p. 7.

Although his heir at law differed from him in Religion, and was a diſtant relation; yet for the honour of the family, he left the whole Eſtate to go together, which from four thouſand pounds a year, and in debt, he brought to eight thouſand, out of debt (*kk*). By his will, it was not to be alienated from the honour; and an Act of Parliament has been ſince obtained for that purpoſe [*I*]. On his deceaſe, the titles of Duke and Marquis being only granted to him and his heirs male, became extinct; but the Earldom of Shrewſbury devolved on Gilbert Talbot, the eldeſt ſurviving ſon of Thomas Talbot of Longford, only ſon of John the tenth Earl of Shrewſbury. But this Gilbert being in Holy Orders, in the Romiſh Church, died without iſſue in 1743, whereby the honours deſcended to his brother George, whoſe ſon of the ſame name, born December 11, 1719, is the preſent Earl of Shrewſbury, who, November 21, 1753, married Elizabeth, daughter of the honourable John Dormer of Peterly, in the county of Bucks, Eſq; (*ll*).

(*kk*) His Life.

(*ll*) Peerage, Vol. II. p. 58.

neither by bribery nor influence, break in upon that liberty, which ought to be ſacred in a Parliament's choice of their Speaker. In the ſame ſpirit, when General Stewart, at his Levee one morning, ſpeaking of an election with joy that the Tories had carried, made uſe of the word *we*, the Duke took him up ſhort, and '*bid him not ſpeak in the plural number, for he came not there to be of any party, but to adminiſter juſtice impartially to all; to ſerve his Queen, and to protect the ſubjects in their liberty.*' Moreover, when the election for the city of Dublin came on, and the Tories, as a mark of diſtinction, wore laurels in their hats, he ordered the yeomen of the guards to deny entrance to every body without diſtinction, that ſhould come to court with that, or any other badge of diſſention. And when the Papiſts, who were very numerous at Dublin, joined with the Tories to mob the Whigs, he tacitly permitted the guards to diſperſe them.

[*I*] *The eſtate was not to be alienated from the honour.*] However, he left a handſome proviſion for his Dutcheſs, bequeathing to her, 1200 *l.* a year (11), and his houſe and furniture in Warwick-Street, with 2000 ounces of his plate, for life. His houſe at Iſleworth, finely furniſhed, he left to his heir, as alſo his elegant ſeat at Heythrop: and appointed George Earl of Cardigan, Dr William Talbot, then Biſhop of Sarum (12), Sir John Stanley, and Mr Ardern, his Steward, truſtees, to ſee his will executed, with an allowance of 100 *l.* a year each for their trouble: he alſo left ſome other ſmall legacies among his ſervants.

(11) Which was what his mother had for her jointure.

(12) Afterwards Biſhop of Durham, and grandfather to the preſent Earl Talbot.

TALBOT [CHARLES], Lord High-Chancellor of Great Britain, was deſcended from a branch of the ſame family with the preceding Nobleman [*A*], whoſe Patriot Spirit he imbibed, with the advantage of a ſteadier application and greater abilities. He was born in 1684, and after a ſuitable foundation of Claſſical Learning at School, was removed to Oxford, and admitted a Gentleman Commoner of Oriel-College in Michaelmas term (*a*), 1701. He proceeded Batchelor of Arts in 1704 (*b*), at three years ſtanding, a privilege allowed to him as the ſon of a biſhop [*B*]; and the third of November, the ſame year, he was elected a Fellow of All-Souls College in that Univerſity (*c*). But he voided this preferment in a few years (*d*), by entering into a marriage with *Cecil*, daughter and heir of Charles Matthews, of Caſtle-Munich in the County of Glamorgan, Eſq; [*C*]. From his firſt admiſſion

(*a*) From the books of the College.

(*b*) Regiſter of degrees of that Univerſity.

(*c*) Regiſter of Admiſſion of the Fellows of All-Souls, who have placed a Buſt of him in their new elegant Library among other eminent perſons, who have been Ornaments of the College.

(*d*) In 1707, or the following year. For he had a ſon born in 1709, and his name is not upon the College books for that year.

[*A*] *Deſcended from a branch of the ſame family with the preceding Nobleman.*] Having already obſerved (1), that the Chancellor was ſprung from John Talbot of Grafton, by a ſecond marriage, it is our buſineſs now to deduce the deſcent therefrom; in which we ſhall, for the reaſon before aſſigned (2), be very conciſe, as follows. The iſſue of this ſecond match, was John Talbot of Salwarp in Worceſterſhire, whoſe ſon, Sherington Talbot of Salwarp and Lacock in Wiltſhire, had by a ſecond marriage four ſons, of whom the third ſon, William, was Grandfather to the Chancellor (3).

(1) In the preceding article, remark [A], note (5).

(2) Ibid. note (1).

(3) Collin's Peerage, Vol. V. Edit. 1756, under the Lord Talbot's article.

[*B*] *The ſon of a Biſhop.*] His Grandfather marrying Mary, the daughter of Thomas Doughty of Whittington in Worceſterſhire, Eſq; had iſſue, beſides two daughters (4), an only ſon, William, who was born at Stourton-Caſtle in Staffordſhire, a ſeat of his Father, a little before the Reſtoration of King Charles II, and was admitted a Gentleman Commoner of Oriel-College, in the beginning of the year 1674, at the age of fifteen; and the year following ſpoke a good ſpeech in the *Encænia* (5). He took the degree of A. B. Octob. 16, 1677 (6), and proceeded to A. M. June 23, 1680 (7), after which he took Holy Orders, obtained a Benefice, and married the daughter of Mr Criſpe, an eminent Attorney at Chipping-Norton in Oxfordſhire. After the Revolution, by the intereſt of his Kinſman, Charles Talbot, then Earl of Shrewſbury, he was promoted to the Deanery of Worceſter, April 23, 1691, in the room of Dr Hickes, ejected for refuſing to take the oaths to the new government. In June following, he was diplomated Doctor of Divinity by Archbiſhop Tillotſon (8); and diſtinguiſhing himſelf in the pulpit, he was more than once called to preach before Queen Mary (9). Upon the demiſe of Dr Fell, he was advanced to the Biſhopric of Oxford, to which he was conſecrated September 24, 1699, with leave to hold his Deanery in Commendam (10). He held this See till 1715 (11), when he ſucceeded Dr Burnet in that of Saliſbury (12), and upon the Death of Dr Crew, he was tranſlated thence (13), on the 23d of September, 1722, to the Biſhopric of Durham, of which County he was Lord Lieutenant, and Cuſtos Rotulorum. He continued in this See till his death, which happened on the 10th of October, 1730. After the deceaſe of his firſt wife, without iſſue, he entered into a ſecond marriage with Catharine, daughter of Alderman King of London, who brought him eight ſons and ſeveral daughters. Of thoſe who lived to maturity, beſides Charles, the Eldeſt, the ſubject of the preſent article, were, 2. Edward, who was born in the city of Worceſter, and bred at Oriel-College in Oxford, where, after taking his firſt degree in Arts, he was choſen Fellow, October 30, 1712. He proceeded A. M. October 14, 1714, and reſigned his Fellowſhip, October 20, 1715, apparently on account of his marriage with Mary, daughter to the Reverend Mr Martin. He died, in 1720, Archdeacon of Berkſhire, having *iſſue* an only daughter, Catharine. 3. Sherington Talbot, who being bred to the army, became Captain of an independent company of foot, afterwards Lieutenant Colonel, and thence Colonel of a regiment of foot, February 17, 1747. He married a daughter of — Midget, who died September 6, 1749, and has iſſue two ſons, William and Charles, both living in 1756. 4. Henry, a Commiſſioner of the Salt duty, who married firſt a daughter of —— Lloyd, by whom he has iſſue a daughter, Elizabeth; and marrying ſecondly Catharine, daughter of Sir Hugh Clopton of Stratford upon Avon in Warwickſhire, hath by her, who died May 17, 1754, no iſſue. He is ſtill living a Widower. The Biſhop's daughters were Henrietta Maria, married to Dr Charles Trimnel, late Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter; and Catharine, married to Exton Sayer, LL. D. who being bred to the Civil Law at Trinity-hall in Cambridge, became a Fellow of that College, and an Advocate in Doctors Commons (14), and after his marriage, was made Chancellor of Durham, Surveyor of his Majeſty's Land Revenues, &c. and died Member of Parliament for Totneſs in 1731. His Lady ſurvived him, and died in Auguſt 1734 (15). The Biſhop was of a magnificent taſte and temper, which often run him into difficulties, through expence, from which he was as often extricated by his moſt worthy ſon, the Chancellor (16).

(4) Idem, ibid. who informs us that the eldeſt of his two daughters, Catharine, was firſt married to Walter Littleton of Litchfield, and ſecondly to Lancelot Black, late Archbiſhop of York: and Frances, the other daughter, was married to Samuel Jewkes of Wolverly in Com. Wigorn.

(5) Mr Wood ſays it was not his own Compoſition. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. ch. 965.

(6) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 205.

(7) Ibid. col. 213.

(8) Athen. Oxon. as before.

(9) See twelve of his Sermons publiſhed in 1731, 8vo. In ſome of which he aſſerts the notion of Dr Samuel Clarke upon the Trinity. He was ſtrongly attached to that Divine; and I heard him once ſorely lament that he could not give the Doctor the beſt preferment he had in his diſpoſal, by reaſon of his refuſing to ſubſcribe the articles.

(10) Le Neve's Faſti Eccl. p. 229.

(11) When he was ſucceeded in it by Dr (afterwards) Archbiſhop Potter.

(12) Le Neve, p. 520.

(13) His Succeſſor at Saliſbury was Dr Hoadly, which made way for Dr Chandler to ſucceed him in it.

(14) From a MS. penes me.

[*C*] *He married the heir of Charles Matthews.*] She was, by her mother's ſide, great grand-daughter, and heireſs of David Jenkins, Eſq; of Henſol in the ſame County. This was the famous Judge Jenkins, who was deſcended of an ancient and honourable family (17), and being one of the Juſtices of South Wales, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning and eminency in his profeſſion, and for his ſteady adherence to the cauſe of King Charles I. It being a part of his Character, that he could neither be flattered by promiſes, nor intimidated by threats (18). Such a character is of great uſe and ſervice to the public, by raiſing a ſpirit of emulation. We ſhall therefore exhibit the principal articles, which conſtituted it, in the following ſuccinct account of this very worthy Judge. He was born at *Henſol*, in the of pariſh *Pendeylwin*, in Glamorganſhire, became Commoner of St Edmund's-Hall, Oxon, in 1597; and after taking the degree of A. B. went to Grey's-Inn, ſtudied the Common Law, and when Barriſter, had good buſineſs in his profeſſion. In the firſt of Charles I. being a Bencher, he was elected Summer Reader, but refuſed to read. Being afterwards made one of the Judges for South Wales (19), he continued in that office till the Rebellion broke out, at which time he either impriſoned divers perſons in his Circuit, or condemned them to die, as being guilty of High Treaſon for bearing arms againſt the King. At length being taken Priſoner at Hereford, when that city was ſurprized by the Parliament forces, December 18, 1645, he was carried up to London, and ſent to the Tower, whence being brought to the Bar in Chancery, he denied the authority of that Court, becauſe their ſeal was counterfeited, and conſequently the Commiſſioners thereof conſtituted againſt law: whereupon being committed to Newgate, he was impeached of Treaſon, and brought to the Bar of the Houſe of Commons; but denying their authority, and refuſing to kneel, he was fined for that contempt 1000 l. remitted to Newgate, and thence removed to Wallingford Caſtle. About that time he uſed his utmoſt endeavour to create a breach between the Parliament and the Army, but without effect. In 1650, an Act paſſed for his trial in the *High Court of Juſtice*, ſo that expecting to be hanged, he reſolved to ſuffer with the Bible under one arm, and Magna Charta under the other (20). 'But, proceeds my Author, *Harry Martin*, as it is ſaid, urging to his fellows, that *ſanguis martyrum eſt ſemen eccleſiæ*, and that this way of proceeding would do them miſchief, they thought good not to take away his life (*).' He was afterwards ſent to Windſor-Caſtle, where remaining till January, 1656, he was ſet at liberty, and then lived a while in Oxford, where he became a conſtant auditor of the Sermons of Dr Edward Hyde at Halywell, then lately ejected from his Rectory of Brightwell, near Wallingford. After the Reſtoration, he was deſigned to be made one of the Judges in Weſtminſter-Hall; but refuſing to comply with the uſual demands of the perquiſites on that occaſion, which he thought too much after all his ſufferings, he retired to his Eſtate in Glamorganſhire, then reſtored to him. He died at Cowbridge, in that County, Dec. 6, 1667, aged eighty-one or more, and was buried at the weſt end of that Church. He died as he lived, preaching with his laſt breath to his Relations, and thoſe that were about him, loyalty to his Majeſty, and obedience to the Laws of the Land. He was a Perſon of great abilities in his profeſſion, and was often conſulted by Sir John Banks, and William Noye (†), in their Attorney-ſhips,

(15) Collins's Peerage, ubi ſupra.

(16) MS. penes me ſpſam.

(17) See article of Sir Leoline Jenkins, remark [*A*], who was related to this Judge.

(18) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. I.

(19) He accepted this Poſt purely in reſpect to the King, who gave him the Patent without paying any fees for it. The ſalary was only 80 l. per ann. when paid, and it coſt him twice as much every year he ſerved, out of his own eſtate, at the rate of an ordinary and frugal expence. Dedication of his Works to the Society of Grey's Inn, and the other Societies of the Law.

(20) In the laſt mentioned Dedication he expreſſes himſelf thus. I have reſolved to tender myſelf a ſacrifice to them [the Laws] as chearfully, and I hope, by God's aſſiſtance, as conſtantly, as old Eleazer did for the holy Laws of his Nation.

(*) Mr Wood is miſtaken in this, if we may believe the Judge himſelf, who tells us that he was detained a priſoner for fifteen years together. Preface to his Reports.

(†) He tells us himſelf, that in the times of the Attorneyſhips of Maſter Noye and Lord Banks, they were pleaſed often to make uſe of him. Dedication to his Works.

ſion in the Univerſity, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Law, with a deſign to make it his profeſſion. In which view, he was admitted a member of the Society of Lincoln's-Inn, and in a ſhort time called to the Bar conſiderably before his courſe of reading was expired (e). He ſoon made a diſtinguiſhed figure in his profeſſion, and growing into the general eſteem of the publick, he was choſen, in 1719, Member of Parliament for Tregony in Cornwall. On the death of Sir Clement, Knight, he was made Sollicitor-General, April 23, 1726, and became likewiſe one of the Repreſentatives in Parliament for the city of Durham [D], his Father being then Biſhop of that See. On the 29th of November, 1733, his Majeſty King George II. delivered to him the Great Seal, and he was thereupon ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council, and likewiſe conſtituted Lord High-Chancellor, and created a Baron of Great Britain, by the name, ſtile, and title of Lord Talbot, Baron of Henſol in the County of Glamorgan (f). Upon theſe promotions, he reſigned the following year the Chancellor (g) of the Dioceſe of Oxford, which had been given him by his Father, when Biſhop of that See (h); and in Auguſt, 1735, the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law was conferred upon him by that Univerſity (i). He was now grown to be the delight and honour of his Country, both in his judicial and miniſterial capacity. But the glory and happineſs Britain promiſed herſelf under the impartial Adminiſtration of this great and good man, was, like all other exquiſite pleaſures, of a very ſhort duration; for, after an illneſs of five days continuance, he expired (k) on the 14th of February 1736-7, at his houſe in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, in the fifty-third year of his age (*). When he became ſenſible that his diſſolution approached, he prepared for it with the utmoſt calmneſs and ſerenity, ſetting his houſe in order, and becoming a true pattern of dying, as he had always done of living, like a Chriſtian. His Corpſe was conveyed to his Eſtate at Barrington in Glouceſterſhire, and interred in the chancel of that Church on the 23d of February, in a grave of free-ſtone cemented (l).

(e) It is ſaid, that this was done through the influence of Lord Chancellor Cowper, to whoſe advice it was owing that he undertook the ſtudy of the law, though *extremum redijſſe pudet* was his own modeſt apology for not attempting it. The Honour of the Seals; or Memoirs of the Noble Family of Talbot; attempting to do juſtice to the life, character, and Deſerts of the late Lord Chancellor. Edit. 1737.

(f) His Patent bears date Dec. 5, 1733, in the ſeventh year of the reign of George II. Peerage of England, Vol. V. p. 369.

(g) In Auguſt this year, 1734, he was choſen a Governor of Charter-Houſe.

(h) He took this office with a deſign of reſigning it to his Brother Edward; but his Father, the Biſhop, leaving that See before this brother was qualified for the place, the Chancellor held it till this time. From private information, he was ſucceeded in it by Dr Tho. Teniſon. See Archbiſhop Teniſon's article.

(i) From the Univerſity Regiſter of Degrees.

(k) The immediate cauſe of his death was ſaid to be an inflammation of the lungs, but upon opening his body, there was found a growing polypus in his heart.

(*) See a copy of the inſcription on his coffin, in The Honour of the Seals, &c. p. 21.

(l) Idem, p. 20.

ſhips. He was alſo a vigorous maintainer of the rights of the Crown; a Heart of Oak, and a Pillar of the Law. Sole Author in Defence of his Sovereign's Rights, England's Laws, and the People's Liberties, when they were invaded and trampled under foot by reſtleſs baſe men (21). His Writings are theſe: 1. His *Recantation* (or rather *Proteſtation*) *delivered at Weſtminſter, April* 10, 1647, *to Miles Corbet, Chairman of the Committee for Examinations:* a half-ſheet. 2. *Vindication while he was a Priſoner in the Tower* (22); April 29, 1647: one ſheet in 4to. 3. *The Army's Indemnity, with a Declaration, ſhewing how every Subject of England ought to be tried for Treaſon*; written June 10, 1647: in one ſheet 4to. 4. *Sundry Acts of Parliament, mentioned and cited in the Army's Indemnity, ſet forth in words at large*; printed in 1647, 4to. 5. *Apology for the Army; touching the eight Queries upon the late Declarations and Letters from the Army touching Sedition, falſely charged upon them.* 6. *Diſcourſe touching the Inconveniencies of a long continued Parliament, and the Judgment of the Law of the Land in that Behalf*: one ſheet and a half. 7. His *Declaration* while Priſoner in the Tower; March 17, 1647: one ſide of a ſheet. 8. *A Scourge for the Directory and revolting Synod, which hath ſitten theſe five Years, more for* 4 s. *a Day, than for Conſcience Sake*: one ſheet. 9. *A Cordial for the good People of London: in a Reply to a Thing, called* An Anſwer to the Poiſonous Seditious Paper of David Jenkins. By H. P. Barriſter (23) of Lincoln's-Inn: three ſheets. 10. His Plea delivered to the Earl of Manchester and the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, ſitting in the Chancery at Weſtminſter; February 14, 1647: one Sheet. 11. Anſwer to the Imputation put upon his Plea in Chancery; Februry 1647: one ſheet. 12. Remonſtrance to the Lords and Commons of the two Houſes of Parliament; February 21, 1647: one ſheet. 13. *Lex terræ*, The Law of the Land.—To which are added, ſome ſeeming Objections of Mr William Prynne, ſcattered in diverſe books, anſwered, and the Truth thereof more fully cleared; all printed ſepatarely in 1647, 4to. And the whole thirteen were printed together at London, in 1648, in 12mo, and went by the name of *Judge* Jenkyns *his Works*. They were alſo publiſhed in the ſame manner, in 1681; and again, 1683, in 12mo. To theſe Editions is prefixed, a Print of him (†), underneath which are theſe Verſes, made by John Birkenhead:

Here Jenkins *ſtands, who thundering from the Tower,*
Shot the bold Senate's Legiſlative Power:
Six of whoſe words twelve Reams of Votes exceed,
As Mountains moved by grains of Muſtard-ſeed.
Thus gaſping Laws were reſcued from the ſnare.
He that will ſave a Crown, muſt know and dare.

(21) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 328, 329, 330.

(22) This, when publiſhed, was referred to a *Committee of Complaint*, who ordered the Printer and Publiſher to be tried at the King's-Bench. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(23) That is, Henry Parker, under whoſe article, in Athen. Oxon. ſee more of this tract.

(†) It is a half-length, holding in his left hand his *Lex Terræ*, which ſtands at the head of theſe Editions. The title of which is, *Jenkinſius Redivivus*; or, The Works of that grave, learned, truly loyal, and courageous Judge, David Jenkins.

14. *A Preparative to the Treaty* [with the King] *tendered to the Parliament, Aſſembly of Divines, and Treaters, &c.* printed in 1648. 15. *A Propoſition for the Safety of the King*, &c. To which is annexed, 16. *A Reply to the Pretended Anſwer to it.* 17. Rerum Judicatarum Centuriæ Octo; Lond. 1661, fol. in Engliſh (‡). In the Preface he ſhews the uſe of this Collection to the Students of the Law; in which view, having recommended (24) Fitzherbert, Stamford, Lord Broke and Dyer, Croke and Plowden, he obſerves, that many things in them being grown obſolete, and gone into diſuſe, and many other points diſtracted by variety of opinion, it imports, the Student before theſe, and as ſoon as he has acquired the rudiments of the Law, diligently to read over the ſolemn judgments and reſolutions of the Judges, to prevent being impoſed on by falſe opinions. 'For this purpoſe, continues he, I have written obſervations upon *Perkinſon, St Germain, Broke, the old Tenures, Fitzherbert's Natura Brevium, and the old Naturæ Brevium* (25); theſe being the books generally 'read in the firſt place, after Littleton. I have alſo 'compiled a book of Reports in ſeveral diviſions, after 'the example of *Fitzherbert* and Lord *Broke*, and have 'brought them down to our own times, and have 'made obſervations upon all the year-books, and 'upon the rules of Law. So that the Student, by their 'aſſiſtance, may ſafely ſteer through the ſtraits of the 'Law, without any danger of ſtriking upon the Rocks 'of Error.' He then concludes in theſe terms, 'Amidſt 'the ſound of drums and trumpets, ſurrounded with 'an odious multitude of Barbarians, broke with old 'age, and confinement in priſons, where my fellow-'ſubjects, grown wild with rage, detained me for fifteen 'years together, I beſtowed many watchful hours 'upon this performance.' To the Preface is annexed, ſeveral judgments of the Sages of the Law againſt innovations. Of theſe, the fourteenth runs thus: 10 Edward IV. 4. *The Common Law has been from the beginning of the world, for it is Common Reaſon*; which is here ſingled out from the reſt, becauſe this rule was remarkably always followed, and expreſsly avowed by the Lord Chancellor Talbot from the Bench, whenever any thing repugnant to it was offered from the Bar (§).

[D] *Member for Durham.*] At this time he was one of the Voters for the *Exciſe Scheme*, which made ſo great a noiſe, and created ſo much diſturbance in the nation (26), the Populace being drawn even into inſurrections on the occaſion in various parts, by the arts and induſtry of the Anti-courtiers, whoſe whole aim and deſign therein appeared not long after to be nothing more than to diſplace the Miniſter, Sir Robert Walpole (27). This, no doubt, was diſcerned and deteſted, among many others, by the Solicitor General, who without being biaſſed on one hand by their miſrepreſentations; or, on the other hand, by any undue regards to the obligations of his Poſt, or the hopes of future favours, followed the pure convictions of his own heart, after a thorough conſideration of the matter, and voted ſtrictly according to his conſcience (28).

(‡) Some other pieces came out under the Judge's name, in the view of recommending them thereby to the public; but they were diſowned by him.

(24) He alſo commends Hubbard and Coke, eſpecially, ſays he, if ſome things were expunged in the latter, in which he ſeems to bridle the Sovereign, and give the reins to the people.

(25) As alſo upon the books written by Sir Henry Finch, lately the King's Serjeant at Law, and the Law Lexicon and Vocabulary, and Dyer.

(§) A ſecond Edition of the Centuries came out in 1734. Fol. ſoon after Lord Talbot was made Chancellor.

(26) The noiſe of which would ſtill have tingled in our ears, had not the like been ſince practiſed by a ſubſequent Miniſter in greater favour with the people.

(27) Who, however, with equal art deſeated their purpoſe, by dropping the bill.

(28) Honour of the Seals, &c. p. 13.

His

His Lordſhip was ſo much the darling of his Country, that his character has been attempted by ſeveral hands; among others, by the Author of the Craftſman (*m*), which being evidently extorted by the meer force of truth, it will not be amiſs to give the ſubſtance of it. Having mentioned the importance of the Chancellor's Office, both in the judicial and political capacity, and ſhewn, that by the firſt the properties of all the people of England are, in a great meaſure, in his power; he then obſerves, that the Lord Chancellor, as Keeper of the Great Seal, is not only the ſecond perſon in the Kingdom, next the Royal Family, but hath, or ought to have, a great influence at the Council Table upon all important deliberations, and no Grant, Patent, or Treaty, can be made without his ſanction. In both theſe reſpects, he is called in law *The Keeper of the King's Conſcience*; and *no body ever diſcharged that high truſt with more capacity and uprightneſs, than the late excellent Peer, whoſe death we now lament.* His determinations, with regard to private property, met with almoſt univerſal approbation; and I don't remember that he ever put the ſeal to any Grant, Patent, or Treaty, which gave the leaſt offence to the Nation. He roſe by merit to the head of his profeſſion, and not only ſupported himſelf in it with dignity, but adorned it, and acquired every day new praiſe and eſteem. His prudence, moderation, and patience, in the execution of his office, even amidſt the higheſt provocations, make one ſhining part of his character, and are hardly to be paralleled by any inſtances of thoſe who have ſat before him upon that bench. Yet, notwithſtanding this amiable diſpoſition of mind, he diſcovered ſuch courage and reſolution upon all occaſions, as could not be ſhaken by the tricks of the wealthy, the applications of the powerful, or the tears of the diſtreſſed. His only aim was right and equity, which he conſtantly purſued, on whomſoever the weight of his decrees might happen to fall. He was a great enemy to the chicanery of his profeſſion, and rendered the Court of Juſtice more eaſy, as well as leſs expenſive, by preventing all unneceſſary delays, eſpecially when they appeared to be merely vexatious, and diſcountenancing the artifices of thoſe who endeavoured to *keep the evil day* from themſelves, at the expence of their injured Proſecutors. *I could give ſome late notable inſtance of this, if particular circumſtances were proper in a general character.* In a word, he poſſeſſed all the great talents of his moſt renowned Predeceſſors, without any of their frailties, and hath left a noble example to all his Succeſſors; ſo that he was not only a bleſſing to the age in which he lived, but may poſſibly derive the ſame happineſs to his poſterity, by exciting thoſe, who follow him in that high office, to an emulation of his virtues. The great increaſe of buſineſs in the Court of Chancery ſince the ſeal was put into his hands, is an evident proof of that confidence, which the Suitors repoſed in him, and will do immortal honour to his memory, though it proved fatal to his life; for the conſtant fatigue of his employment was one of the principal cauſes of his death (*n*), and therefore he may be truly ſaid to have fallen *a Martyr to the Public Good.* But I muſt not forget to mention, that he had no mean, or ſelfiſh attachment to any *Party*, beſides that of his *Country*, and ſeemed reſolved to contribute all in his power towards reſtoring it to a flouriſhing condition. Under the influence of ſuch a man, we had reaſon to hope for *a complete coalition of Parties*; or, at leaſt, for a re-union of all ſuch as wiſh well to their King and Country, which neither weak, nor wicked and corrupt men will ever have it in their power to accompliſh (*o*). I ſhall leave the diſplay of his private virtues to thoſe who had the honour of his acquaintance [*E*], and will only obſerve, that no man ever left a more general good character as a Chriſtian, a Father, a Maſter, and a Friend, than the late Lord

(*m*) A periodic weekly Paper, well known, to be undertaken, and ſupported by, at leaſt, an aſſumed Spirit of Patriotiſm, in oppoſition to the then Miniſtry.

(*n*) His conſtitution was delicate and tender, and though pliable, yet far from being robuſt.

(*o*) It was generally ſaid, that had the Chancellor lived a little longer, he would have had the lead in the Miniſtry.

[*E*] *I ſhall leave the diſplay of his private virtues to others.*] Accordingly this was attempted by a Perſon, who obſerves, that his Religion was his governing principle; it was well grounded, and active; his piety was rational and manly. He was a ſincere Son of the Church of England, and ready to maintain her in her juſt rights, and legal poſſeſſions. He was an enemy to perſecution, and had a diffuſive, general, and Chriſtian Charity, which made him a friend to all mankind. He had a great regard for ſuch of the moſt worthy of the clergy, as were diſtinguiſhed for their Learning (*), Sincerity, Moderation, and Charity.

He was a careful and indulgent father, and as no man ever deſerved more of his children, no man could be more affectionately beloved by them; there was ſomething ſo peculiar in this reſpect, that none ſeemed to know how to be in ſuch friendſhip with his ſons, as my Lord Chancellor. The harmony which ſubſiſted in his houſe, was a very great pleaſure to all who beheld it; like the precious ointment, to which the Pſalmiſt compares ſuch a union, it did not only refreſh and invigorate the ſuperior parts, but *ran down to the ſkirts of his clothing*; it was viſible among all his domeſtics; his ſervants were united in an affection to their Lord, and a friendſhip for one another; they were kept in their duty, not by any raſh and rigorous commands, but by a certain regard to decency and order, that reigned throughout the family; every one was ſo eaſy in his ſituation, that he was inſenſible of his dependance, and treated as a humble friend. As to Lord Talbot's private Donations, proceeds the ſame Writer, we have been aſſured of the truth of the following particulars. There was found in his Lordſhip's ſcrutoire, in his own handwriting, a liſt of no leſs than one hundred and fifty perſons, who were annual Penſioners of his unbounded Charity. And the poor of all the neighbouring villages ſurrounding his eſtate at *Barrington* were, by his Lordſhip's order, ſupplied with phyſick in ſickneſs, and the indigent aged, who were paſt their labour, provided with neceſſaries of life. At the ſame time, the labour of the induſtrious huſbandman always met with encouragement; and, in a word, from his bounteous hand the hungry were ſure to be fed, and the naked to be clothed.

As no riches could exceed his deſert, ſo no man ever poſſeſſed them, who knew the *right uſe* of them more. Every line written by Mr Pope was verified in Lord Talbot's conduct (29). He had, in all reſpects,

(29) Honour of the Seals, &c. p. 25, 26, 32, 33.

The ſenſe to value riches, with the art
T'enjoy them, and the virtue to impart;
Not meanly, nor ambitiouſly purſued,
Not ſunk by ſloth, nor rais'd by ſervitude;
To balance fortune by a juſt expence,
Join with œconomy, magnificence,
With ſplendor, charity, with plenty, health;
O teach us, TALBOT, Thou'rt unſpoil'd by wealth!
That ſecret, rare between th'extremes to move
Of mad good-nature, and of mean ſelf-love.

(*) Of this we have a remarkable inſtance in Mr Stackhouſe, who having publiſhed Propoſals for printing his Body of Divinity by ſubſcription, was invited to dine with his Lordſhip, who, after ſubſcribing largely himſelf, recommended it to ſeveral of the moſt eminent Counſel then at his table, who thereupon followed his Lordſhip's example; ſo that our Divine returned with about a hundred Guineas in his pocket. From the information of the Author himſelf.

Who

Lord Chancellor. He died full of glory, but, to the great misfortune of his Country, not *full of years*; and the general ſorrow which his death has occaſioned, will do his noble family more honour, than the higheſt titles, or the moſt ſumptuous monuments (*p*). By his Lady, who died in 1720, he had five ſons; 1. *Charles-Richard* Talbot, who died unmarried, in 1733, aged twenty-four (*q*). 2. *William*, the preſent Earl Talbot, of whom hereafter. 3. *John* Talbot, who from Eton-School was admitted a Fellow-Commoner at Trinity-Hall in Cambridge (*r*). He removed here to Lincoln's-Inn, and applied himſelf to his Father's profeſſion, was called to the Bar, and was made Recorder of Brecknock in Wales, for which Town he was choſen a Member in the Parliament ſummoned to meet June 13, 1734. On the 4th of April, 1740, he was made Second Juſtice of the Counties of Cheſter, Flint, Denbigh, and Montgomery, which promotion vacating his ſeat in Parliament, he was re-elected for the ſame Town, and was conſtantly choſen for that Borough, till the laſt Parliament of the late King George II, when he was elected for Ilcheſter in Somerſetſhire (*s*). He was alſo Steward to the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's, and ſo continued to his death (*t*), which happened September 22, 1756 (*u*). He was twice married; firſt to a daughter of Sir Matthew Decker of Richmond in Surry, who dying without iſſue, he married, ſecondly, the eldeſt daughter of the Lord Viſcount Chetwynd of Ingſtre in Staffordſhire, by whom he has left ſeveral children of each ſex (*w*). The Chancellor's fourth ſon, *Edward*, died an infant (*x*). The fifth, *George*, being alſo bred at Eton-School, was there entered a Gentleman-Commoner of Exeter-College in Oxford (*y*), where he proceeded regularly to the degree of A. M. as a Grand Compounder, June 10, 1737 (*z*), after his Father's death, who had given him the place of *Clerk of the Cuſtodies of Idiots and Lunaticks* (*aa*). But entering into the Church, he accepted the Living of Guyting in Glouceſterſhire (*); and July 9, 1659, on account of his exemplary character, was created LL. D. by his Univerſity at the inſtallation of their preſent Chancellor, the Earl of Weſtmoreland (*bb*). On the 17th of January, 1760, he married a ſiſter of the preſent Lord Folkſtone (*cc*), and ſtill continues only a private Clergyman, having declined the Biſhopric of St David's, which was offered to him, on the death of Dr Ellis, January 17, 1761 (*dd*). We have a ſermon of his in print, which was preached on the opening of the Infirmary at Glouceſter.

The preſent Earl Talbot was bred at Eton, and thence entered a Gentleman-Commoner of Exeter-College, under the tuition of Mr Upton, late Prebendary of Rocheſter (*ee*), and had the honorary degree of LL. D. conferred upon him in June, 1736 (*ff*). He was ſeated at *Henſol* in Glamorganſhire in the life-time of his Father, and was repreſentative for that County in the Parliament which firſt met on buſineſs, January 23, 1734-5 (*gg*). He was created an Earl by the title of Earl Talbot, March 21, 1761 (*hh*), and on the 24th of that month, was appointed Lord Steward of the Houſhold to his Majeſty, and ſworn of the Privy-Council (*ii*). In February, 1733-4, he married Mary, daughter, and ſole heir of Adam Cardonell, Eſq; Secretary to John Duke of Marlborough, whom he attended in all his glorious Campaigns. By this Lady, who is ſtill living, he has a daughter, *Cecil*, born in July, 1735, and married on the 6th of Auguſt, 1756, to George Rice, Eſq; Member in the laſt, and preſent, Parliament for the County of Carmaerthen in Wales (*kk*). The Earl had alſo a Son *William*, born November 5, 1739; but he died ſhortly after (*ll*).

(*p*) Craftſman, in the Vol. for the year 1737.
(*q*) Peerage of England, as before.
(*r*) Under the tuition of Dr Dickins, Profeſſor of Civil Law in that Univerſity, by the advice of Dr Exton Sayer, above mention'd.
(*s*) Peerage of England.
(*t*) This place was given him by the late Dr Joſeph Butler, then Dean of the Church, and afterwards Biſhop of Durham, both which preferments he owed to the intereſt of the Chancellor.
(*u*) General Evening Poſt, &c. and Lond. Mag.
(*w*) MS. penes me.
(*x*) Honour of the Seals, &c. p. 21.
(*y*) Under Mr Upton, the ſame who had been tutor to his brother, the preſent Earl Talbot.
(*z*) From the Univerſity Regiſter.
(*aa*) Court Kalendar, or Regiſter.
(*) The whole profits of which, after paying his Curate, he diſtributes among the poor of the pariſh. From private information.
(*bb*) Court Kal.
(*cc*) Lond. Mag. for that month.
(*dd*) Upon his refuſal, it was given to Samuel Squire, D. D. Dean of Briſtol, April 4, 1761. Lond. Mag. for May that year.
(*ee*) From the Information of Mr R. Skianer of CCC. in Oxford.
(*ff*) Univerſity Regiſter.
(*gg*) Collins's Peerage.
(*hh*) Peerage of England, as before. This Gentleman, who is ſprung from the Royal Race of Owen Tudor, is alſo Lord Lieutenant, and Cuſtos Rotulorum for that County, and one of the Lords of Trade. Court Calendar for this year 1761.
(*ii*) Gazette, No. 10090.
(*kk*) Gazette, No. 10089.
(*ll*) From the information of the Family.

Who is it copies *Talbot*'s better part,
To eaſe th'oppreſs'd, and raiſe the ſinking heart?
Where'er he ſhines, O Fortune gild the ſcene,
And Angels guard him in the golden mean.
At BARRINGTON ſhall Engliſh bounty ſtand,
And *Henſol*'s honour never leave the land.
His glories in his progeny ſhall ſhine,
To propagate the virtue ſtill *divine* (30).

Magnos ſæpe viros cecinit cum Muſa, repente
Obſtrepuit miſeræ turba maligna lyræ.
Scilicet arguitur carmen, quia diſplicet heros,
Et mala, quæ jactat fama, Poeta luit
At Vos ſecuri Talbotum *dicite Vates!*
In quo nil Livor, quod male rodat, habet.
Jure humana *a ſe qui nulla* aliena *putavit* (31),
Delicium humanæ gentis habendus erat.

(30) *viz.* Charity. Pope's Epiſtle to Lord Bathurſt on the Uſe of Riches.
(31) Alluding to his motto, *Humani nihil alienum.*

There was likewiſe the following Elegy in Latin, printed on occaſion of his much lamented death.

Partium in hoc non eſt ſtudio locus; omnibus idem,
Ut vixit charus, flebilis interiit.

P

TANNER (THOMAS), late Biſhop of St Aſaph, a very learned Man, eſpecially in the Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Britiſh nation, was born January 25, 1673-4, at Market-Lavington in Wiltſhire, being the eldeſt ſon of the Rev. Mr Thomas Tanner, Vicar of that pariſh (*a*). In November, 1689, he became a Student in Queen's College in Oxford [*A*]; and being admitted Clerk of the ſame Houſe in 1690, took the degree of Batchelor of Arts in 1693. Thence he removed to All-Souls College, in January 1694, of which he was then made Chaplain; and elected Fellow, November 2, 1696 (*b*). He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, ever ſince his coming to the Univerſity, by his diligence and learning, particularly in the ſtudy of Antiquities (*c*); which was cultivated with great zeal and ſucceſs by many of his contemporaries, eſpecially by Mr Edmund Gibſon, his intimate acquaintance, and Fellow-Collegian at Queen's College, afterwards the late moſt worthy Biſhop

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 984. and Eſſay towards a Hiſtory of the County of Norfolk, by Francis Blomefield, Vol. II. p. 458. & Præfat. ad Bibliothecam Britannico-Hiberniæ, p. 12.
(*b*) Wood, & Blomefield, ibid.
(*c*) See his Epitaph below.

[*A*] *He became a Student in Queen's College in Oxford.*] He was recommended to the Provoſt of that college, by Dr Thomas Lamplugh, then Archbiſhop of York, an acquaintance of his father's (1).

(1) Præfat. ad Bibliothecam &c. ut ſupra.

of London. And our Author gave an early ſpecimen of his great knowledge therein [*B*], by publiſhing his *Notitia Monaſtica*, in 1695 [*C*], when he was but about twenty-two years of age (*d*). The learned Dr John Moore, Biſhop of Norwich, having ſoon after made him his Chaplain, collated him, March the 6th, 1700-1, to the Chancellorſhip of Norwich; which place he adorned by his univerſal acquaintance with the Municipal and Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and occaſioned his being frequently conſulted by perſons in the moſt eminent Stations [*D*]. He marrying about the ſame time Roſe, eldeſt daughter of the Biſhop, his Lordſhip made him, on the 24th of November, 1703, his Commiſſary in and throughout the Archdeaconry of Norfolk; and, January 1, 1706-7, Commiſſary alſo in and throughout the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, and town of Bury St Edmund's. In June 1706, he was inſtituted to the Rectory of Thorp near Norwich, being preſented to it by Duncan Dee, Eſq; Common Hunt of the City of London (*e*). He had taken his Maſter of Arts degree in 1696; and, in Act-term, 1710, he took that of Doctor in Divinity. By his father-in-law, Biſhop Moore, then Biſhop of Ely, he was collated, in 1713, to a Prebend in that Church, and inſtalled the 10th of September (*f*). And Dr Green, Biſhop of Norwich, collated him, December 7, 1721, to the Archdeaconry of Norfolk (*g*), which he was inſtalled into the 26th of the ſame month. Quitting in 1723 his Prebend of Ely, he was made Canon of Chriſt's-Church in Oxford, and inſtalled February 3, 1723-4. In the year 1727, the lower Houſe of Convocation ſhewed their proper reſpect for his Learning and Abilities, by unanimouſly chuſing him their Prolocutor, however contrary to his inclination (*h*). And his Majeſty further expreſſed his regard for him, by promoting him to the Biſhopric of St Aſaph, to which he was conſecrated January 23, 1731-2. But he did not long enjoy this dignity; for he died at Chriſt's-Church, December 14, 1735; and was buried in the Cathedral there, where a monument is erected, containing a juſt and true character of this worthy Prelate (*i*) [*E*]. He had three wives, 1. Roſe, eldeſt daughter of Biſhop Moore, which died March 15, 1706, aged twenty-five, by whom he had only a daughter, that died February 17, 1703, aged fourteen months (*k*). 2. Francis, daughter of Mr Jacob Preſton, citizen of London: ſhe died June 11, 1718, aged forty. By her he had two daughters, who died young; and his ſon and heir, the Rev. Dr Thomas Tanner, Rector of Hadley and Monks-Ely in Suffolk, and Prebendary of Canterbury; who hath married Mary, third daughter of Dr John Potter, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury. 3. In May 1733, his Lordſhip married to his third Lady, Mrs Elizabeth Scottow of Thorp, aforementioned, a very conſiderable fortune. She ſurviving him, was remarried to Robert Britiffe, Eſq; late Recorder of Norwich. What our learned Prelate publiſhed, or left ready for the preſs, is ſet down below in the note [*F*]. He made large collections for the Hiſtory and Antiquities of his native County of Wilts; but as he happened to be preferred at ſome diſtance from it, he was by that means hindered from proſecuting and finiſhing that work (*l*). Another much larger Collection of his, which he bequeathed to the Bodleian Library,

(*d*) See Preface to the ſecond edition of *Notitia Monaſtica*, &c. p. 42.

(*e*) From Memoirs communicated to us. See alſo Blomefield.

(*f*) From the ſame Memoirs, and Dr Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 381.

(*g*) Upon the reſignation of Dr Cannon, then made Dean of Lincoln.

(*h*) Dr Br. Willis's Survey, as above, p. 454.

(*i*) Fr. Blomefield, as above, p. 459.

(*k*) Fr. Blomefield, as above, p. 423.

(*l*) See Nicolſon, as above, p. 26. and Books and Treatiſes relating to the Antiquities of England, at the beginning of Camden's Britannia, under Wiltſhire.

[*B*] *Gave an early ſpecimen of his great knowledge.*] In 1693 he publiſhed Propoſals for printing all J. Leland's works; but laid that work by, for want of encouragement (2).

(2) Ibid.

[*C*] *By publiſhing his* Notitia Monaſtica *in* 1695.] It was printed at Oxford in 1695. 8vo. under this title, '*Notitia Monaſtica*; or a Short Account of the Religious Houſes in England and Wales.' As for an account of the ſecond, and greatly improved Edition; ſee below, note [*F*]. This Book, as Biſhop Nicolſon obſerved (3), 'does not only afford us a ſhort hiſtory 'of the Foundation and chief Revolutions of all our 'Religious Houſes, but preſents us alſo with a catalogue of ſuch Writers (noting the places where we 'may find them) as will abundantly furniſh us with 'ſuch further particulars [concerning the Monaſteries] 'as we ſhall have occaſion for.'

(3) Engliſh Hiſt. Library. Edit. 1714. fol. p. 145.

[*D*] *And occaſioned his being frequently conſulted by perſons in the moſt eminent ſtations.*] The late Archbiſhop Wake, after his tranſlation to Canterbury, and even the very learned Biſhop Gibſon, deſired frequently his Thoughts on the Difficulties they met with in the diſcharge of their reſpective great offices; and received the moſt ſatisfactory Anſwers from him (4). But it is not ſo proper in this cavilling age to make any of them public.

(4) From private Memoirs.

[*E*] *Where a monument is erected*, &c.] The inſcription on it is as follows.

M. S.
Thomæ Tanner, S. T. P.
Qui natus *Lavingtoniæ* in Agro *Wiltonienſi*
In Collegium *Reginenſe* admiſſus,
Deinde *Omnium Animarum* Capellanus,
Mox Socius cooptatus eſt.
Optimarum ibi artium Cultor,
Antiquitatis præſertim ſtudio ita trahebatur,
Ut in Patriæ Faſtis, monumentiſque eruendis,
Nemo illo diligentior,
Nemo in explicandis peritior haberetur.
Hinc maturè evocatus
Ad munus *Cancellarii* Dioceſeös *Nordovicenſis*,
Auctus eſt inſuper Præbenda Elienſi.
Academiæ denuo reſtitutus,
Hanc Ædem Canonicus ornavit.
A Clero interim Prolocutor renunciatus,
Ad Epiſcopatum tandem evectus eſt Aſaphenſem.
Vir erat
Ad omne Officium ſumma Fide et Diligentiâ,
Rarâ Pietate,
Humaniſſimâ erga omnes voluntate,
Liberalitate in Egenos effuſiſſimâ.
Obiit 14° die Decembris Anno { Domini 1735. Ætatis 62 [5].

(5) From his Epitaph in Dr Richardſon's Continuation of Godwin de Præſulibus, p. 646. that in Blomefield being incorrect.

[*F*] *What our learned Prelate publiſhed, or left ready for the preſs*, &c.] We do not find that he publiſhed any thing himſelf, but, I. His *Notitia Monaſtica*, already mentioned. II. The ſecond edition of *Wood's Athenæ*, very much corrected and enlarged; with the Addition of above 500 new Lives from the Author's original Manuſcript. Lond. 1721. two vols fol. Mr Wood, at his death, intruſted our learned Author with his papers, as appears by the following extracts of a letter from Dr Charlett to Archbiſhop Tenſon (*t*). . . . . (6) Publiſhed by T. Hearne, in the Appendix to his edition of Joannis Confratris & Monachi Glaſtonienſis Chronica, &c. Oxon. 1726. 8vo.

'I deſired him to loſe not a minute in vain complaints 'and remonſtrances, but proceed directly to ſettle his 'Papers, that were ſo numerous and confuſed. He 'then aſked, "who he could truſt?" I adviſed him to 'Mr *Tanner* of All Souls, for whoſe fidelity I could be 'reſponſible. His anſwer was, "he thought ſo too, "and that he would in this, and all the other parti-"culars, follow my advice." . . . . . I was extremely 'glad to find him in ſo good a temper, and having 'diſcourſed him about ſeveral things, I told him I 'never expected to ſee him again, and therefore took 'my laſt farewel, telling him, I ſhould hear conſtantly by Mr Tanner. After I came home, I repeated all that I had ſaid, in a long letter to him, 'being ſomewhat jealous of him, and ſent it by Mr 'Tanner. He kept his word punctually, ... made 'his will, went into his ſtudy with his two friends, 'Mr Biſſe and Mr Tanner, to ſort that vaſt multitude 'of papers, notes, letters, ——about two buſhels full

Library [G], conſiſted of originals and copies of Charters, Grants, Deeds, and other Inſtruments relating to the Hiſtory of theſe Nations, which had occurred to him during the whole courſe of his life. Of theſe he was freely communicative; and kindly aſſiſtant to all lovers of the Antiquities of Britain, as is acknowledged with honour and gratitude by ſeveral Authors [H]. For many years he was a very uſeful member of the Society of Antiquaries at London, and one of its principal ornaments. He gave many charitable Legacies; among the reſt, 100 *l.* to the corporation for the relief of widows and orphans of the poor clergy: And his public and private virtues are ſtill in remembrance [I].

' he ordered for the fire, to be lighted as he was ex-
' piring, which was accordingly done, he expreſſing
' both his knowledge and approbation of what was
' done, by throwing out his hands..... He has
' given his books and papers to the univerſity, to be
' placed next his friend Sir W. Dugdale's MSS. which
' are very valuable to any of his temper. His more
' private papers he has ordered not to be opened theſe
' ſeven years, and has placed them in the cuſtody of
' Mr Biſſe and Mr Tanner, of whoſe care, I am told,
' he makes me overſeer. The Continuation of his
' *Athenæ Oxon.* in two fol. which he had carried on
' to the 19th of Octobor laſt (Dr Merret and Dudly
' Loftus being the two laſt) he gave the day before he
' died with great ceremony to Mr Tanner, for his ſole
' uſe, without any reſtrictions.' III. He drew up Catalogues, of Fr. Junius's MSS. of Dr. Richard James's, and of Gerard Langbaine's: all which are in the Bodleian Library (7).

(7) Catal. MSS. Angliæ & Hiberniæ, Vol. I. P. 249, 258, 268.

What he left ready for the preſs, was, 1. ' *Notitia* ' *Monaſtica:* or, An Account of all the Abbies, Prio-
' ries, and Houſes of Friers, heretofore in England
' and Wales; and alſo of all the Colleges and Hoſ-
' pitals founded before A. D. MDXL.' being a large work founded upon his little book with the ſame title, above mentioned. It was publiſhed by his brother, the Rev. John Tanner, A. M. Vicar of Loweſtoft in Suffolk, and Precentor of the Cathedral Church of St Aſaph. Lond. 1744. fol. The Editor compiled the Preface, from that of the firſt edition, and the many references and uſeful hints left by the learned Author for improving it. He moreover digeſted ſeveral parts, which he found unfiniſhed: Peterborough, in particular, and ſeven other places in Northamptonſhire; the latter part of Yorkſhire; and all Wales, are of his doing (8). Upon the whole, this is the moſt uſeful Repertory for the Monaſtical Hiſtory of theſe Kingdoms that could have been contrived; and the learned world is greatly obliged to the induſtrious Author, for his great pains therein. 2. Another work left by Biſhop Tanner ready for the preſs was, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica; ſive, de Scriptoribus qui in Anglia, Scotia, & Hibernia ad Sæculi* XVII. *initium floruerunt, literarum ordine juxta familiarum nomina diſpoſitis Commentarius*, &c. or an Account of the Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh Writers; compiled not only from Leland, Bale, and Pitts, but alſo from numberleſs other Authorities, both printed and MS. (9), and publiſhed at London, 1748. fol. a work of XL years labour and application. The learned Dr Wilkins, Rector of Hadley and Monks-Eley in Suffolk, and Prebendary of Canterbury, fitted it for the preſs, and prefixed a long Preface, in which is included *Boſton of Bury* *. 3. He left *Boſton of Bury* ready for the preſs (10); which is included, in the Preface juſt now mentioned. 4. He ſupplied, from the Author's own manuſcript, many conſiderable Paſſages, all the quotations, and a learned Preface, that had been omitted by B. R. in his edition of *Robert Hegge's Legend of St Cuthbert, with the Antiquities of the Church of Durham* (11).

(8) See Preface, P. 42, 43.

(9) See Biſhop Nicolſon's Engl. Hiſt. Library, as above, p. 157.

(10) Blomefield, as above, p. 459.

(11) Nicolſon, p. 104.

[G] *Another much larger collection of his, which he bequeathed to the Bodleian Library.*] It conſiſts of many volumes, bound up; and marked, for diſtinction-ſake, with the ſeveral names of Appleton, Aſtley, Briſtol, Hobart, Jackſon, Jernegan, Willoughby, &c. As he was removing them by water, ſome of the boxes, in which they were incloſed, happened unfortunately to fall into the Thames, whereby ſome of the books were damaged.

[H] *As is acknowledged with honour and gratitude by ſeveral Authors.*] Particularly by Archdeacon Knight; in the Introduction to his Life of Dean Colet (12), where he ' gratefully owns, that he had received good
' aſſiſtance from his ſpecial Friend, the Reverend and
' learned Dr Tanner, Chancellor of Norwich.' And, in his Introduction to his Life of Eraſmus (13), he ſays, that ' to the improvement of it, his learned
' Friend Dr Tanner had in many inſtances ſhewn his
' wonted readineſs.'

(12) p. 12, 13.

(13) p. 17.

Mr. Fr. Blomefield acknowledges alſo, with great thankfulneſs, how much his Lordſhip had aſſiſted him in his Hiſtory of Norfolk (14). ' It is well known,
' ſays he, and it would be the greateſt ingratitude in
' me, to forbear acknowledging it, how much I have
' been aſſiſted in this work, by that Right Reverend
' *Prelate*, the late *Biſhop* of *St Aſaph*, whoſe Kindneſs
' was ſo great, as not only to help me to the ſight of
' vaſt Numbers of Records, and Manuſcripts concerning
' this County, but alſo to fix my method, and reviſe
' my Collections when put together, town by town,
' as I compiled them..... Gratitude therefore obliged
' me to dedicate it to his Memory, not doubting but
' *that* will ever be valued by all the Learned.'

(14) Introd. p. 1.

[I] *And his public and private virtues are ſtill in remembrance.*] The character given of him by the learned Dr W. Richardſon (15), is in theſe words. ' Vir in
' Antiquitatibus Britannicis verſatiſſimus, morum ſim-
' plicitate primæva venerabilis, et propter virtutes tum
' domeſticas tum publicas ſuis merito chariſſimus.' And by others he is ſtiled, ' a Prelate of great Learning,
' exemplary Piety, and univerſal Benevolence (16).'

(15) Continuatio ad Godwini Comm. de Præſulibus, p. 646.

(16) G. Magaz.

* Leland *de Scriptoribus* &c. is included in this work, and printed from a new copy taken from the original by our Author, in a much more correct manner than it had been by Antony Hall; whoſe edition of this book is full of the greateſt errors, as well as large omiſſions (17).

(17) J. Aubrey's Hiſt. of Surrey, with Dr R. Rawlinſon's Additions, Vol. III. p. 241.

TAYLOR (JEREMY), Biſhop of Downe and Connor in Ireland, and one of the beſt Divines and Writers, in the laſt century, was born at Cambridge (a) [A]. Being of very pregnant parts, he was admitted at thirteen years of age in Gonville and Caius College, where he continued till he had taken his Maſter of Arts degree (b) [B]. Afterwards entring into holy orders, he occaſionally ſupplied three or four times his chamber-fellow Mr. Riſden's turn, at the Lecture in St Paul's Church, London: wherein he acquitted himſelf with ſuch applauſe above his years, that Archbiſhop Laud, the great Judge and Patron of Learning, having notice of it, and obſerving the ſmartneſs of his diſcourſes, the quickneſs of his parts, and the ſweetneſs and modeſty of his temper and behaviour, got him elected Fellow of All-Souls College in Oxford in 1636 (c) [C], thinking it would be an advan-

(a) Memoirs, &c. by D. Lloyd. Edit. Lon. 1668. fol. p. 702.

(b) Dr George Ruſt's Funeral Sermon on Biſhop Taylor.

(c) D. Lloyd, as above; and Wood Athen. Edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 400.

(1) Memoirs, as above.

(2) Hiſt. of the Biſhops of Ireland, in Sir James Ware's Works, with improvements by Walter Harris, Eſq; Edit. Dubl. 1739. fol. Vol. I. p. 209.

[A] *Was born at Cambridge.*] None of the Memorialiſts of our Prelate's Life mention in what year he was born: but, in all probability, it was between the years 1600, and 1610. David Lloyd ſays, that his Father was a Barber (1).

[B] *Where he continued till he had taken his Maſter of Arts degree.*] Sir James Ware ſays, that he was Fellow of that college (2). But it ſeems to be a miſtake.

[C] *Got him elected Fellow of All-Souls College in Oxford.*] Ant. Wood obſerves (3), that this Election was ' againſt the Statutes of that College, in theſe two re-
' ſpects: Firſt, becauſe Mr Taylor had exceeded the
' age, within which the ſaid ſtatutes make candidates
' capable of being elected; and, ſecondly, that he had
' not been of three years ſtanding in the Univerſity of
' Oxon, only a week or two before he was put in
' However,

(3) Athen. ut ſupra.

advantage to the world, if a perſon of ſuch excellent parts had better opportunies of ſtudy and improvement afforded him, than a courſe of conſtant preaching would allow of. And thankfully did our Author make the beſt uſe of the glorious opportunity that was put in his power. Soon after, endeavours were uſed by ſome Romiſh emiſſaries to ſeduce him to Popery; but a Sermon he preached at St Mary's on the 5th of November, 1638 [*D*], convinced them that they were miſtaken in their man. Archbiſhop Laud made him his Chaplain, and gave, or procured, him the Rectory of Uppingham in Rutlandſhire [*E*]. Undoubtedly he would have given him greater preferment, had not the national troubles ſo ſoon enſued. Upon taking Uppingham, he did not immediately leave the Univerſity, but continued there a year or two longer, for his further improvement. About 1640, he quitted it and his Fellowſhip; and marrying, ſettled at his Rectory, where he was much admired for his excellent caſuiſtical Sermons *(d)*. On the 1ſt of November 1642, he was created Doctor in Divinity at Oxford *(e)*; being then Chaplain in ordinary to King Charles I, and a frequent Preacher before him and the Court, whilſt they were in that city. In the ſtation of a Chaplain, he attended his Majeſty in ſeveral campaigns: where, though he had not the command of time and books, yet he laid the foundation of many Treatiſes in defence of the Church of England [*F*]. Upon the decline of the King's cauſe, his living being ſequeſtred, he retired into Wales, where he met with a kind reception from Richard Vaughan, Earl of Carbery, of Golden Grove in Caermardhynſhire: through whoſe favour and protection, he was permitted to exerciſe his Miniſtry, and keep ſchool, for the ſupport of himſelf and his children. In this ſolitude he began to write his excellent Diſcourſes [*G*], which are enough of themſelves to furniſh a Library; and have rendered his

(*d*) Dr Ruſt's Sermon, as above. See alſo below, note.

(*e*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 29.

'However, he being a perſon of moſt wonderful parts, 'and like to be an ornament thereunto, he was diſ-'penced with, and thereby obtained in that houſe, 'much of that Learning, wherewith he was enabled 'to write caſuiſtically.'

[*D*] *Soon after, endeavours were uſed by ſome Romiſh emiſſaries to ſeduce him to Popery*, &c.] For this we have Ant. Wood's authority; whoſe account is in theſe words.... 'About the ſame time he was in a ready 'way to be confirmed a member of the Church of Rome, 'as many of that perſuaſion have ſaid, but upon a 'Sermon delivered in St Mary's Church in Oxon on the '5th of November (Gunpowder-treaſon day), ann. '1638, wherein ſeveral things were put in againſt the 'Papiſts by the then Vicechancellor, he was afterwards 'rejected with ſcorn by thoſe of that party, particularly 'by Fr. *à Sancta Clara*, his intimate acquaintance; to 'whom afterwards he expreſſed ſome ſorrow for thoſe 'things he had ſaid againſt them, as the ſaid *Sancta Clara* 'hath ſeveral times told me (4).'... But, as Walter Harris, Eſq; juſtly obſerves (5), Ant. Wood 'gives 'for it only the Word of Francis *à Sancta Clara*, a Fran-'ciſcan Frier, and an intimate acquaintance of Mr 'Taylor's; who doubtleſs would be vain enough to 'boaſt of ſuch a conqueſt. But his learned Writings 'againſt Tranſubſtantiation, and his Diſſuaſives from 'Popery, will for ever defend his Memory from ſuch 'groundleſs aſperſions.'.... We therefore very properly ſay, that *endeavours* only were uſed to ſeduce him to Popery: for, that he remained notwithſtanding firm in the Proteſtant Religion, not only the Sermon here referred to, but the reſt of his Works abundantly teſtify; there being in them the ſevereſt ſtrokes againſt Popery, and all along a fund of ſound ſenſe, quite free from ſuperſtition. The Sermon here mentioned was printed at Oxford, in 1638. 4to. It is on Luke ix. 54.

(4) Ubi ſupra.

(5) In his additions inſerted among Sir James Ware's Works, as above, p. 209.

[*E*] *And gave, or procured, him the Rectory of Uppingham in Rutlandſhire.*] That living is in the gift of the Biſhops of London. Either therefore Archbiſhop Laud had the gift of it for that turn, by way of option: or elſe procured it for his Chaplain, Mr Taylor, from Dr Juxon, then Biſhop of London.

[*F*] *Yet he laid the foundation of many Treatiſes in defence of the Church of England.*] Namely,—I. 'Of the 'Sacred Order and Offices of Epiſcopacie, by divine 'Inſtitution, Apoſtolicall Tradition, and Catholique 'Practice. Together with their Titles of Honour, Se-'cular Employment, Manner of Election, Delegation 'of their Power, and other appendant Queſtions, aſſerted 'againſt the *Aërians*, and *Acephali*, new and old. Pub-'liſhed by his Majeſties command.' Oxford, 1642, and 1647. 4to.—II. 'A Diſcourſe concerning Prayer '*ex tempore*, or, by pretence of the Spirit, in juſti-'fication of authorized and ſet-forms of Liturgy;' Lond. 1646, and 1647. 4to. occaſioned by *The Directory for Prayer*, &c.—III. 'An Apology for autho-'rized and ſet-forms of Liturgie, againſt the Pretence 'of the Spirit; 1. for *ex tempore* Prayer; and 2. Forms 'of private Compoſition.' Lond. 1649. 4to.—IV. .... He alſo wrote, about the ſame time, 'The 'Titles and Collects, according to the matter of each 'Pſalm;' printed with the *Pſalms of David*, publiſhed by Chriſtopher Lord Hatton. Oxford, 1644. 8vo. and 'Devotions for the help and aſſiſtance of all Chri-'ſtian people;' which are at the end of the ſame book (6).

(6) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 254.

[*G*] *In this Solitude he began to write his excellent Diſcourſes.*] Which were as follow.—V. 'The Golden 'Grove: or, A Manual of daily Prayers and Litanies, 'fitted to the Daies of the Week; together with a ſhort 'Method of Peace and Holineſs.'—'VI. Feſtival 'Hymns according to the Manner of the ancient 'Church.'—'VII. Θεολογία Ἐκλεκτική. A Diſcourſe 'of the Liberty of Propheſying. Shewing the Un-'reaſonableneſs of preſcribing to other men's Faith, 'and the Iniquity of perſecuting differing opinions.' Lond. 1647. 4to. In this book he pleads with great freedom for Liberty of Conſcience. 'The ſum 'of it, as he ſaith himſelf (7), is nothing but the 'ſenſe of theſe words of Scripture; That ſince *we 'know in part, and propheſy in part, and that now we 'ſee through a glaſſe darkly*, we ſhould not *deſpiſe* or 'contemn perſons not ſo knowing as ourſelves, but '*him that is weak in the faith we ſhould receive, but not* Rom. 14. '*to doubtful diſputations*; Therefore certainly to charity, 'and not to vexations, not to thoſe which are the idle 'effects of impertinent wranglings. And provided 'they keep cloſe to the *foundation*, which is *Faith and 'Obedience*, let them *build upon this foundation matter 'more or leſs precious*, yet if the foundation be intire, 'they *ſhall be ſaved with or without loſſe*. And ſince 'we profeſs ourſelves Servants of ſo meek a Maſter, 'and Diſciples of ſo charitable an Inſtitute, *Let us walk* Eph. iv. 2, 3. '*worthy of the vocation wherewith we are called, 'with all lowlineſſe and meekneſſe, with long ſuffering, 'forbearing one another in love*; for this is the beſt en-'deavouring to *keep the unity of the Spirit*, when it is faſt 'tyed *in the bond of peace*. And although it be a duty 'of Chriſtianity, that *we all ſpeak the ſame thing, that 'there be no diviſions among us, but that we be perfectly 'joyned together in the ſame mind, and in the ſame judge-'ment*; yet this Unity is to be eſtimated according to 'the unity of faith, in things neceſſary, in matters of 'Creed, and Articles fundamentall; for as for other 'things, it is more to be wiſhed than to be hoped for.' &c. ..... 'Theſe, and thouſands more to the ſame 'purpoſe, are the Doctrines of Chriſtianity, whoſe ſenſe 'and intendment (ſaith he) I have proſecuted in the 'following Diſcourſe, being very much diſpleaſed that 'ſo many opinions and new doctrines are commenced 'among us; but more troubled, that every man that 'hath an opinion, thinks his own, and other men's 'ſalvation is concerned in its maintenance; but moſt 'of all, that men ſhould be perſecuted and afflicted for 'diſagreeing in ſuch opinions, which they cannot with 'ſufficient grounds obtrude upon others neceſſarily, be-'cauſe they cannot propound them both infallible, 'and becauſe they have no warrant from Scripture ſo 'to do.' ..... And much more to the ſame purpoſe he hath, in this excellent, and long, Dedication, which contains no leſs than forty-eight pages.

(7) In the Epiſtle Dedicatory, p. 6, 7, &c. 1 Cor. 13.

The

his name immortal, on account of the exactneſs of wit, profoundneſs of judgment, richneſs of fancy, clearneſs of expreſſion, and general uſefulneſs to all the purpoſes of a Chriſtian,

The Diſcourſe is divided into *Twenty-two* Sections. In the firſt he treats, ' Of the nature of Faith, and that ' its duty is compleated in believing the Articles of the ' Apoſtles Creed.' In the ſecond, of Hereſy, and the nature of it, ' and that it is to be accounted according to ' the ſtrict capacity of Chriſtian Faith, and not in opi- ' nions ſpeculative, nor ever to pious perſons. 3. Of ' the difficulty and uncertainty of Arguments from Scrip- ' ture, in Queſtions not ſimply neceſſary, not literally ' determined. 4. Of the difficulty of expounding ' Scripture. 5. Of the inſufficiency and uncertainty ' of Tradition to expound Scripture, or determine ' Queſtions. 6. Of the uncertainty and inſuffi- ' ciency of Councels Eccleſiaſticall to the ſame pur- ' poſe. 7. Of the fallibility of the Pope, and ' the uncertainty of his expounding Scripture, and re- ' ſolving Queſtions. 8. Of the diſability of Fathers, ' or Writers Eccleſiaſticall, to determine our Queſtions, ' with certainty and truth. 9. Of the incompetency of ' the Church in its diffuſive capacity to be Judge of ' Controverſies, and the impertinency of that pretence ' of the Spirit. 10. Of the authority of Reaſon, and ' that it, proceeding upon the beſt grounds, is the beſt ' judge. 11. Of ſome cauſes of Errour in the exerciſe ' of Reaſon, which are inculpate in themſelves. 12. Of ' the innocency of Errour in opinion in a pious perſon. ' 13. Of the deportment to be uſed towards perſons ' diſagreeing, and the reaſons why they are not to be ' puniſhed with death, &c. 14. Of the practice of ' Chriſtian Churches towards perſons diſagreeing, and ' when Perſecution firſt came in. 15. How farre the ' Church or Governours may act to the reſtraining falſe ' or differing opinions. 16. Whether it be lawfull ' for a Prince to give toleration to ſeveral Religions. ' 17. Of compliance with diſagreeing perſons, or weak ' Conſciences in general. 18. A particular conſidera- ' tion of the Opinions of the Anabaptiſts. 19. That ' there may be no Toleration of Doctrines incon- ' ſiſtent with piety or the publique good. 20. How ' far the Religion of the Church of Rome is Tolera- ' ble (8). 21. Of the duty of particular Churches in ' allowing communion. 22. That particular men ' may communicate with Churches of different perſua- ' ſions, and how farre they may do it.'

(8) He gives many ſubſtantial reaſons, why it cannot be tolerated.

Our learned Author delivers himſelf with great freedom, in ſeveral parts of this Book, upon many important points; particularly about the Athanaſian Creed (9). ' . . . If I ſhould be queſtioned, ſays he, concerning ' the Symbol of *Athanaſius*, I confeſſe I cannot ſee that ' moderate ſentence and gentleneſſe of charity in his ' Preface and Concluſion, as there was in the Nicene ' Creed. Nothing there but damnation and periſhing ' everlaſtingly, unleſſe the Article of the Trinity be ' believed, as it is there with curioſity and minute par- ' ticularities explained. . . . . Beſides, if it were ' conſidered concerning *Athanaſius* Creed, how many ' people underſtand it not, how contrary to naturall ' reaſon it ſeems, how little the Scripture ſayes of thoſe ' curioſities of Explication, and how Tradition was ' not cleare on his ſide for the Article itſelfe, much ' leſſe for thoſe formes and minutes, . . . and after all ' this, that the Nicene Creed itſelfe went not ſo farre, ' neither in Article, nor Anathema, nor Explication, it ' had not been amiſſe if the final judgement had been left ' to Jeſus Chriſt. . . . .' This Treatiſe hath been very much admired and praiſed by all Lovers of Liberty and Toleration; and as much condemned by perſons of different ſentiments. Therefore, Samuel Rutherford, Profeſſor of Divinity in the univerſity of St Andrew's, animadverted upon it, in his *Free Diſputation againſt pretended Liberty of Conſcience*, &c. Lond. 4to. We are told, that in the writing of this Book, the Author made uſe of a like ſtratagem as J. Hales did in writing his *Tract concerning Schiſm*, to break the Preſbyterian power, and ſo countenance diviſions between the Factions, which were then too much united againſt the loyal Clergy. For, in that book, he inſiſts on the ſame topics of Schiſm and Hereſy, of the incompetency of Councils and Fathers to determine our Eccleſiaſtical Controverſies, and of ſcrupulous Conſciences; and urgeth far more cogent Arguments than Hales did, but ſtill he had prepared his antidote to prevent any dangerous effect of his diſcourſe. For the judicious reader may perceive ſuch a reſerve (though it lye in ambuſcade, and is compacted in a narrow compaſs) as may eaſily rout thoſe troops, which began too ſoon to cry Victory, and thought of nothing elſe but dividing the ſpoil (10).

(9) P. 53, 54.

But, to proceed to the reſt of our Author's Works he publiſhed.—VIII. ' The great Exemplar of Sanctity ' and Holy Life, according to the Chriſtian Inſtitution, ' deſcribed in the Life and Death of Jeſus Chriſt. In ' three parts.' Lond. 1645. 4to. Reprinted afterwards ſeveral times in folio. The ſixth edition is intituled, *Antiquitates Chriſtianæ:* or, The Hiſtory of the Life and Death of the Holy Jeſus: and printed with *Antiquitates Apoſtolicæ:* or, the Lives, Acts, and Martyrdoms of the Holy Apoſtles of our Saviour, &c. written by William Cave, D. D. (11).—IX. ' Twenty- ' five Sermons preached at Golden Grove; being for ' the Winter Half-year; beginning on Advent-Sunday, ' and continuing till Whitſunday.'—X Twenty-ſeven ' Sermons preached at Golden Grove; being for the ' Summer Half-year, beginning on Whitſunday, and ' ending on the 25th Sunday after Trinity.' In the edition of 1664, there were added ſeven Sermons; and in that of 1667, three more: which, with the Sermon on November 5, above mentioned, were, in the edition of 1678, called ' A Supplement of Eleven Sermons, ' preached ſince his Majeſty's Reſtoration.' And the general title of the whole Volume, is, Ἐνιαύτιος. ' A ' courſe of Sermons for all the Sundays in the year; ' fitted to the great Neceſſities, and for the ſupplying ' the want of Preaching in many Parts of this Nation. ' With a Supplement of Eleven Sermons preached ſince ' his Majeſty's Reſtoration.' fol.—XI. ' A ſhort Cate- ' chiſm for the Inſtitution of young Perſons in the ' Chriſtian Religion. With an explication of the Apo- ' ſtolical Creed.' Compoſed for the uſe of the Schools ' in Wales. Lond. 1652. 8vo.—XII. ' A Diſcourſe ' of Baptiſme, its Inſtitution and Efficacy upon all Be- ' lievers. Together with a conſideration of the Practiſe ' of the Church in Baptizing Infants of believing Pa- ' rents: And the Practiſe juſtified.' 1652. 4to.—XIII. ' *Clerus Domini:* or, a Diſcourſe of the divine Inſtitu- ' tion, Neceſſity, Sacredneſs, and Separation of the ' Office Miniſterial. Together with the Nature and ' Manner of its Power and Opperation.' Written by the ſpecial Command of King Charles I. Inſerted afterwards into his *Courſe of Sermons for all the Sundays in the Year.*—XIV. ' The Rule and Exerciſe of Holy ' Living: in which are deſcribed the Means and In- ' ſtruments of obtaining every Vertue, and the Re- ' medies againſt every Vice, and Conſiderations ſerving to ' the reſiſting all Temptations. Together with Prayers ' containing the whole Duty of a Chriſtian. And the ' Parts of Devotion fitted to all Occaſions, and furniſh- ' ed for all Neceſſities.—The Rule and Exerciſes of Holy ' Dying: in which are deſcribed the Means and Inſtru- ' ments of preparing ourſelves and others reſpectively ' for a bleſſed Death; and the Remedies againſt the ' Evils and Temptations proper to the State of Sick- ' neſs: Together with Prayers and Acts of Vertue to ' be uſed by ſick and dying Perſons, or by others ' ſtanding in their attendance. To which are added, ' Rules for the Viſitation of the Sick, and Offices pro- ' per for that Miniſtry.' 1659. 8vo. Both Parts are dedicated to Richard Earl of Carbery; and they have gone through ſo many impreſſions, that the nineteenth edition was printed in 1703.—XV. ' The real Preſence ' and ſpiritual of Chriſt in the bleſſed Sacrament, proved ' againſt the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation.' Lond. 1654. 8vo.—XVI. ' *Unum Neceſſarium:* or, the Doc- ' trine and Practice of Repentance reſcued from popular ' errors,' &c. Lond. 1655. 8vo.—XVII. ' Two Anſwers ' to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter's* [Warner] two Letters, con- ' cerning the Chapter of Original Sin in the *Unum* ' *Neceſſarium.*' Lond. 1656. 12mo.—XVIII. ' Vin- ' dication of the Glory of the divine Attributes, in ' the queſtion of Original Sin.' Lond. 1656. 12mo. XIX. ' A farther Explication of the Doctrine of Ori- ' ginal Sin.' Lond. 1656. 8vo. — He alſo wrote, whilſt in Wales,—XX. ' New and eaſy Inſtitution of ' Grammar, for the uſe of the Youth in Wales.' Lond. 1647. 8vo. This is commonly ſaid to be Dr Taylor's, but ſome have aſcribed it to his Uſher, William Wyatt. —XXI. ' Meaſures and Offices of Friendſhip; in a ' Letter to the moſt ingenious and excellent Mrs K. P.' [i. e. Mrs Katherine Philipps, the celebrated *Orinda*, wife of James Philipps of the Priory of Caerdigan, Eſq;] Lond. To the ſecond edition of which, in 1657, were ſubjoined,—XXII. ' Two Letters to Perſons chang d ' in their Religion.'—XIII. ' Three Letters to a Gen- ' tlewoman

(10) Wood, Ath ut ſupra, col. 402. and T. Long, in the Preface to *Mr Hales's Treatiſe of Schiſm examined, and cenſured.* Lond. 1678. 8vo. and D. Lloyd, as above, p. 703.

(11) See above the art. CAVE (WILLIAM).

ſtian, wherewith they abound. But after he had ſpent ſome years in this agreeable retirement, a ſevere illneſs happening in his family, and depriving him, in two or three months, of three of his ſons, young men of great hopes, it ſo ſenſibly affected him, that he could no longer live with any comfort in the place. Coming therefore to London, he officiated for a while in a private congregation of Loyaliſts, to his great hazard and danger. At length, he became acquainted with Edward Lord Conway, a perſon of great honour and generoſity, who invited him into Ireland, and afforded him a pleaſant and commodious retreat at Portmore (*f*), a ſeat adapted for ſtudy and contemplation. There he continued till King Charles the Second's Reſtoration; when he came over to England, to bear a part in the univerſal triumph (*g*). On the 24th of April, 1660, he was one of the perſons that ſubſcribed the declaration of the Nobility and Gentry, which adhered to the late King, in and about the city of London (*h*). And, in conſideration of his Merit and Learning, being promoted to the ſees of Down and Connor in Ireland, by letters patent, dated January 19, 1660-1, he was conſecrated the 27th of the ſame month in St Patrick's Church in Dublin: A little before which he had been made a Privy-councellor for that Kingdom. And June 21, 1661, the King granted him alſo the Adminiſtration of the Biſhopric of Dromore, by way of additional reward, for his ſufferings in defence of the Church of England, of which he had been one of the moſt undaunted Champions. He diſcharged his epiſcopal office with the utmoſt care and faithfulneſs; and gave excellent Rules and Directions to his Clergy, of which he taught them the practice by his own example. The Univerſity of Dublin manifeſted their particular regard for him, by deſiring to have him for their Vice-chancellor [*H*]; which honourable office he kept to his dying day (*i*). Having laudably behaved in every ſtation of life, he died at Liſnegarvy, or Liſburne, Auguſt 13, 1667, and was buried in the choir of the Church of Dromore, which he had rebuilt at his own expence. He left by will to the poor of the pariſhes of Dromore, Liſburne, and Ballintobber, 10 l. each. He was eſteemed a perſon of great learning and eloquence; of a piercing wit, and deep judgment; an ornament to the pulpit; exceeding humble and humane; ſo charitable to the poor, that, except moderate portions to his three daughters, he ſpent all his income on alms and publick works (*k*). One, who differed from him both in opinion and practice (*l*), is forced to own that he was 'a man 'of admirable wit, great parts, had a quick and elegant pen, was of abilities in critical 'learning, and of profound ſkill in antiquity, &c.' But his character is given to greater

(*f*) In the county of Antrim.

(*g*) Dr Rutt's Sermon, as above, and Wood, Athen. vol. 4to, 401.

(*b*) Biſhop Kennett's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. p. 121.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 401; and Sir James Ware's Works, with additions by Walter Harris Eſq; Dubl. 1739. Vol. I. p. 209, 210.

(*k*) Walter Harris's Additions, ibid.

(*l*) Hen. Jeanes, Epiſt. to the Reader before Certain Letters between him and Jer. Taylor. Lon. 1660.

'lewoman that was tempted to the Communion of 'the Romiſh Church.'—XXIV. 'A Diſcourſe of Con-'firmation.'—Theſe three laſt, with *Unum Neceſſarium*; Two Anſwers to Biſhop Warner; and A Diſſuaſive from Popery, were printed together, in 1674, under the title of, 'Συμβολοι Θεολογικον. Or, A Collection of 'Polemical Diſcourſes; wherein the Church of England 'is defended in many material points,' &c. Lond. fol. —And Nos 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 15, 21, with the Sermon, mentioned in note [*D*], had been collected, in 1657, in one Volume, folio, under this title, 'A Collection 'of Polemical and Moral Diſcourſes.'—XXV. 'A 'Collection of Offices, or Forms of Prayer, fitted to 'the needs of all Chriſtians, taken out of the Scriptures 'and ancient Liturgies of ſeveral Churches, eſpecially 'the Greek. Together with the Pſalter, or Pſalms of 'David, after the King's tranſlation, with Arguments 'to every Pſalm.' Lond. 1658. 8vo. This laſt part is the ſame as No IV. above.—XXVI. 'The Ephe-'ſian Matron.' Lond. 1659. 12mo.—XXVII. 'Cer-'tain Letters to Henry Jeanes, concerning a paſſage of 'his [*Jeanes*'s] in the explication of Original Sin.' Oxford, 1660. Publiſhed by Jeanes.—XXVII. '*Ductor 'Dubitantium*: or, The Rule of Conſcience in all her 'generall Meaſures; ſerving as a great Inſtrument for 'the determination of Caſes of Conſcience. In four 'Books.' Lond. 1660. two Vols. fol. Dedicated to King Charles II. The Preface is dated from his Study in Portmore in Kilultagh, October 5, 1659. We are informed (12), that this book is the ſubſtance of ſome Sermons, preached by him at Uppingham, before his ſequeſtration.—XXVIII. 'The Worthy Communicant: 'or, A Diſcourſe of the Nature, Effects, and Bleſſings, 'ſubſequent to the worthy receiving of the Lord's 'Supper. With ſome Caſes of Conſcience occurring 'in the Duty of him that miniſters, and him that 'communicates.' Lond. 1660. 8vo. To the ſecond edition, the ſame year, were added, Devotions fitted to every part of the Miniſtration.—XXIX. 'Letter con-'cerning Praying with the Spirit,' &c. Prefixed to *A Diſcourſe of Praying with the Spirit, and with the Underſtanding alſo.* In two Sermons, preached at Hillſborough, anno 1659, on 1 Cor. xiv. 15. by Henry Leſlie, Biſhop of Down and Connor. Lond. 1660. 4to. —XXX. 'Rules and Advices to the Clergy of the Dio-'ceſes of Down and Connor,' &c. Dublin, 1661. 8vo. —XXXI. 'A Diſcourſe of artificial Beauty in point of 'Conſcience between two Ladies.' Lond. 1662. 8vo. Reprinted in 1701, and called Several Letters between two Ladies: wherein the Lawfulneſs and Unlawfulneſs of artificial Beauty in point of Conſcience are nicely debated.—XXXII. 'A Diſſuaſive from Popery. Part I. 'The Second Part of the Diſſuaſive from Popery: in 'Vindication of the firſt Part. And further Reproof 'and Conviction of the Roman Errors.' Lond. 1664. 4to. A. Wood thinks (13), this Diſſuaſive from Popery, to be different from one of our Author's which he had mentioned before (14). But it is one and the ſame. The words *to the People of Ireland*, which had made him think they were different, is in the beginning of the Firſt Part, though not mentioned in the Title-page of either part. This work was animadverted upon, by Edward Worſely, a Jeſuit, in a piece intituled, *Truth will out; or a Diſcovery of ſome Untruths ſmoothly told by Dr* Jer. Taylor *in his* Diſſuaſive from Popery: And alſo by John Sarjeant, in one of the Appendices to his *Sure-footing in Chriſtianity.*—XXXIII. 'A ſuc-'cinct Narrative of the Life of Dr John Bramhall, 'Archbiſhop of Armagh;' at the end of his Funeral Sermon, preached by our Author, July 16, 1663. Inſerted among his Sermons.—XXXIV. 'Contemplations 'on the State of Man in this Life, and that which is 'to come.' Lond. 1684. 8vo.—XXXV. 'Moral De-'monſtration, proving that the Religion of Jeſus Chriſt 'is from God.' Lond. 1687. 8vo. Put at the end of one of his *Letters to a Gentlewoman that was tempted to the Communion of the Romiſh Church:* And which was then reprinted, with ſome other Tracts of our learned Author. It had been printed before, with one of the editions of his *Ductor Dubitantium.*—XXXVI. 'A Diſ-'courſe upon the Beatitudes,' was left by him unfiniſhed.

(13) Athen. col. 405.

(14) Col. 403.

(12) Biſhop Kennett's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1729. fol. p. 193.

[*H*] *By deſiring to have him for their Vice-chancellor.*] And recommending him for that purpoſe to their Chancellor, he took the oath of office before Sir Maurice Euſtace, Knight; then Lord Chancellor of Ireland; and made an eloquent Latin Speech to the Univerſity, upon his admiſſion (15). There is extant of his, 'Via Intel-'ligentiæ. A Sermon preached to the Univerſity of 'Dublin: Shewing by what means the Scholars ſhall 'become moſt Learned and moſt Uſefull.' Lond. 1662. 4to.

(15) W. Harris, ubi ſupra.

advantage, and more at length, by his ſucceſſor, Biſhop Ruſt [*I*]; the concluſion of which is in theſe words. 'This great Prelate had the good-humour of a Gentleman, the elo-'quence of an Orator, the fancy of a Poet, the acuteneſs of a Schoolman, the profound-'neſs of a Philoſopher, the wiſdom of a Chancellor, the ſagacity of a Prophet, the reaſon 'of an Angel, and the piety of a Saint. He had devotion enough for a Cloiſter, learning 'enough for an Univerſity, and wit enough for a College of Virtuoſi. And had his parts 'and endowments been parcelled out among his poor Clergy that he left behind him, it 'would perhaps have made one of the beſt dioceſes in the world.'

[*I*] *But his character is given to greater advantage, and more at length, by his ſucceſſor, Biſhop Ruſt.*] The chief part of it is in theſe words .... 'He was none 'of God's ordinary works, but his Endowments were 'ſo many and ſo great, as really made him a Miracle. 'Nature had befriended him much in his Conſtitution; 'for he was a perſon of a moſt ſweet and obliging hu-'mour, of great candour and ingenuity; and there 'was ſo much of ſalt, and fineneſs of wit, and pretti-'neſs of addreſs in his familiar diſcourſes, as made his 'converſation have all the pleaſantneſs of a comedy, 'and all the uſefulneſs of a ſermon. His ſoul was 'made up of Harmony, and he never ſpoke but he 'charmed his hearer, not only with the clearneſs of his 'reaſon, but all his words, and his very tone and cadences, 'were ſtrangely muſical. But that which did moſt of 'all captivate and enrich, was the gaiety and richneſs of 'his fancy. For he had much in him of that natural 'Enthuſiaſm, that inſpires all great Poets and Orators; 'and there was a generous ferment in his blood and 'ſpirits, that ſet his fancy bravely at work, and made 'it ſwell and teem, and become pregnant, to ſuch de-'grees of luxuriancy, as nothing but the greatneſs of 'his wit and judgment could have kept it within due 'bounds and meaſures. And indeed it was a rare 'mixture, and a ſingle inſtance hardly to be found in 'any age. For the great Trier of Wits has told us, 'that there is a peculiar and ſeveral complexion re-'quired for wit and judgment and fancy; and yet all 'theſe might have been found in this great perſonage 'in their eminency and perfection. But that which 'made his wit and judgment ſo conſiderable, was the 'largeneſs and freedom of his ſpirit. For truth is plain 'and eaſy to a mind diſentangled from ſuperſtition and 'prejudice. He was one of the Ἐκλεκτικοὶ, a ſort of 'brave Philoſophers, that Laertius ſpeaks of, that did 'not addict themſelves to any particular ſect, but in-'genuouſly ſought for truth among all the wrangling 'ſchools. And they found her miſerably torn and 'rent to pieces, and parcelled into rags by the ſeveral 'contending parties, and ſo disfigured and miſhapen, 'that it was hard to know her; but they made a ſhift 'to gather up her ſcattered limbs; which, as ſoon as 'they came together, by a ſtrange ſympathy and con-'naturalneſs, preſently united into a lovely and beauti-'ful body. This was the ſpirit of this great man; he 'weighed men's reaſons, and not their names, and 'was not ſcared with the ugly vizars men uſually put 'upon perſons they hate, and opinions they diſlike; 'nor affrighted with the anathemas and execrations of 'an infallible chair; which he looked upon only as bug-'bears to terrify weak and childiſh minds. He conſidered, 'that it is not likely any one party ſhould wholly en-'groſs truth to themſelves; that obedience is the only 'way to true knowledge (which is an argument that he 'hath managed rarely well in that excellent ſermon of 'his (16), which he calls *Via Intelligentiæ*;) that God 'always, and only teaches, docible and ingenuous 'minds, that are willing to hear, and ready to obey 'according to their light; that it is impoſſible a pure, 'humble, reſigned, God-like, ſoul ſhould be kept out 'of heaven, whatever miſtakes it might be ſubject to 'in this ſtate of mortality; that the deſign of heaven 'is not to fill men's heads, and feed their curioſities, 'but to better their hearts, and mend their lives. Such 'conſiderations as theſe made him impartial in his diſ-'quiſitions, and give a due allowance to the reaſons of 'his adverſary, and contend for truth, and not for 'victory. To theſe advantages of nature, and excel-'lency of his ſpirit, he added an indefatigable induſtry, 'and God gave a plentiful benediction; for there were 'very few kinds of learning but he was a *maſter* and a 'great maſter in them. He was a rare Humaniſt, and 'hugely verſed in all the polite parts of Learning, and 'thoroughly concocted all the antient Moraliſts, Greek 'and Roman Poets and Orators; and was not unac-'quainted with the refined wits of the later ages, whe-'ther French or Italian. But he had not only the ac-'compliſhments of a Gentleman, but ſo univerſal were 'his parts, that they were proportioned to every thing. 'And though his ſpirit and humour were made up of 'ſmoothneſs and gentleneſs, yet he could bear with the 'harſhneſs and roughneſs of the ſchools, and was not 'unſeen in their ſubtilties and ſpinoſities, and upon 'occaſion could make them ſerve his purpoſe. And 'yet it is believed he thought many of them very near 'akin to the famous Knight of the Mancha, and would 'make ſport ſometimes with the romantic ſophiſtry, 'and fantaſtic adventures of ſchool-errantry. His ſkill 'was great both in the Civil and Canon Law, and Ca-'ſuiſtical Divinity; and he was a rare conductor of ſouls, 'and knew how to counſel and to adviſe; to ſolve 'difficulties, and determine caſes, and quiet conſciences. '.... He underſtood what the ſeveral parties in Chri-'ſtendom have to ſay for themſelves, and could plead 'their cauſe to better advantage than any advocate of 'their tribe; and when he had done, he could confute 'them too, and ſhew that better arguments than ever 'they could produce for themſelves, would afford no ſuffi-'cient ground for their fond opinions. We ſhall add 'only his great acquaintance with the Fathers and Ec-'cleſiaſtical Writers, and the Doctors of the firſt and 'pureſt ages both of the Greek and Latin Church, 'which he has made uſe of againſt the Romaniſts, to 'vindicate the Church of England from the challenge 'of innovation, and prove her to be truly antient, 'catholic, and apoſtolical. But religion and virtue is 'the crown of all other accompliſhments, and it was 'the glory of this great man to be thought a Chriſtian; 'and whatever you added to it, he looked upon as a 'term of diminution. And yet he was a zealous Son 'of the Church of England; but that was, becauſe he 'judged her (and with great reaſon) a Church the moſt 'purely Chriſtian of any in the world. In his younger 'years he met with ſome aſſaults from Popery, and the 'high pretenſions of their religious orders were very 'accommodate to his devotional temper. But he was 'always ſo much maſter of himſelf, that he would 'never be governed by any thing but reaſon, and the 'evidence of truth; which engaged him in the ſtudies 'of theſe controverſies; and to how good purpoſe, the 'world is by this time a ſufficient witneſs. But the 'longer and the more he conſidered, the worſe he liked 'the Roman cauſe; and became at laſt to cenſure them 'with ſome ſeverity; but I have ſo great an opinion of 'his judgment, and the charitableneſs of his ſpirit, 'that I am afraid he did not think worſe of them than 'they deſerve. He was a perſon of great Humility; 'and notwithſtanding his ſtupendous parts and learn-'ing, and eminency of place, he had nothing in 'him of pride and humour, but was courteous and 'affable, and of eaſy acceſs, and would lend a ready 'ear to the complaints, yea to the impertinencies of 'the meaneſt perſons. His humility was coupled with 'an extraordinary Piety; and it is believed he ſpent 'the greateſt part of his time in heaven. His ſolemn 'hours of prayer took up a conſiderable portion of his 'life. .... But he was not only a good man God-ward, 'but he was come to the top of St Peter's gradation, 'and to all his virtues added a large and diffuſive Cha-'rity. And whoever compares his plentiful incomes 'with the inconſiderable eſtate he left at his death, will 'be eaſily convinced, that Charity was ſteward for a 'great proportion of his revenue. But the hungry that 'he fed, and the naked that he cloathed, and the di-'ſtreſſed that he ſupplied, and the fatherleſs that he 'provided for; the poor children that he put appren-'tice, and brought up at ſchool, and mantained at 'the Univerſity, will now ſound a trumpet to that 'Charity, which he diſperſed with his right hand, but 'would not ſuffer his left hand to have any knowledge 'of it.'

(16) See note [W].

C

TEMPLE

TEMPLE [Sir WILLIAM], an eminent Statesman (*), and polite Writer, was sprung from a younger branch of the same stock with the late Sir Richard Temple, Lord Viscount and Baron Cobham, who carried up his original as high as to Leoric, or Leofric, Earl of Chester, in the time of King Ethelbald, anno 710 (a); from whom descended the first Earl of Leicester, Leofric, chiefly instrumental in raising Edward the Confessor to the throne, as well as his successor, Harold [A]; and was ancestor to Edwin, sometimes stiled Earl of Leicester and Coventry, who is said to have assumed the surname of Temple, from the manor of Temple in the hundred of Sparken-hall, standing in Wellesborough in Leicestershire (b). This stock was divided into two branches by Nicholas Temple, living in 1372, in the forty-sixth year of the reign of Edward III, who had two sons, Robert and Thomas, of whom Robert, the elder, was seated at Temple-hall near Bosworth in Leicestershire (c), and by the gift of his father having lands at Burton under Needwood in Staffordshire, his son, stiled Richard Temple of Burton, siding with Richard III, forfeited most of his estate, and died in 1507, being ancestor to the family of Temple-hall. From Thomas, the youngest son of Nicholas, descended Peter, who became Lord of the manor of Stow in Buckinghamshire, whose posterity settling there, were ancestors to Viscount Cobham, above mentioned. Peter's youngest son, Anthony, was father of Sir William Temple, who being educated at Eton-school, became Fellow of King's College in Cambridge, A. M. and master of the Free-school at Lincoln. He was intended for the law, but having a turn to philosophy, he wrote two treatises upon that subject in very elegant Latin (d). One of which being printed in 1581, with a dedication to Sir Philip Sidney, that Gentleman took him into his patronage, prevailed with him to leave the College, and attend him as his Secretary, when he was made Governor of Flushing and Ramekins. Sir Philip died in the arms of this Secretary, to whom he bequeathed thirty pounds per ann. for life, having also taken care to recommend him to the Earl of Essex, who employed him as his Secretary till his tragical end, in 1600; a stroke which proved fatal to Mr Temple, who not only fell with the Earl from the prospect he had of making his fortune, but was persecuted by Secretary Cecil, from whose resentment being obliged to retire into Ireland, he accepted of the Provostship of Dublin-College, in 1609, at the solicitation of Archbishop Usher (e), and in the Parliament of 1613 was its representative. He was knighted May 4, 1622, by the Lord St John, having been made, January 31, 1609, a Master in Chancery, in which he was continued, April 16, 1625, by King Charles I. He died in January 1626-7, in the seventy-third year of his age, and was buried in his College-chapel at Dublin (f), leaving, besides three daughters, two sons, John and Thomas; the eldest of whom, Sir John Temple, was father to the subject of the present article, Sir William Temple, Bart. who was born in London in 1628, and being first sent to school at Penshurst in Kent, under the care of his uncle, the celebrated Dr Hammond, then Minister of that parish, was removed thence, at ten years of age, to Mr Leigh, schoolmaster of Bishop Stortford in Hertfordshire. Having attained a competency of Greek and Latin there at the age of fifteen, he returned home (g); being hindered, by the disorders of the time, from going to the University, so that he was seventeen years old when he went to Cambridge, where he was placed under the tuition of the learned Dr Cudworth, then Fellow of Emanuel-College (h). His father, being a Statesman (i), seems to have designed his son for the same way of life. In which view, after two years spent at Cambridge, chiefly in acquiring a competency of French and Spanish, the two most useful languages for the purpose, he was sent abroad to compleat the plan of his education. He began his travels into France, in 1648, and chusing to pass through the Isle of Wight, where his Majesty was then Prisoner, he met there with Mrs Dorothy Osborn, second daughter to Sir Peter Osborn of Chicksand in Bedfordshire, then Governor of Guernsey for the King; who being then on a journey with her brother to their father at St Maloes, our young Traveller joined them, and there began an honourable amour with the young Lady, which at the end of seven years concluded in a happy marriage. In the interim, Mr Temple passed two years in France, and having learned that language perfectly, he soon after made a tour into Holland, Flanders, and Germany, in which he acquired a compleat mastery of the Spanish. He returned in 1654, and marrying Mrs *Osborn*, passed his time privately with his father, two brothers, and a sister, then in Ireland, all happy in that perfect harmony, which has been so often taken notice of in their family. As he rejected all sollicitations for accepting any employment under the Usurper, the five years he lived here, were spent chiefly in his closet, improving himself in history and philosophy (k). But at the Restoration, in 1660, being chosen a Member of the Convention in Ireland, while every body was trying to make their court to the King, he opposed the Poll-bill with such a spirit, as made a great deal of talk [B], and brought him into more conversation and business, than he had been used to in that country. In the succeeding Parliament, in 1661, he was chosen, with his father, for the County of Cassow, and often turned the house, in their warmest debates, by never entering into any of their parties

(*) Especially for foreign affairs.

(a) Lord Cobham had the pedigree distinct from King John's time, when they were possessed of great estates. Collins's Peerage.

(b) This manor was given by the old Earls of Leicester to the Knights Templars, who usually gave the name of Temple to their Lands, and they granted it to one whose family was called Temple, of great account and livelihood in those parts. Burton's Leicestershire.

(c) This estate being sold out of the family, Sir William, as well as his father often endeavoured to purchase it, but in vain.

(d) The title of one is, Pro Moldupetti de unica methodo defensionis-commentatio. The other is, Nonnullarum e Physicis et Ethicis explicatio, &c. He also published Epistola de Rami dialectica et Analysi Anglica tr ginta Placmorum, &c. Lon. 1621. 8vo.

(e) His Grace had declined the offer of it. See his article. It was a very troublesome and difficult province, on account of the unsettled state of the College at that time; and many years afterwards we find the Archbishop intimating, that Mr Temple was not able to manage it. See p. 114, 115, among the Letters in the Appendix to the Archbishop's Life by Dr Parr.

(f) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 122, 123, and Lodge's Peerage of Ireland.

(g) He used to say, he was beholden to his master for all he knew of Greek and Latin. His Life, p. ix. prefixed to his Works, Edit. 1757, in four Vols. 8vo.

(h) See Dr Cudworth's Article, and Carter's Hist. of Cambridge, under this College.

(i) See the account of him in Rem. [I].

(k) During this space he had five children, which he buried at Dublin. His Life, as before, p. x.

[A] *Leofric the first Earl of Leicester.*] This earl married the famous Godina, who rode naked through Coventry in the day-time, to regain the citizens their privileges, which they had forfeited by offending their lord her husband, and to free them from the taxes by which they were oppressed. Leofric died August 31, 1057, and was buried in the monastery which he had founded at Coventry, and which he had endowed with twenty-four lordships, besides enriching it with a prodigious quantity of silver utensils, so that it was one of the most magnificent houses of the kind then in England (1).

[B] *He opposed the Poll-bill,* &c.] Though he and many others thought it to the height of what the nation could bear, the lords justices, whilst it was debating, sent a message to the house to desire it might be doubled, which (among a great many that disliked it) Sir William Temple only opposed, though the rest afterwards joined with him: the lords justices, hearing whence the difficulty arose, sent some to reason with him: his answer was, that he had nothing to say to it out of the house, where they chose a time to pass it in his absence (2).

(1) Irish peerage by Lodge, under this family of Temple.

(2) His Life, p. x. ubi supra.

or

or factions. In 1662, he was choſen one of the Commiſſioners to be ſent from that Parliament to the King, and took this opportunity of waiting on the new Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Ormond, then at London. He returned into Ireland ſoon after, but with a reſolution of quitting that Kingdom, and removing his family to England. On his return, he obſerved a very different countenance in the Duke of Ormond (now at Dublin) (*l*) from what he had found before, and ſoon grew to have ſuch a ſhare in his kindneſs and eſteem, that the Duke *complained of him*, as the only man in Ireland that had never aſked him any thing: and when Mr Temple mentioned his deſign of carrying his family to England, his Grace ſaid, he ſhould at leaſt give him leave to write in his favour to the two great Miniſters, the Lord Chancellor [Clarendon], and the Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State; and the Duke did it ſo much to his advantage, that it was this recommendation which gave Sir William the firſt entrance into their good graces, and to the good opinion of the King (*m*), which he made no other uſe of, than to tell Lord Arlington, that if his Majeſty had any employment abroad, which he thought ſuch a man as he capable of ſerving him in, he ſhould be very happy in it; but deſired it might not carry him into the northern climates, to which he had a great averſion. Lord Arlington replied, he was ſorry for it, becauſe there was at that time no other undiſpoſed of, but that of going Envoy to Sweden (*n*). However, in 1665, about the beginning of the firſt Dutch war, the ſame Lord ſent him a meſſage to come immediately to his houſe, which he did, and found his Lordſhip's buſineſs was to tell him, the King had occaſion to ſend one abroad upon an affair of the greateſt truſt and importance, and that he had reſolved to make him the firſt offer of it; but that he muſt know preſently, whether he would accept of it or no, without telling him what it was, and be content to go in three or four days, without ſaying more of it to any of his friends: after a little conſideration, he told that Lord, he took him to be his friend, and ſince he muſt conſult with no one elſe, would be adviſed by him. His Lordſhip ſaid, his advice was, that whether he liked it or no, he ſhould not refuſe it, as an entrance into his Majeſty's ſervice, and the way to ſomething he might like better (*o*). The buſineſs was to go with a ſecret commiſſion to the Biſhop of Munſter, with which he ſet out on Auguſt 24, and executed it ſo greatly to the ſatisfaction of King Charles II. [*C*], that upon his return from that Prelate's Court to Bruſſels, his Majeſty ſent him a commiſſion to take the character of Reſident there, with a Patent for a Baronet (*p*). Bruſſels being the place he had wiſhed for in his travels ſo many years before, Sir William, April 1666, ſent for his family (*q*); but before their arrival, was poſted again into Munſter. For upon the Biſhop's liſtening to terms of accommodation with France, our Reſident having wrote two letters in vain to diſſuade him from that alliance, went in diſguiſe on the ſame errand to Munſter [*D*], where, though he came too late to fix that Prince in his firſt alliance, yet he engaged him for five or ſix thouſand of his beſt troops into Spaniſh ſervice. This done, he returned to Bruſſels, where he paſſed a year with great pleaſure and ſatisfaction. Two months after the concluſion of the peace with the Dutch at Breda, our Reſident's ſiſter, who lived with him at Bruſſels, taking a ſtrong fancy to ſee Holland, he was willing to give her that ſatisfaction, and went thither *incognito*. But while he was at the Hague, he made a private viſit to M. *De Witt*, in which occaſional interview, he laid the foundation of the great intimacy and confidence that grew afterwards between them (*r*). In the ſpring of 1667, a new war broke out between France and Spain, which bringing Bruſſels in danger of falling into the hands of the former, Sir William ſent his Lady and family into England, but ſtaid there with his ſiſter till Chriſtmas following, when the King ſent for him to come over privately to England, and taking the Hague in his way, there to make De Witt another viſit (*s*). He did ſo, and then, purſuant to his inſtructions,

(*l*) The Duke was declared Lord Lieutenant in Oct. 1662, but did not arrive in Ireland till July 1663. See his article, where this laſt date is omitted, for which we muſt aſk the Reader's pardon.

(*m*) Sir William always preſerved a grateful remembrance of this favour, kept a correſpondence with his Grace, and warmly defended him againſt the attempt of Lord Eſſex to diſplace him from the Government of Ireland. Temple's Letters and Memoirs, Part III.

(*n*) His Life, p. xi.

(*o*) Letter to his father of Sept. 6, 1664, which is the firſt in the Collection of his Letters.

(*p*) He ſays, the officers were more eaſy than he expected in his Patent-fees. Letters to Mr Godolphin, April 1, 1666. In which he mentions that Gentleman's viſit to his Lady at Sheen.

(*q*) His Life, p. 1. He lent his houſe at Sheen to my Lord Liſle. Letter to that Lord from Bruſſels, Aug. 1666.

(*r*) Letter to his brother, Sir John Temple, Octob. 19, N. S. 1667.

(*s*) Letter to his father from London, January 2, N. S. 1668, *in* which he takes notice, that his ſiſter accompanied him to London, and reſolved to return with him to the Hague, when his brother Harry reſolved alſo to be of the party.

[*C*] *He executed his commiſſion to the King's mind.*] He went, without either train or character, to Coeſvelt, where the Biſhop then was, and in three nights (for he kept cloſe in the day-time) perfected and ſigned the treaty (3), and then returned to Bruſſels, where alderman Backwell made the firſt and great payment of the ſubſidies the King was to give the Biſhop, and ſoon after received the news that the Biſhop was in the field, by which this negotiation began firſt to be diſcovered; but no body ſuſpected the part he had in it, and he continued privately at Bruſſels, till it was whiſpered to the marquis Caſtel Rodrigo, their governor, that he came upon ſome particular errand, (which he was then at liberty to own) who thereupon ſent to deſire his acquaintance, to which he eaſily conſented, and, in ſome private conferences, the marquis repreſenting to him the mutual neceſſity of a conjunction between England and Spain, upon advice that the French were marching to the aſſiſtance of the Hollanders; theſe overtures the court of England thought fit to entertain, and therefore appointed him reſident (4).

(3) His perfect knowledge of the Latin (which he had retained) was of no ſmall advantage to him, the biſhop converſing in no other language.

(4) The four firſt of his letters, viz. to his father, alderman Backwell, lord Arlington, and the duke of Ormond.

[*D*] *He went in diſguiſe on the ſame errand.*] He paſſed for a Spaniſh envoy, having twenty Spaniſh guards to attend him. Thus he went firſt to Duſſeldorp, where the duke of Newburgh, though in the French intereſt, gave him a guard to Dortmund; but, on his arrival there, the gates being ſhut, he was forced to go to a village about a league's diſtance, which being full of Brandenburg troops, he was obliged to eat and lodge in a barn upon ſtraw, with his page for a pillow. The page heard one of the Brandenburg ſoldiers aſk ſome of his guards after an Engliſh envoy who was expected, the fellow ſaid he was upon the road, and would be at Dortmund in a day or two. He was next day entertained, at a caſtle of the biſhop of Munſter, by one Gorges, a Scotch lieutenant-general in that prelate's ſervice, with what he calls a very epiſcopal way of drinking. Coming into the great hall, where ſtood many flagons ready charged, the general called for wine to drink the King's health. They brought him a formal bell of ſilver, that might hold about two quarts. He took it, pulled out the clapper, and, giving that to Sir William, to whom he intended to drink, had the bell filled, drunk it off to his Majeſty's health, and then aſking Sir William for the clapper, put it on, turned down the bell, and rung it out to ſhew he had played fair, and left nothing in it: this done, he took out the clapper, deſired Sir William to give it to whom he pleaſed, then gave his bell to be filled again, and brought it to Sir William: he, being never uſed to drink, and ſeldom would try, had commonly ſome gentleman with him that would ſerve for that purpoſe, when it was neceſſary; and ſo he had the entertainment of ſeeing this health go current through about a dozen hands, with no more ſhare in it than juſt what he pleaſed (5).

(5) His letter to his father of May 10, N. S. 1666.

proposed those overtures that produced the Triple Alliance; to perfect which, immediately after his arrival at the English Court, he returned, January 16, 1668, N. S. in five days, with the character of Envoy extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Holland (*t*), where the conferences being opened two days after, he brought that treaty to a perfect conclusion in five days more. The ratifications of this alliance being exchanged on the fifteenth of February (*u*) following, he repaired to Brussels, and a treaty being set on foot between France and Spain at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, he set out for that place on the 24th of April, in quality of his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary, and Mediator. He arrived there on the 27th, and it was chiefly owing to his assistance (*w*), that the Spaniard was brought to sign the articles of that peace on the 2d of May. This service being compleated, he returned to Brussels on the 9th of that month, without any other thoughts than to remain in that city in his former station of Resident. But upon his arrival there, he met with letters from the Earl of Arlington that brought him the King's orders to continue in the equipage of an Ambassador, in order to serve his Majesty in the same quality in Holland: where, upon occasion of the late alliances, his Majesty was resolved to renew a character which the Crown of England had discontinued since King James's time (*). Sir William being now left at liberty to return to England as soon as he pleased, embraced the opportunity, and returning by the way of Holland, left most of his domestics and equipage at Utrecht. Upon his arrival at London, he was received with all possible demonstrations of favour, both by King and Court. If he had been forward to press his fortune (and he was put in mind of it enough by his friends (†)) he would not have slipt the advantage of coming home with so general an opinion of great merits: but he thought himself sufficiently rewarded by the honour of serving his Majesty (*x*). The Spanish Ambassador, and Baron d'Isola, the Emperor's Envoy, as well as other of his friends, would needs have asked the Peerage for him, and it was with difficulty enough, that he prevented it; but it was what he never coveted, and was resolved, if it were ever offered him, it should either begin with his father, or his son (*y*). All difficulties being removed for his departure to Holland [*E*], he set out, and arrived at the Hague with his new character of the King's Ambassador, in the latter end of August, 1668 (*z*) He was received and distinguished by all the marks of regard and esteem they could express for his character and person, and by the good opinion he had gained, was able to bring the state into such measures, as M. De Witt said, he was sure was not in the power of any other man to do. He lived in confidence with that great Minister, by order from the King, and in constant and familiar conversation with the Prince of Orange, then eighteen years old. He likewise compassed the chief design of his embassy, in engaging the Emperor and Spain in the measures that were then desired (*aa*). But in the interim happened Madam's journey to England, so well known to have changed them all (*bb*). And though Sir William had observed a disposition in the Court before, to complain of the Dutch upon small occasions, very unlike what he left it in; yet he suspected nothing till Lord Arlington, in September 1669, hurried him over, by telling him, as soon as he received his letter, he should *put his foot in the stirrup*. When he came to his Lordship, whom he always saw first, he found he had not one word to say to him, and after making him wait a great while, only asked him several indifferent questions about his journey; and he was received next day as coldly by the King. The secret soon came out, and Sir William Temple was pressed to return to the Hague, and make way for a war with Holland. But he excused himself from having any share in it; which so much provoked the Lord Treasurer *Clifford*, that he refused to pay him an arrear of two thousand pounds, due from his embassy. All this passed without unkindness from the King (*cc*); but my Lord Arlington's usage, so unlike the friendship he had professed, was resented by our Ambassador, who now retired to his house at Sheen near Richmond in Surry [*F*] (*dd*); and in this interval of his leisure and retreat, he writ his *Observations*

(*t*) His brother Henry went over with him, as did also Lord Stafford, by way of education for state-business. Temple's Letters, Vol. I. p. 70.

(*u*) After sealing, says Sir William, we all embraced with much satisfaction and applause of my saying upon that occasion, *A Breda comme amis, icy comme freres*. Letter to Lord Arlington from the Hague, Jan. 24, N. S. 1668.

(*w*) Sir Leoline Jenkins was the other mediator. Gen. Hist. of England.

(*x*) After resigning all public business, he declared with much satisfaction, that he never had acted either for Honours, Places, or Money. Memoirs, Part III. sub finem.

(*) Letter of Lord Arlington, dated May 8, N. S. 1668.

(†) He esteemed Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Sir John Trevor, and Sir Robert Long, as his truest friends.

(*y*) Letters to his father from Sheen, July 22, 1668.

(*z*) A son of Sir Charles Worsley accompanied him in this embassy for education, and Sir William received his father's acknowledgment for his kindness to the young gentleman. His Letters, Vol. II. p. 83.

(*aa*) Gen. Hist. of England.

(*bb*) The Duke of Buckingham, and some other Courtiers of wit and humour, began now to ridicule Sir William's formal gravity, as well as his political capacity, Sir William, as appears from the course of his letters, being remarkable for understanding the ceremonies of business, and disliking great stress upon them, as of service in procuring access to any negotiation.

(*cc*) Who made him a present of the plate belonging to his embassy, and he put off his house and a good part of the furniture to Sir George Downing, who succeeded him. Letters, Vol. II. p. 310, 311.

(*dd*) His Life, p. xiv. as before. The Writer of which tells us, p. xv. he had purchased this house some time before, probably soon after his first coming with his family to England, since he appears to be possessed of it before his first employment abroad, in 1665. See his first Letter to his father at the head of his Letters.

[*E*] *All difficulties being removed for his departure.*] The chief of these were some new regulations in the Exchequer concerning foreign employments, which brought down the equipage-money of ambassadors from 3000*l.* to 1500*l.* in France and Spain, and to 1000*l.* in all other courts; and their allowance from 100*l.* a week to 10*l.* a day in France and Spain, and to 7*l.* a day in other places. This was pretended to be only a necessary scheme of parsimony; but Sir William took it as aimed at him in spight, and resented it the more, because he found, by the short experience of his last embassy, this would not defray the expence of another with any honour to the King or himself; *and though*, says he, *I do not pretend to make my fortune by these employments, yet I confess I do not pretend to ruin it neither.* He had therefore several times resolved to refuse this embassy, unless it were upon the old terms; but at last yielded to the sollicitations and arguments of Lord *Arlington*, Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, and especially Sir *Robert Long*, who observed, that, after a year or two of this embassay, he could not fail of being either secretary of state, or sent ambassador into Spain, 'which, says Sir William, are 'both certain ways of making any man's fortune (6).'

(6) Letter to his father from Sheen, July 22, 1668.

[*F*] *He returned to Sheen.*] How he passed his time there, appears from a letter, dated November 22, 1670, to his father, in which he writes thus (7): 'Sir,

(7) Vol. II. of his Letters, p. 288.

'I must make my humble acknowledgments for so great 'a present as you have been pleased to send me towards 'that expence I have resolved to make at Sheen; and 'assure you no part of it shall either go any other way, 'or lessen what I had intended of my own. I doubt 'not but to compass what I told you of my Lord Lisle, 'for enlarging my small territories there; when that 'is done, I propose to bestow 1000*l.* upon the con-'veniencies of the house and garden, and hope that 'will reach all I care for; so that your 500*l.* (8) may 'be laid out rather for ornament than use, as you seem 'to desire, by ordering me to make the front perfectly 'uniform.' His father having shewn a dislike of his hasty resolve to retire absolutely from public affairs, and throwing up all his pretensions from the Court, in this letter he lays before him the *whole* grounds of that resolution, submitting the whole with great duty and respect to his father's censure. These it should seem had brought the old gentleman into his way of thinking; for, *in another* letter to his father, dated September 14, 1671 (9), wherein he gives him an account of the safe arrival in England of his wife and family: 'All people, 'says he, are full of the politicks and expectations of 'what will be next, which you must expect to hear from 'Gazettes, and no more from me, who shall not so much 'as enquire or care to know, but return to my *corner* at 'Sheen,

(8) He afterwards tells his father, that, in acknowledgment of this present, he had sent over for his Spanish horse, and intended to send a groom with him to Dublin.

(9) Ibid. p. 302.

Observations on the United Provinces; and one part of his *Miſcellanies* (*ee*), in the time of the ſecond Dutch war. However, about the end of the ſummer, 1673, the King growing weary of that war, ſent for Sir William, who was always wanted upon that occaſion, to go into Holland, and conclude the peace; but powers having been ſent at this time from thence to the Marquis de Freſno, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador at London, Sir William was ordered to treat it with him, and it was concluded in three days, and the point of the flag carried, that had been ſo long conteſted (*ff*). In June, 1674, he was again ſent Ambaſſador into Holland [G], with offer of the King's mediation between France and the Confederates, then at war, which was not long after accepted, and Lord Berkeley, Sir William Temple, and Sir Leoline Jenkins, were declared Ambaſſadors and Mediators, and Nimeguen (which Sir William had propoſed) was conſented to, at laſt, by all parties to be the place of Treaty. During his ſtay at the Hague, the Prince of Orange, who was fond of ſpeaking Engliſh, and of their plain way of eating, conſtantly dined and ſupped once or twice a week at his houſe, who thereby grew ſo much in the Prince's eſteem and confidence, as gave him the great part he had in that conſiderable affair of his marriage with Lady Mary.

(*m*) His Life, p. xvi.

(*ff*) The other point, of withdrawing the Engliſh troops from the French ſervice, was compaſſed, by private engagements, to ſuffer them to wear out, without ſending any recruits, and ſend no new ones while the ſtates were permitted to make what levies they pleaſed in his Majeſty's dominions.

(*) Letter to Lord Bolingbroke. See his article.

(10) His letters, Vol. I. p. 125.

(11) In his Eſſay on the gardens of Epicurus, he boaſts of having had the honour of bringing over four ſorts of grapes into England.

(12) He was author of a book, entitled, The Ambaſſador greatly eſteemed. He tranſlated this treatiſe of Sir William's into French.

(13) In Vol. II. p. 376.

(14) In the ſecond volume of his works, edit. 1757, in 4 vols. 8vo.

'Sheen, and endeavour to paſs the reſt of my life as 'quietly and innocently as I can, and for the reſt, like 'a private man, run the fortune of my country. I have 'been long enough in courts and public buſineſs to know 'a great deal of the world and of myſelf, and to find 'that we are not made for one another, and that nei-'ther of us are like to alter either our natures or our 'cuſtoms, and that, in the courſe and period of public 'government, as well as private life, *quiſque ſuos patimur* 'manes.' Every one ſees that theſe ſtrains were the pure effects of peeviſhneſs and chagrin, ariſing from his diſappointment by the counſels which then prevailed at court, as is evident from his ſubſequent conduct. Beſides, Sir William had not been in buſineſs much above five or ſix years, and was but little turned of forty, a time of life not very compatible (as his amanuenſis Dr Swift pleaſantly obſerves upon another occaſion (*)) with ſettling in a corner to form concluſions *de contemptu mundi & fugâ ſeculi*. There is no doubt but he always took great delight in improving his ſituation at Sheen, which he expreſſes in a letter to Lord Lille from Bruſſels, Auguſt, 1667 (10), before his firſt coming over to England. 'The beſt on it is, ſays he, my heart is ſet ſo much 'upon my little *corner* at Sheen, that, while I keep 'that, no other diſappointments will be very ſenſible 'to me; and becauſe my wife tells me ſhe is ſo bold 'as to enter into talk of enlarging our dominions there, 'I am *contriving here* this ſummer, how a ſucceſſion 'of cherries may be compaſſed from May to Michael-'mas, and how the riches of Sheen vines may be im-'proved by half a dozen ſorts which are not yet known 'there, and which I think much beyond any that 'are (11).' During this retreat, towards the latter end of the year 1672, he writ his Obſervations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands, as above mentioned, to which he alludes in a letter to Mr. de Wicquefort, dated October 10 that year (12). 'I will not tell you, 'ſays he, that I have ſucceeded ſo well in my ſmall 'country deſigns, as I have ſometimes done in great 'ones: But if ever any favourable accident (and this 'age produces ſtrange ones enough) ſhould bring you 'hither, I would let you ſee that our buildings are not 'altogether without neatneſs: at leaſt I would make 'you confeſs, that the fruits of my garden have another 'taſte than thoſe of my cloſet, and will keep better 'than thoſe of my embaſſies (13).'

[G] *He was ſent Ambaſſador into Holland in June, 1674.*] Though this prevented our miniſter from having an immediate hand in negotiating the famous treaty which was concluded with the Dutch on the 1ſt of December this year at London, containing the ſtipulation, that *free ſhips ſhould make free goods*; yet, as he was principally concerned in making the former treaty with the States, concluded at the Hague on the 17th of February, 1667-8, containing the ſame ſtipulation, it is worth while to ſee his opinion of it, as it appears in a letter from him to Sir Joſeph Williamſon, as follows (14):

'Sir, 'Hague, Nov. 6, N. S. 1674.

'I was extremely glad to find by yours of the 20th 'and 30th paſt, that his Majeſty had reſolved to ſupport 'me, in the claim I had made here, of a free trade for 'all our ſhips, and the merchandizes they carry (if not 'contraband) without any exception of their trading 'from one Enemy's port to another, which can't, I am 'ſure, be drawn from the words of the articles. This 'made me confident, even before the arrival of your 'letters, by a ſecond Memorial to the States General, 'to demand the reſtitution of the *Rebecca*, and to tell 'them very plainly, that if any diſputes might ariſe 'from the ſenſe of any articles in treaties ſubſiſting be-'tween his Majeſty and them, they could not be re-'ſolved without his Majeſty's conſent, and till that was 'obtained, they could not make themſelves the ſole 'Judges, or Interpreters, againſt the plain common 'ſenſe of any words, and to the prejudice of his Ma-'jeſty's ſubjects. This was the point I put all the 'weight upon in my Memorial. But having the day 'after received his Majeſty's pleaſure, with your ac-'count of what had paſſed here in your return this 'way, and your arguments upon this ſubject, I de-'manded an hour of the Penſioner, and had a very 'long debate with him upon this matter. The heads 'of his arguments were, the judgment he pretended 'of ſeveral Authors upon it, and the practice of France, 'Spain, and Sweden, with them and ourſelves in the 'time of his late Majeſty and King James, which he 'undertook to give me examples of; and laſtly, *that 'it could not be the meaning, to drive an Enemy's trade, 'but only to preſerve a friend's.* I eaſily eluded this laſt, by 'the anſwer I made it, and by my own free proteſtation, 'that at my ſigning the confirmation of thoſe articles, 'I had no ſuch ſenſe of them, as he would now give 'them; but took the meaning of them to be juſt the 'ſame with the words, that free ſhips made free goods 'in all caſes, unleſs that of contraband. For the ſenſe 'of Authors wrote upon general theories, and for their 'own credit, and that of their profeſſion, I ſaid they 'could not be admitted to interpret any particular trea-'ties between Princes and States, who might make 'what agreement they pleaſed between themſelves, 'and very different from what Authors call *Jus gentium*, 'or general reaſon, by which I think they commonly 'mean their own; that for the practice of other Kings, 'with them it was no rule of theirs with his Majeſty, 'nor any agreement that he ſhould not have juſtice from 'them, becauſe they could not obtain it from others; 'but, on the contrary, though they had it not, yet 'they ever demanded it, both from France and Spain, 'which was a certain proof, that they eſteemed that juſt 'in their own caſe, which they will not allow to be 'ſo in ours; that for the practice he offered to produce 'on our parts in his late Majeſty's time, I ſhould be 'content to ſee it, but could not tell how it could ſquare 'with the preſent caſe, ſince it was granted by articles 'never in force between his Majeſty and the States, *till* 'the treaty of Breda. I added, to what I ſaid in my 'Memorial upon the ſubject of their pretences to make 'a forced interpretation of plain words, without his 'Majeſty's conſent, that it was not fair to do it at *this* 'time, when the advantage of ſuch an article was only 'caſt on our ſide by the common revolutions of war 'and peace, which might be in their favour to-morrow, 'as they were on ours to-day. Whereas, when the 'advantage was by like accidents caſt on their ſide, as 'it had been with France and Spain, they had ever 'inſiſted on the very ſame points, that we do now, and 'never given over their inſtances upon it, whether they 'received ſatisfaction, or no. After a long and warm 'debate, I gained this from the Penſioner, that for his 'own part, he was content it ſhould be as I deſired it, '*ſince the King underſtood it ſo, and it was to be reciprocal 'between us.* That he could do nothing upon it in the 'States General, till the States of Holland aſſembled, 'which would be about a fortnight hence; that he 'would then propoſe it there, and endeavour their 'compliance with his Majeſty, eſpecially if the Prince, 'at his return, approved of it: and that in the mean

Mary, ſo well known in the world, and ſo particularly related in his Memoirs [*H*]. In July, 1676, he removed his family to *Nimeguen*, where he paſſed that year without making any progreſs in the treaty; and the year after, his ſon was ſent over with letters from the Lord Treaſurer, ordering him to return and ſucceed Mr Coventry in his place of Secretary of State [*I*]. Sir William came to England in the ſpring of the year 1667-8; and though the affair of the Secretary's place was dropped at his deſire *(gg)*, he did not return to Nimeguen that year. About this time, the Prince having the King's leave to come over, ſoon after married Lady Mary *(hh)*; and from this happened another occaſion of unkindneſs between Lord Arlington and Sir William [*K*]. Lord Treaſurer [Oſborn] (who was related to Sir William's Lady) and he, being only in the ſecret of all that affair after the Prince and Princeſs were gone into Holland, the inclination at Court always leaning towards France; the King would have engaged Sir William Temple in ſome negotiations with that Crown, with which he was ſo ill ſatisfied, that he offered to give up his pretenſions to the Secretary's Place, and deſiring my Lord Treaſurer to acquaint his Majeſty with it, he went to Sheen, in hopes of being taken at his word. But upon diſcovery of the French deſigns not to evacuate the Spaniſh towns, agreed on by the treaty to be delivered up, the King commanded him to go upon a third embaſſy to the States with whom he concluded a treaty, by which England was engaged, upon the refuſal of the French to evacuate the towns in forty days, to declare immediate war with France; but before half the time was run out, one *Du Croſs* (*ii*) was ſent from our Court into Holland upon an errand that damped all the good humour that treaty had given them there, and the life it had put into all their affairs; and ſuch ſudden and ſurprizing change in our own, which Sir William Temple had ſeen too often to be aſtoniſhed at, gave him a diſtaſte to all public employments (*kk*). In 1679, he went back to Nimeguen, where the French delayed ſigning the treaty till the laſt hour, which, after he

(*bb*) Upon this occaſion, Lord Arlington ſaid a very good thing, though not in very good humour: that ſome things were ſo ill in themſelves, that the manner of doing them could not mend them; and others ſo good, that the manner they were done in could not ſpoil them; and that the Prince of Orange's match was of the laſt ſort.

(*gg*) Mr Coventry made ſome difficulties of reſigning, unleſs he had leave to name his ſucceſſor, which the King refuſed; therefore Sir William deſired it might be let alone till all parties were agreed.

(*hh*) Growing weary, as Mr De Witt uſed to expreſs it, of the perpetual fluctuation he had obſerved in all our Councils, ſince Queen Elizabeth's reign.

(*ii*) Sir William, in his Memoirs, Part II. p. 335, characterized Du Croſs in ſuch a ſtile, as provoked him to write an Anſwer; to which Sir William replied in 1693.

(15) By contracting this letter with the Memorials of both Courts, upon the ſubject in this war, and our proceeding at law upon it, will be ſeen how invariably, *mutari, mutandis*, each ſide hath been governed by the ſame rules and reaſonings.

'time, he would endeavour to get the goods in the *Rebecca*, or the product of them, depoſited till the States 'came to a reſolution in this matter, the ſhip itſelf being already free, and gone purſuant to the reſolutions 'taken by the States in May laſt upon this point.

'I have been longer in ſtating this matter, as it ſtands 'between me and the Penſioner, that being of ſo 'mighty importance to our trade at this time, his Ma'jeſty ought to ſee the right he had on his ſide, and be 'the firmer in maintaining it. And that you may pleaſe 'to inſtruct me in any further arguments, againſt I 'enter the liſts with Commiſſioners here, if this ſhould 'prove difficult, though the Penſioner be ſatisfied 'with it (15).'

[*H*] *Particularly related in his Memoirs.*] One advantage he made of it from an accident that then happened, may be worth mentioning, becauſe he reckoned it himſelf among the good fortunes of his life. There were five Engliſhmen taken and brought to the Hague whilſt he was there, and in the Prince's abſence, who were immediately tried, and condemned, by a Council of war, for deſerting their colours: ſome of his ſervants had the curioſity to viſit their unfortunate countrymen, and came home with a deplorable ſtory, that by what they had heard, it was a miſtake; and that they were all like to die innocent; but, however, that it was without remedy; that their graves were digging, and they were to be ſhot next morning. Sir William left nothing unattempted to prevent their ſudden execution, and ſent to the Officers, threatening them that he would complain, firſt to the Prince, and then to the King, who, he was ſure, would demand reparation, if ſo many of his Majeſty's ſubjects ſuffered unjuſtly: but nothing would do, till he made it his laſt requeſt to reprieve them one day only. This being granted, the Prince happened to come that day within reach of an anſwer to a meſſage he ſent; upon which they were releaſed. The firſt thing they did, was to go and ſee their graves, and the next, to come and thank Sir William Temple upon their knees (16).

(16) His Life, p. xvi.

[*I*] *He returned to England upon a motion to ſucceed the Secretary's Place.*] He might be more willing to come to England to look after his private affairs upon the death of his father, which happened this year, 1677. Sir John Temple was born in 1600, bred firſt under his father, in Dublin-College, but went early abroad for further accompliſhments, and after his return was finiſhed in the Court of King Charles I; by whom he was knighted, February 23, 1640, conſtituted Maſter of the Rolls in Ireland, and ſworn of the Privy-Council there, being in particular confidence and friendſhip with the Earl of Leiceſter, then declared Lieutenant of Ireland, when the rebellion broke out; in which he was deeply engaged; and upon the changes in the King's counſels and affairs, he was impriſoned for oppoſing the ceſſation, which the Duke of Ormond was commanded to make with the Iriſh rebels. In 1644, he was exchanged, and ſent for by the Parliament in England. In 1647, he was made one of the Commiſſioners in Munſter; and one of the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal in Ireland, in 1648. He was a Member of Parliament, and ſat in the Engliſh Houſe of Commons, till he was diſmiſſed among the Members excluded for voting, that his Majeſty's conceſſions from the Iſle of Wight, were a ſufficient ground for a treaty of peace. From this time he continued privately in London, till Oliver, the Protector, in 1657, made him one of the Commiſſioners for ſettling the titles of the Iriſh to their Eſtates, and alſo their delinquency. He received many other favours from Oliver, and continued Maſter of the Rolls during the Uſurpation; and alſo by King Charles II, and was ſworn again of the Privy-Council. In 1661, he, with his eldeſt ſon, repreſented the County of Caſlow; and in 1663, he was made Vice-Treaſurer of the Kingdom. In July, 1666, he had a grant of the lands of Palmerſton, in the County of Dublin. And dying in 1677, after he had that year given col. to be laid out in ſome additional buildings in the College of Dublin (17), he was buried there at his own requeſt, in the ſame grave with his father. He wrote the *Hiſtory of the Iriſh Rebellion*, which was publiſhed in 1641, 4to. 'A piece '(ſays Dr Borlace in, his hiſtory of that war) of that in'tegrity few can equal, none exceed, he having as 'Privy-Counſellor an opportunity to view all diſpatches; 'rarely obvious to others; and being ſingularly entire 'and ingenuous, adventured then into the liſts, when 'ſome dared ſcarce think on the attempt: never any 'thing was objected againſt his account.' He married a ſiſter of the famous Dr Hammond, and by her had four ſons, and one daughter, who all, except one ſon, ſurvived him; viz. William, John, Henry, and Martha. Sir William, in 1662, had a reverſionary grant after his father's deceaſe of the Maſterſhip of the Rolls, for which he received a Patent, December, 1677, and enjoyed it till the ſurrendering thereof on May 29, 1696, to William (afterwards Lord) Berkeley. Sir William's younger brother, Sir John Temple, became the beſt Lawyer in Ireland (18), and his ſecond ſon, Henry, was created Baron Temple of Mount Temple, and Viſcount Palmerſton, in 1722. Martha, Sir William's favourite ſiſter, was married, April 21, 1662, to Sir Thomas Giffard of Caſtlejordan, in the County of Kildare, Bart. who was buried at St Audeon's Church in Dublin, on the 9th of May, the ſame year (19).

(17) On which account his heirs are empowered to diſpoſe of two chambers in that College. See Dean Swift's article.

(18) Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, ubi ſupra.

(19) See more of him in Remark [*N*].

[*K*] *The unkindneſs between Lord Arlington and him.*] Lord Arlington's coldneſs to Sir William began from his early acquaintance with the Lord Treaſurer [Danby] (they having travelled young together) and his relation to him by marriage, and he being now Chief Miniſter in Arlington's room, and they two living in the laſt degree of ill intelligence with one another, it was impoſſible to keep the favour of both, which was the true reaſon of Lord Arlington's falling out with him; with whom, from many circumſtances, he could not afterwards live well (20).

(20) His Life, p. xvii.

had

had concluded, he returned to the Hague, from whence he was ſoon ſent for to enter upon the Secretary's Place, which Mr Coventry was at laſt reſolved to part with. Accordingly he came over, and went to Court *(ll)*, as all his friends hoped, with the deſign of entering upon that poſt; but he made a difficulty of it, becauſe he was not in the Houſe of Commons *(mm)*, thinking the public buſineſs would ſuffer thereby in ſo critical a time: in which the conteſts between the two parties ran ſo high, that the King thought fit to ſend the Duke into Flanders, and the Parliament to put my Lord Treaſurer [Danby] into the Tower *(nn)*. After this, his Majeſty again preſſed Sir William to be Secretary of State, uſing for an argument, that he had now no body to conſult with, at a time when he wanted the beſt advice. Hereupon Sir William, ſtill declining the Secretary's place *(oo)*, adviſed his Majeſty to chuſe a Council whom he ſhould wholly truſt and adviſe with: the King in a few days conſented, and the choice of the perſons was wholly concerted between his Majeſty and Sir William; and the old Council, being diſſolved four days after, this new one was eſtabliſhed, of which Sir William Temple was one *(pp)*. In 1680, the Counſels began again to be changed, upon the King's illneſs at the end of the ſummer, and the Duke of York's return privately to Court. In this Juncture, Sir William endeavouring to bring into the King's favour and buſineſs ſome perſons to whom his Majeſty had a diſlike, if not an averſion, met with ſuch treatment from them *(qq)* [*L*], as gave him a freſh diſtaſte to Court and Councils, whither he ſeldom went, reſiding chiefly at Sheen. Soon after this, the King ſent for him again, and propoſed his going Ambaſſador into Spain *(rr)*. Sir William complied, and ſet himſelf to prepare for it *(ss)*; but when his equipage was almoſt ready, and part of the money for it paid, the King changed his mind, and told him, he would have him defer his journey till the end of the Seſſions of Parliament, of which he was choſen a Member for the Univerſity of Cambridge *(tt)*, in which the factions ran ſo high, that he ſaw it impoſſible to bring them to any temper. The Duke was ſent into Scotland; that would not ſatisfy them, nor any thing but a bill of excluſion, againſt which he declared himſelf, ſaying, *his endeavours ſhould ever be to unite the Royal Family; but that he would never enter into any counſels to divide them (uu)*: and the laſt thing he did in Parliament, or Council, was on the 4th of January, to carry the King's laſt anſwer to the Commons Addreſs of the 20th of December, *containing his Majeſty's reſolution never to conſent to the excluſion of the Duke of York* [*M*]. But ſoon after this the Parliament being diſſolved by his Majeſty without the advice of his Privy-Council, contrary to what he had promiſed, Sir William made that bold ſpeech againſt it, for which he was very ill uſed by ſome of thoſe friends who had been moſt earneſt in promoting the laſt change in the Miniſtry [*N*]. Upon this, he grew quite tired of public buſineſs, declined the offer he had of ſerving again for the Univerſity in the next Parliament, that was ſoon after called, and met at Oxford *(ww)*; and ſeeing his Majeſty's reſolution to govern without his Parliament, and to ſupply his treaſury another way, he went to Sheen a few days after, whence he ſent the King word, by his ſon, that *he would paſs the reſt of his life as good a ſubject as any in his Kingdoms, but would never more meddle*

(*mm*) There was a deſign to impeach him in this Seſſion, which he publiſhed in his *Miſcellanea*, to let the world ſee that he was not a man of ſuch dangerous principles.

(*nn*) Gen. Hiſt. of England.

(*oo*) Nor had he any public employment at home; but his character abroad ſtill continued. Mr Coventry was ſucceeded in the Secretary's Office by Sir Leoline Jenkins.

(*pp*) Gen. Hiſt. of England. Lord Chancellor Finch, Lord Sunderland, and Lord Ellis, thought it the greateſt point that ever was gained by any Miniſter.

(*qq*) The particulars of which are publiſhed in the third Part of his Memoirs.

(*rr*) To give credit to an alliance, pretended to be made with that Crown againſt the meeting of the Parliament: upon which the French Ambaſſador, much diſſatisfied, ſaid, it was enough to give vigour to the Spaniſh Monarchy. Gen. Hiſt. of Engl.

(*ss*) His Life and Character, p. xix, xx.

(*tt*) He was employed, when happening to be at the Council on his Majeſty's ordering the Parliament to be prorogued for a year, Sir William made that bold ſpeech, which is inſerted in remark [*N*].

(*uu*) He was oppoſed by the Biſhop of Ely, who from a chapter in his Obſervations upon the Netherlands, thought Sir William was for ſuch a toleration as he deſcribed to be in Holland. Memoirs, p. 523.

(*ww*) He conſulted his Majeſty, who told him he might as well let it alone.

(*ll*) He now found himſelf above 7000 l. in arrears at the treaſury, and though with much trouble and delay he recovered the beſt part of that ſum, yet 2200 l. remained a deſperate debt long after. Memoirs, p. 473.

[*L*] *Met with ſuch treatment from them.*] Theſe were the Lords Eſſex and Hallifax, who, to the Duke, laid the ſcheme of the new Council upon Sir William; though after admitting Lord Shaftſbury and the Duke of Monmouth into it, which was done without his conſent, he always declared his diſlike of the Council. And he ſoon found an opportunity of defeating their malice, and of ſecuring a good place in the Duke's favour, by aſſuring him, that *whatever befell the King's affairs, or his Highneſs, he might always reckon upon him as a legal man, and one that would follow the Crown always, as became him; unleſs things ſhould ever grow ſo deſperate as to bring in Foreigners:* at which the Duke laid his hand upon him, and bid him ſtick there, and he would deſire no more of him (21).

(21) Memoirs, Part III.

[*M*] *He carried the King's meſſage to the Houſe.*] Mr Secretary Jenkins had been charged with it the night before at Council, but he was thought too unacceptable to the Houſe for a meſſage which was likely to prove ſo; and the next morning the King would have had either Sir Robert Carr, or Mr Godolphin to carry it. They both excuſing themſelves, the King ſent for Sir William Temple, who told his Majeſty, he did not very well underſtand why a thing agreed upon laſt night at Council-table, ſhould be altered in his chamber; but that he was very willing, however, to obey him, and the rather, upon others having excuſed themſelves, and to ſhew his Majeſty that he intended to play no popular Games. Upon this he took the paper, telling the King he was very ſenſible how much of his confidence he formerly had, and how much he had loſt, without knowing the occaſion; or elſe he might have had part in conſulting this change of what was laſt night reſolved, as well, as in executing it; and he would confeſs to his Majeſty, that he had not ſo good a ſtomach in buſineſs, as to be content only with ſwallowing what other people had chewed. This anſwer, Sir William ſays, is the only thing, he could imagine, the King could ever take ill of him. In proceeding, however, he declares his approbation of the meſſage, which was his principal inducement for carrying it (22).

(22) Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 537.

[*N*] *He made a bold ſpeech againſt it, &c.*] The ſubſtance of it was, that he deſired the King and Council never to lay aſide the thoughts and endeavours of agreeing, either with this, or ſome other Parliament, as a matter of ſo great neceſſity to the ſtate of his Majeſty's affairs, both abroad, and at home. The Lord Hallifax anſwered him in a few words, that every body was ſenſible of the King's agreeing with his Parliament, though not with this: and Mr, afterwards Sir Edward, Seymour ſaid, he perfectly agreed with Sir William Temple. He had, in the ſame diſpoſition, ſpoken very freely before, upon the King's declaring his mind in the Council, without previouſly aſking their advice, to prorogue the Parliament for a longer time than he had intended (23); and that he would hear nothing againſt it, charging the Lord Chancellor to proceed accordingly. Hereupon Sir William, being left out of this ſecret, ſtood up, and told the King, that as to the reſolution he had taken, he would ſay nothing, becauſe he was reſolved to hear no reaſoning upon it; therefore he would only preſume to offer his Majeſty his humble advice, as to the courſe of his future proceedings; which was, that his Majeſty, in his affairs, would pleaſe to make uſe of ſome council or other, and allow freedom to their debates and advices, after hearing which, his Majeſty might yet reſolve as he pleaſed; that if he did not think the perſons, or number of this preſent Council ſuited with his affairs, it was in his power to diſſolve them, and conſtitute another of any number he pleaſed, and to alter them again when he would. *But to make Counſellors that ſhould not counſel, he doubted whether it was in his Majeſty's power, or not, becauſe it implied a contradiction: and, ſo far as he had obſerved, either of former ages, or the preſent; he queſtioned whether it was a thing had been practiſed in England by his Majeſty's Predeceſſors, or was ſo now by any of the Princes in Chriſtendom* (24).

(23) It was called to meet in October, 1679, but did not meet to do buſineſs till October, 1680. Gen. Hiſt. of England.

(24) Memoirs, Part III. By this ſpeech he ruined, for a while, his ſuit for his arrears on account of his Embaſſies, which had been juſt before ſettled to his ſatisfaction by Lord Sunderland, and agreed to by the King.

with

with public affairs: the King assured him that he was not at all angry (*xx*). And, indeed, the striking of his name out of the Privy-Council (*yy*), was no more than a necessary consequence of the Duke's returning, and the change of all measures. From this time Sir William lived at Sheen till the end of that reign, and for some time in the next. When having purchased a small seat, called *Moor-Park*, near Farnham in Surry, which he took a great fancy to for its solitude and retirement, and the healthy and pleasant situation; and being much afflicted with the gout, and broken with age and infirmities, he resolved to pass the remainder of his life there, and in November, 1686, in his way thither, waited on King James, then at Windsor, and begged his favour and protection to one *that would always live a good subject, but whatever happened, never enter again upon any public employment*; desiring his Majesty never to give credit to whatever he might hear to the contrary. The King, who used to say Sir William Temple's character was, *always to be believed*, promised him whatever he desired, made him some reproaches for not coming into his service, which he said was his own fault, and kept his word as faithfully to Sir William, as Sir William did to his Majesty, during the surprizing turn of affairs that soon after followed by the coming of the Prince of Orange: which, whatever people may suspect, was so great a secret to him, that there is nothing surer than that he was not only unacquainted with it, but one of the last men in England that believed it (*zz*). At the time of this happy Revolution, in 1688, Moor-Park growing unsafe by lying in the way of both armies, he went back to the house he had given up to his son at Sheen, whom he had denied leave, though importunately begged, to go and meet the Prince of Orange at his landing. But after King James's abdication, and the Prince's arrival at Windsor, Sir William went to wait upon his Highness, and carried his son. The Prince pressed him to enter into his service, and to be Secretary of State, and said it was in kindness to him that he had not been acquainted with his design (*aaa*); but his age and infirmities confirming him in the resolution not to meddle any more with public affairs, he was contented his son should enjoy his Majesty's favours. Hereupon Mr John Temple was made Secretary at War, in the room of Mr *Blathwayt*; but he had hardly been a week in his office, when he resolved to make away with himself, as he did on the 14th of April, 1689 [*O*]. Mr Temple being a very promising Gentleman, of great natural abilities, as personal accomplishments, the public were extremely concerned at this private misfortune. As for Sir William Temple, though as a father he was sensibly affected with the loss of so worthy a son, yet he bore his affliction with a Christian resignation, or rather with the firmness of a Stoic, being of the opinion of that Sect, *that a wise man may dispose of himself, and make his life as short as he pleased.* About the end of this year, he retired to Moor-Park, where he turned himself wholly to the cares and amusements of a country life, and in his study, saw little company in a place so desolate, yet he had the honour of being often consulted by King William in some of his secret and important affairs, and of a visit from him in his way from Winchester, and he used to wait upon his Majesty at Richmond and Windsor, where he was always very graciously received, with that easiness and familiarity, and particular confidence, that had begun in Holland so many years before. In 1694, he had the misfortune to lose his Lady [*P*], who was a very extraordinary woman, as well as a good wife. He was then past sixty, at which age he practised what he had so often declared to be his opinion, that an old man ought then to conclude himself no longer of use in the world, except to himself and his friends. He lived four years after, extremely afflicted with the gout, which at last wore out his life, and with the help of age, and a natural decay of strength and spirits, ended it in January, 1698, in his seventieth year. He died at Moor-Park, where his heart was buried in a silver box, under the sundial in his garden, opposite to the window whence he used to contemplate and admire the works of nature with his dearly beloved sister, the ingenious Lady Giffard. This was the tenor of his Will. In pursuance to which, his body was privately interred in Westminster-

(*xx*) Memoirs, Part IV. p. 145.

(*yy*) The first news of it was brought to him by the Countess of Northumberland, who then lived at Sion House. Essay on the Gardens of Epicurus, where he gives a detail of his reasons for this resolution, which proceeded from the prevalence of the French Counsels at our Court.

(*zz*) His Life and Character, p. xxi, xxii.

(*aaa*) The King made him several visits at Sheen, and it was during this interval, that Dr Swift came thither to offer his service to Sir William, who took him as an amanuensis. See Dean Swift's article.

(†) He threw himself out of a boat, hired for the purpose, in shooting London bridge, having put stones in his pocket to sink him.

(25) See also Lambertes Memoires de la Revolution, Vol. III. p. 290, et seq.

(26) Archbishop Sheldon made him this singular compliment, that he had the curse of the Gospel, because all men spoke well of him. Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, ubi supra.

(27) Life and Character of Sir William Temple, p. xxxii.

[*O*] *His son made away with himself.*] This remarkable catastrophe would well deserve a place in these Memoirs (†), were it not to be found in all our General Histories, to which we refer for the story (25): only observing, by way of supplement thereto, that this young Gentleman had been married about four years before, in France, to Mademoiselle Rambouillet, a rich heiress, and only daughter of Mr Du Plessis, a French Protestant of a very good family, a young Lady very eminent then, for her rare accomplishments of body and mind, and more so since, for her great Piety and Charity. She had by him two daughters, to whom their grandfather, Sir William Temple, at his death bequeathed the bulk of his estate, upon this condition, that they should not marry Frenchmen. Accordingly the eldest of them was married to Mr John Temple, youngest son to Sir John Temple, second brother to Sir William, and esteemed one of the best Lawyers in Ireland, where he was Sollicitor, and Attorney-General, many years (26). The youngest daughter became wife to Mr Nicholas Bacon of Shrubland in Suffolk. They were both living a few years ago (27).

[*P*] *His wife was an extraordinary woman.*] She was not only much esteemed by her own friends and acquaintance, some of whom were persons of the greatest figure, but valued and distinguished by King William (*), and especially Queen Mary, with whom she had the honour to keep a constant correspondence, being justly admired for her fine style and turns of wit in writing letters, and whom she out-lived about a month: the deep affliction for her Majesty's death having hastened her own. Sir William tells the following story as an instance of her courage. In 1671, as she was passing with her children to England in one of the King's yachts, they met the Dutch fleet, which refusing to strike to a yacht, the Captain, in great perplexity, thinking to get clear by her help, asked her what he should do. She told him, he knew his orders best, and what he was to do upon them, and left him to do as he thought fit, without any regard to her, or her children. He pursued his course, and landed her safe; after which she went to Court, where she was much commended for her part in what had passed. And the King extolled her behaviour as much as he blamed the Captain's, saying, she had shewed more courage than he; and then falling upon the Dutch insolence, Sir William, to whom this discourse was spoken, said, *that however matters went, it must be confessed there was some merit in his family, since* he *had made the alliances with Holland, and his* wife *was like to have the honour of making the war* (28).

(*) She carried his Proposal to make his addresses to her in two letters, one to King Charles, and the other to her Father, and was charged by the Prince to inform herself the most particularly she could of all that concerned the person, humour, and disposition of the young Princess. Idem.

(28) Memoirs, P. 304, & seq.

Abbey, and a marble monument [Q] ſet up after the Lady Giffard's death, in 1722, who reſembled him in his genius, as well as in his perſon; and left behind her the character of one of the beſt, and moſt conſtant friends in the world. His character having been miſrepreſented by Biſhop Burnet *(bbb)*, was lately retrieved by a more favourable account of it, which being ſaid to be done by a particular friend *(ccc)*, we ſhall inſert below [R], for the ſatisfaction of ſuch as are curious in theſe matters. For the reſt, the ſhort, but comprehenſive and impartial, though candid ſketch, may be thought ſufficient, which we have of him by Mr Boyer, who gives him for 'an accompliſhed Gentleman, a ſound Politician, a Patriot, and a great Scholar; and, continues he, if this great Idea ſhould perchance be 'ſhaded by ſome touches of vanity and ſpleen, it muſt be conſidered, that the greateſt, 'wiſeſt, and beſt of men, have ſtill ſome failings and imperfections, which are inſeparable 'from human nature *(ddd)*. His works have been ſo often publiſhed, both ſeparate and

(bbb) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 378. where the Biſhop ſets him off as vain and conceited, and though of good judgment and principles in politics, yet in point of religion an Atheiſt, who left religion to the rabble, as fit only for them. That he corrupted all that came near him; delivering himſelf wholly to body, eaſe and pleaſure.

(ccc) The Biſhop was alſo cenſured in the Republic of Letters for January, Art. II. p. 26, 27.

(ddd) Memoirs of the Life and Negotiations of Sir William Temple, Bart. p. 418. 2d Edit. 1715. 8vo.

[Q] *A monument according to his Will.*] The words of the Will are, 'I do order my body to be interred in the weſt iſle of Weſtminſter-Abbey, near thoſe two dear pledges, my wife and my daughter, that lie there already; and that after mine, and my ſiſter Giffard's deceaſe, a large ſtone of black marble may be ſet up againſt the wall, with this inſcription:

Sibi ſuiſque chariſſimis
DIANÆ TEMPLE dilectiſſimæ filiæ,
DOROTHEÆ OSBORN conjunctiſſimæ conjugi,
Et MARTHÆ GIFFARD optimæ ſorori,
Hoc qualecunque Monumentum
Poni curavit.
GULIELMUS TEMPLE, Baronettus.

Accordingly the monument, which was ſet up, and ſtands there, with this addition to the epitaph, after GULIELMUS TEMPLE, is inſerted

De Moor-Park in agro Surrienſi.

And underneath is inſcribed as follows:

Di. T.	Obiit	1679	Ætat	14
Do. T.		1694		66
Gul. T.		1698		70
Mar. G.		1722		80

[R] *His character.*] It is drawn in very advantageous terms, and begins in the true panegyrical ſtile, as follows: I think nothing harder than to write any body's character; and that of a friend is ſtill more difficult: if one tells truth, it is thought partiality; and if one does not, it is a real piece of injuſtice. I will try, by ſaying little, to avoid both imputations. Sir William Temple's perſon is beſt known by his pictures and prints; he was rather tall than low; his ſhape; when young, very exact; his hair a dark brown, and curled naturally, and, whilſt that was eſteemed a beauty, no body had it in greater perfection; his eyes grey, but lively; and his body lean, but extreme active, ſo that none acquitted himſelf better at all ſorts of exerciſe. He had an extraordinary ſpirit and life in his humour, with ſo agreeable turns of wit and fancy in his converſation, that no body was welcomer in all ſorts of company: and ſome have obſerved, that he never had a mind to make any body kind to him, without compaſſing his deſign. He was an exact obſerver of truth, thinking none that had failed once, ought ever to be truſted again; of nice points of honour; of great humanity and good-nature, taking pleaſure in making others eaſy and happy; his paſſions naturally warm and quick, but tempered by reaſon and thought; his humour gay, but very unequal from cruel fits of ſpleen and melancholy, being ſubject to great damps from ſudden changes of weather, but chiefly from croſſes, and ſurprizing turns in his buſineſs, and diſappointments he met with ſo often in his endeavours to contribute to the honour and ſervice of his country, which he thought himſelf two or three times ſo near compaſſing, that he could not think with patience of what had hindered it, or of thoſe that he thought had been the occaſion of his diſappointments. He never ſeemed buſy in his greateſt employments, was a great lover of liberty, and therefore hated the ſervitude of courts; ſaid he could never ſerve for wages, nor be buſy (as one is ſo often there) to no purpoſe; and never was willing to enter upon any employment, but that of a public miniſter. He had been a paſſionate lover, was a kind huſband, a fond and indulgent father, a good maſter, and the beſt friend in the world, and, knowing himſelf to be ſo, was impatient of the leaſt ſuſpicion or jealouſy from thoſe he loved. He was ever kind to the memory of thoſe he had once liked and eſteemed; wounded to the heart by grief, upon the many loſſes of his children and friends, till recovered by reaſon and philoſophy, and that perfect reſignation to Almighty God, which he thought ſo abſolute a part of our duty; upon thoſe ſad occaſions often ſaying, *His holy name be praiſed, His will be done.* He was not without ſtrong averſions, ſo as to be uneaſy at the firſt ſight of ſome he diſliked, and impatient of their converſation; apt to be warm in diſputes and expoſtulations, which made him hate the one and avoid the other, which he uſed to ſay might ſometimes do well between lovers, but never between friends; he turned his converſation to what is more eaſy and pleaſant, eſpecially at table, where he ſaid ill-humour ought never to come; and his agreeable talk at it, if it had been ſet down, would have been very entertaining to the Reader, as well as it was to ſo many that heard it. He had a very familiar way of converſing with all ſorts of people, from the greateſt princes to the meaneſt ſervants, and even children, whoſe imperfect language and natural and innocent talk he was fond of, and made entertainment out of every thing that could afford it; when that he liked beſt failed, the next ſerved his turn. He lived healthful till forty-two, then began to be troubled with rheums upon his teeth and eyes, which he attributed to the air of Holland, and which ended, when he was forty-ſeven, in the gout, upon which he grew very melancholy, being then Ambaſſador at the Hague; he ſaid a man was never good for any thing after it: and though he continued in buſineſs near three years longer, yet it was always with a deſign of winding himſelf out as faſt as he could; and making good his own rules, that no body ſhould make love after forty, nor be in buſineſs after fifty: and though from this time he had frequent returns of ill health, he never cared to conſult phyſicians; ſaying, he hoped to die without them; and truſted wholly to the care and advice of his friends, which he often expreſſed himſelf ſo happy in, as to want nothing but health, which ſince riches could not help him to, he deſpiſed them. He was born to a moderate eſtate, and did not much increaſe it during his employments, which he tells his ſon, in his letter to him before the ſecond part of his *Memoirs*, it is fit ſhould contribute ſomething to his entertainment, ſince they had done ſo little to his fortunes; upon which he could make him no excuſe, ſince it was ſo often in his power, that it was never in his thoughts, which were ever turned upon how much leſs he wanted, rather than how much more: and in a fine ſtrain of philoſophy he concludes; If yours have the ſame turn, you will be but too rich; if the contrary, you will be ever poor. King Charles II. gave him the reverſion of the Maſter of the Rolls place after his father, who kept it during his life; and the preſents made him in his ſeveral embaſſies, were chiefly laid out in building and planting, and in purchaſing old ſtatues and pictures, that ſtill remain in his family, which were his only expence or extravagance, but not too great for his income. Thoſe that knew him little, thought him rich; to whom he uſed to anſwer pleaſantly, that he wanted nothing to be rich, but an eſtate; and yet no body was more generous to his friends, or more charitable to the poor, in giving often, to true objects of charity, an hundred pounds at a time, and ſometimes three hundred. His religion was that of the church of England, in which he was born and bred: and how looſe ſoever Biſhop Burnet repreſents his principles, (from that common-place of hearſay that runs through the whole, for he was not acquainted with Sir William) yet there is no ground for ſuch uncharitable reflections given in his writings, in which his excellent letter to the counteſs of Eſſex is a convincing proof both of his piety and eloquence; and to that picture, drawn by himſelf in his works, I refer thoſe that care either to know or imitate him (29).

(29) His Life, p. xxx. to xxxv.

collected

'collected together, and by that means are so well known, that to give a particular detail of 'them, would be pains misspent to the abuse of the Reader's patience.'

TENISON [THOMAS], Archbishop of Canterbury, was son of the Reverend Mr John Tenison, B. D. by Mary, the daughter of Thomas Dowson of Cottenham in Cambridgeshire, where she brought her husband this son, September 29 *(a)*, 1630 *(b)*. But his Father, being Rector of Mundesley in Norfolk [*A*], sent him, at a proper age, to the Free-school at Norwich, which was then in great repute, under the conduct of Mr Lovering, the Master. Thence he was removed to Cambridge, at seventeen years of age, and admitted a scholar upon Archbishop Parker's foundation, in Corpus-Christi, or Bennet-College, April 22, 1653. He took the degree of A. B. in Lent Term, 1656-7, and from the discouragement of the times to profess the study of Divinity, he applied himself to Physic. However, his thoughts continuing fixed upon the Priesthood, he procured a private ordination at Richmond in Surry, by Dr Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, on the first dawning of the Restoration, in 1659 *(c)*. He proceeded A. M. the following year *(d)*, and being, by virtue of a pre-election, admitted Fellow of his College *(e)*, March 24, 1661-2, he entered immediately into the province of Tutor, and was chosen one of the University-Preachers, in 1665. Some time before the breaking out of the plague that year, the Dean and Chapter of Ely presented him to the cure of St Andrew the Great in Cambridge, where he conscientiously attended his duty during the whole continuance of that calamity [*B*], out of gratitude for which, the Parishioners presented him with a handsome piece of plate at his leaving them, in 1667, for the Rectory of Holywell and Nedingworth, in Huntingtonshire *(f)*, given him by Edward Earl of Manchester, who had at that time placed his son Thomas under his tuition, in the College *(g)*, and afterwards appointed him his Chaplain, in which relation he was likewise continued by his successor, Earl Robert. The same year, 1667, he proceeded B. D. and about this time he entered into the conjugal state with Ann, daughter of Dr *Richard Love*, sometime Master of his College [*C*]. In 1670, he commenced Author, by

(*a*) Le Neve's Fasti, Vol. II. p. 256. from MS. notes of Dr White Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough, taken from the Archbishop's own mouth, or his papers, which therefore we have followed, rather than Browne Willis, who places it on the 20th of Sept. Survey of Cath. Vol. II. p 542.

(*b*) The Writer of his Memoirs says 1634 by mistake, as is evident from his sending him to Cambridge in 1653 at the age of seventeen.

(*c*) MS. notes of Dr Kennet, which take notice that his orders were then entered into a private book of the Bishop's, and not given out till after the Restoration.

(*d*) Masters's Hist. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, p. 392. He was incoporated at Oxford in this degree, June 28, 1664. Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 159.

(*e*) The pre-election was made Feb. 29, 1659, and he was admitted now into a Norwich Fellowship, upon the decease of one William Smith. Masters, as before; who observes, that these pre-elections were first begun, in order to prevent mandates, p. 137; but were abused afterwards.

(*f*) He gave coals every year to the poor of this parish, as long as he held the living. Le Neve, p. 237.

(*g*) Masters, p. 392. Le Neve says, he served his father's cure at Bracon-Ash in Norfolk some time. Fasti, as before.

(1) In his Dedication to the True Account of his conference with Pulton.

(2) Regist. p. 231.

(3) Hist. of CCCC. p. 391. note *(d)*.

(4) Le Neve's Fasti, Vol. II. p. 260, from MS. notes of Dr. Kennet, as above.

(5) Masters, p. 161.

(6) Essay on Man, Ep. IV. Line 127, 128.

(7) Le Neve, p. 237.

(8) In the King's mandate for his degree of D. D. dated 1630, he is recommended as being known by the experience of near twenty years in the University.

(9) He kept a philosophical act for the entertainment of the Spanish and Austrian Ambassadors, who were created A. M. in 1622. Mr. Sterne (afterwards Archbishop of York) was one of his opponents, and the dispute was thought to be learnedly handled.

(10) All written by his own hand.

(11) Whose true name was Davenport.

(12) In the room of Dr. Holdsworth, who had been elected about six years before, but never admitted, by reason of his loyalty.

(13) In a letter, dated Nov. 20, 1660, is this paragraph: Dr. Love still holds his place, and hath respite for one week, when it is thought he will be voted out.

(14) Entitled, Oratio habita in Acad. Cantab. in solemni Mag. Com. die an 1660, paulo post Carolum II. felicissime reducem, præfatoria ad disputationem Theologicam — cui adjungitur Oratiuncula, qua Aug. Regem allocutus est, cum Legati Acad. Cant. aulam Regiam primum gratulatum accederent. Pro cancellario de subito ægrotante unde Dr Love ejus vices subivit June 5, 1660.

(15) Of the Divinity-school, where this oration was spoken.

(†) His tenant at Ickleton assisted Dowsing in levelling the Chancel there. Masters, p. 150, note (*t*).

[*A*] *Rector of Mundesley in Norfolk.*] He was ejected from this living, as his son informs us (1), for his adherence to King Charles I, and a disguised Papist put into his room. Dr. Kennet tells us (2), he became Rector of Bracon-Ash, March 9, 1662, and died there in 1671. Mr. Masters apprehends, that he was Rector of Topcroft in Norfolk in 1646 (3). And we are assured by another hand, that, in 1712, his son, our Archbishop, at the expence of 340l. rebuilt the chancel of Topcroft church, where his father and mother are buried (4).

[*B*] *He discharged his duty during the plague.*] It broke out with such violence, that no body ventured to continue in the college but our Author, two scholars, and a few servants; for whom a preservative powder was bought, and administered in wine, whilst charcoal, pitch, and brimstone, were kept constantly burning in the Gate-house. Mr. Tenison continued in the college, and attended his cure with perfect safety to himself during the whole time (5). Here then we have an example set to the Bishop of Marseilles in France, so worthily celebrated by Mr. Pope (6), who might, it seems, have found a subject no less worthy of his muse among his own countrymen, though a Protestant. The piece of plate presented him, was a large silver tankard, and upon it St Andrew's cross, with this inscription; *Gift of St Andrew's parishioners in Cambridge, Thomas Wiseman, Nicholas Settle, Churchwardens*, 1667. In remembrance of his former relation to this parish, a little before his death, in the same year, our minister on the other hand gave the parishioners fifty pounds towards repairing their church and steeple (7).

[*C*] *He married a daughter of Dr Love, &c.*] The relation which this Divine bore to our Archbishop, entitles him to some further notice in these memoirs, especially as his story is of itself not unentertaining. He was the son of Richard Love, Apothecary in Cambridge, where he was born in 1596; after his education, probably at the Free-school there, he was admitted, about the year 1612 (8), of Clare-Hall, where he became Fellow in 1618, being then A. B. after which he proceeded to that of A. M. (9), and in 1628 was Proctor of the University. In 1631, he was collated to the Prebend of Tachbrock, in the church of Litchfield; and about the same time, became Rector of Ekyngton in Derbyshire. In 1632, he was created D. D. by virtue of a mandate from the King (10), to whom he was then Chaplain; and, by another royal mandate the same year, he was made Master of Bennet-College. In 1633, he was chosen Vicechancellor of the University, to which he greatly endeared himself by a successful encounter at the commencement with *Franciscus de Sancta Clara* (11), who had lately published a book at Doway, wherein he had endeavoured to reconcile our articles of religion with the decrees of the council of Trent. At the breaking out of the civil wars the Doctor sided with the Parliament (*a*), and was so well esteemed by his party, that, in 1649, he was chosen by the University, Margaret-Professor of Divinity (12), and soon after presented to the Rectory of Terington in Norfolk, which had been given by King James for the augmentation thereof. It was not long however before he was in danger of losing both this and all his other preferments, by refusing to subscribe the *Engagement*, when the Independents were uppermost (13), although he had subscribed *to live peaceably and quietly, and give no disturbance to the public*. He found means to extricate himself from these difficulties, (but whether by submitting to the subscription or not is uncertain) and so continued in his Mastership, and, after the Restoration, obtained the Deanery of Ely, into which he was installed in September, 1660; whence it is probable, that though he had been a member of the Assembly of Divines, had taken the protestation, and complied with the changes of the times, yet, as he either withdrew, or seldom appeared there, so he was not over zealous in promoting the measures pursued by the Puritans in opposition to the King and Royal Family. It is certain that, upon the King's return, he published two orations (14); in one of which he compliments his Majesty in a high strain, expatiates upon the calamities of the late times, and appeals to his brethren, who had often heard him, to bear testimony that he had frequently complained of them within those walls (15); although he thought it not prudent to provoke a tyrant's rage to his own undoing, when it could be of no service to the public; for which he would at any time have offered his life a sacrifice. — He adds moreover, that so far was he from approving the measures of the Regicides, that he laboured all he could to persuade the University to protest against taking away the King's life for their own justification, and offered to be the bearer of it himself to the military council, who then governed. And what opinion the University had of him may be collected from the Grace, whereby having agreed to restore to his Majesty the fee-farm rents they had been obliged to purchase, in order to secure their yearly

(*a*) In this disposition it is intimated, that he forbore to use his interest for the saving of the monuments in St Benedict's church, where many of his predecessors, masters of the college, were interred, from being demolished by one William Dowsing, who, in 1643, was authorized by the then prevailing powers to go through Cambridgeshire, and eradicate all the relicts of superstition in the parish-churches (†); in which progress he not only defaced all the painted glass he met with in the windows, but destroyed all those inscriptions in brass or stone which had the precatory form [in use till the reformation] before them. He kept a journal of the reformation he made in each church, which was published from the original manuscript by Zachary Grey, LL. D. in 1739. See an account of Dowsing in p. 17, 18, of Querela Cantab. by Dean Berwick.

by publiſhing a piece, in 8vo, intituled, *The Creed of Mr Hobbes examined, in a feigned Conference between him and a Student in Divinity*; apparently written to obviate a calumny that had been caſt upon him of being a favourer of Mr Hobbes's opinion *(h)*. In 1674, the Pariſhioners of St Peter's Manſcroft, in Norwich, choſe him their upper Miniſter, and gave him a ſalary of 100 l. per ann. *(i)*. In 1678 came out his *Diſcourſe of Idolatry*, and his *Baconiana (k)* the year following. He took his degree of D. D. in 1680, and on the 8th of October, the ſame year, was preſented by King Charles II, being then one of his Majeſty's Chaplains, to the Vicarage of St Martin's in the Fields, upon the promotion of Dr William Lloyd to the See of St Aſaph [*D*]. This large and important cure extending to Whitehall, and the whole Court, ſet him in the front of the battle againſt the Papiſts, both in the latter end of this, and the whole ſubſequent reign; and he maintained the dangerous poſt with undaunted, and exemplary courage. In that ſpirit, he preached and publiſhed, in 1681, *A Sermon of Diſcretion in giving Alms*, which being attacked by *Andrew Pulton*, who was at the head of the Jeſuits in the Savoy, the Doctor wrote a defence of it [*E*]. Upon the 10th of June, 1684, he was abuſed from the ſame quarter with a pretended information concerning the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey [*F*]. This year he alſo publiſhed, *The Difference between the Proteſtant and Socinian Methods:* in anſwer to a book written by a Romaniſt, entitled, *The Proteſtants Plea for a Socinian.* In the mean time he had rivalled the beſt diſpoſed zealots of the Romiſh Church in their much boaſted grace of Charity; having diſburſed upwards of 300 l. in alms for the relief of the poor of his pariſh, during the ſeverity of the hard froſt in 1683; he alſo laid the plan for endowing a Charity-ſchool, and ſetting up a public library, both which he afterwards completed [*G*]. Theſe amiable qualities

(h) Dedication of this piece to his Patron, the Earl of Manchester. The calumny, was raiſed upon his having been Tutor to Dan. Scargill, of whom ſee an account in remark [*N*], under Dr Spencer's article.

(i) Maſters, as before.

(k) See an account of this piece in Lord Bacon's article.

yearly penſions from the Crown in the late unhappy times, they commiſſioned the Doctor, who had been inſtrumental in buying them, to wait upon the King at the public expence, and make a tender of them. Lloyd calls him (16) *The natural wit and orator*; and adds, that, when Margaret-Profeſſor of Divinity, he *was ſure to affront any man, that put up queſtions againſt the doctrine or diſcipline of the church of England in the worſt of times*, which may ſerve to ſupport the following character of him. That he preſerved the ſame good conſcience, which a prudent and honeſt man, without party zeal and attachments, might do in thoſe times of civil and eccleſiaſtical confuſion; and that he ſteered as well and wiſely through thoſe ſtorms as any pilot could to ſave his ſhip (his college and univerſity) from an abſolute wreck, till Providence ſhould ſee good to calm them, and open that ſafe and happy paſſage into the harbour it found in the Reſtoration, to which he contributed all that was in his power, and may be ranked among thoſe moderate Divines, who, for their tenderneſs towards Diſſenters, came under the denomination of Latitudinarians. In which reſpect we ſhall ſee he was copied by his ſon-in-law, our Archbiſhop, who bequeathed to the college an excellent picture of him, which is ſtill remaining in the Maſter's lodge. He lived not long to enjoy his new preferment, departing this life in January, 1660 (17). His remains were depoſited in his own chapel. Beſides the orations already mentioned, he publiſhed a ſermon, preached at Whitehall on the monthly faſt, March 30, intitled, The Watchman's watchword, which was printed at Cambridge, 1642, 4to: there is alſo a long copy of Latin verſes by the Doctor, printed in the congratulations of the Univerſity upon the King's return, called ΣΩΣΤΡΑ. He gave fifty pounds in his life-time towards rebuilding Clare-Hall, and left a legacy of ten pounds, with the polyglot Bible, to Bennet-College. The Doctor, as is implied above, was a married man: but all that we know of his wife is, that her Chriſtian name *was Grace*, which gave birth to the following copy of verſes upon their marriage, which may ſerve for a ſpecimen of the humour of thoſe times.

(16) In his Memoirs, &c. p. 483.

(17) Dr. Kennet is miſtaken in putting it in 1662. Chron. Reg. p. 393.

Upon Dr Love and Grace, Mr and Mrs of CCCC.

Is Love, that conquers all, o'ercome? muſt He,
That all doth tye, now himſelf tyed be?
Who is't that hath this Pow'r? this Art? let's know,
That we to him a Sovereignty may owe?
Who is't that conquers Love, doſt aſk? 'Tis Grace;
For to none elſe did Love e'er yet give place.
Let Love then be the Knot, and Grace the Tye;
Give Love the Onſet, Grace the Victory.
Go, happy Pair, each other's arms embrace,
Live always, like yourſelves, in Love and Grace (18).

(18) Maſters, from p. 143. to p. 154.

[*D*] *He ſucceeded Dr Lloyd in the vicarage of St Martin's.*] Biſhop Burnet declares (19), that Biſhop Lloyd did, upon his promotion, find a very worthy ſucceſſor in his cure, Dr Teniſon, who carried on and advanced all thoſe good methods that he had begun in the management of that cure, that he endowed ſuch ſchools, ſet up a public library, and kept many curates to aſſiſt him in his indefatigable labours among them. Dr Kennet tells us (20), that in this office he had done as much good as perhaps it was poſſible for one man to do. And the writer of his life aſſures us (21), there was not above two perſons in the pariſh who turned Roman catholics while he was Vicar.

(19) Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 190. folio Edition.

(20) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 676.

(21) In p. 10.

[*E*] *He wrote a defence of it.*] The Doctor's ſermon being alſo attacked by the Author of *Good Advice to the Pulpits*, he annexed it to a piece, intitled, *An Apology for the Pulpits*, publiſhed in 1688, 4to, by Dr. *John Williams*, Rector of St Mildred's in the Poultry, who was afterwards, by Dr Teniſon's intereſt, raiſed to the See of Chicheſter, during the time that the bill of attainder againſt Sir John Fenwick was depending in the Houſe of Lords, and, being completed Biſhop juſt before the third reading of that bill there, he haſtened, on the day appointed for it, to the Houſe, and being in an extraordinary hurry to get himſelf robed, his patron, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was putting on his robes at the ſame time, obſerved it, and ſaid to him, *Brother, brother, you'll overheat yourſelf; what's the reaſon of all this pother? Nothing, may it pleaſe your Grace*, replied the Suffragan, *but I was fearful leſt the bill againſt Sir John Fenwick ſhould be read before I could take my place in the houſe. Fye, my Lord*, ſays the honeſt Metropolitan, *you might have ſpared yourſelf that labour, ſince you had no opportunity of hearing the merits of the caſe at the firſt and ſecond reading; but ſince, as I perceive, you are come to give your vote, pray, Brother, come in with me, that you may hear it once read before you do it* (22).

(22) Life of Dr. Teniſon, p. 63.

[*F*] *He was abuſed by a pretended information*, &c.] There was brought to him, directed in a counterfeit hand, an anonymous letter in the following terms: 'This is from an unknown hand, but it is to let you 'underſtand that one ſerjeant Ramſay lies a dying, de- 'ſires ſome Divine to come to him, to unburden his 'conſcience about the murder of Sir Edmond Godfrey. 'He lives in your pariſh, in Yorke-buildings: Juſtice 'Dew can tell you more; he lives in Suffolk-ſtreet. 'If you have courage to own the Proteſtant cauſe, 'ſhew it; do your duty; viſit him.' On the backſide of the letter Dr Teniſon wrote thus with his own hand: 'I received this letter June 10, 84, by the penny-poſt 'in the evening. This morning I ſent Thomas Wickens, 'my chancel-keeper, to Yorke-buildings, that I might 'be informed whether Mr Serjeant Ramſay was in the 'houſe he had uſually lived in there. He brought me 'word, that the people of the houſe told him, that he 'had long left that houſe, and was gone into the coun- 'try; and that, if at any time he came to town, he came 'not thither (23).'

(23) Ibem.

[*G*] *Both which he afterwards completed.*] The buildings are under the ſame roof, and are ſituated oppoſite the Upper Mews, at the lower end of Caſtle-ſtreet. Having endowed the free-ſchool, and ſettled a ſalary for the

qualities being accompanied with a grave and moderate deportment, brought him into general eſteem, ſo much, that, in 1685, the Duke of Monmouth choſe particularly to be attended by him, both before, and at the time of his execution; and we are told (*l*), that he ſpoke to his Grace very plainly, and with a freedom becoming a Miniſter of the Goſpel, in relation both to his public actings, and the courſe of his private life, yet in ſo prudent and ſoft a manner, as not to diſpleaſe him [*H*]. In 1687, our Vicar held a conference with Doctor (as he was generally called) *Andrew Pulton*, above mentioned, in defence of the Proteſtant Religion [*I*]; ſoon after which, he publiſhed *A Guide in Matters of Faith, with reſpect eſpecially to the Romiſh Practice of ſuch a one as is infallible*; and another piece the ſame year, intitled, *Mr Pulton conſidered in his Sincerity, Reaſonings, and Authorities: or, A juſt Anſwer to what he has hitherto publiſhed in his true and full Account of a Conference, &c. his Remarks, and in them his pretended Confutation of what he calls Dr T's* [*Dr Tillotſon's*] *Rule of Faith.* Not long before this, our Vicar had preached a ſermon at the funeral of the famous Mrs *Eleanor Gwynn*, one of King Charles II's Miſtreſſes, whoſe Character, according to the great moderation and charity of his temper, he had repreſented (as that of a dying Penitent) in no unfavourable light: this drew upon him the cenſure of ſeveral of his enemies, eſpecially thoſe of the Romiſh Church; and an abuſive counterfeit piece being actually cried about the ſtreets, under the title of his Sermon; in anſwer to it, he put the following advertiſement, at the end of this treatiſe, againſt *Pulton*: '*Whereas, there has* 'been a Paper cried by ſome Hawkers, as a Sermon preached by Dr T. at the funeral of Mrs E. 'Gwynn; this may certifie, that that *Paper is the forgery of ſome mercenary people.*' In 1680 he had, jointly with Dr Simon Patrick, a conſiderable ſum of money depoſited in his hands, to be laid out in works of Charity, according to their diſcretion [*K*]. He continued this year to publiſh other tracts againſt the Popiſh Religion [*L*]; yet, at the ſame time, was ſo much reſpected at Court, that we are aſſured King James II. was induced, chiefly (*m*) in regard to him, to take off the ſuſpenſion which two years before had been laid on Dr John Sharp, then Rector of St Giles in the Fields. This conceſſion, however, was undoubtedly more extorted by the exigence of the juncture, than obtained by any perſonal intereſt of Dr Teniſon (*n*). But, in the ſucceeding reign, his moderation to the Diſſenters brought him into higher favour with the Crown. He had been employed, with other eminent Divines, by Archbiſhop Sancroft, to review the Liturgy, upon the long projected ſcheme of a comprehenſion with the Diſſenters, before the Revolution; and preſently after it, being promoted to the Archdeaconry of London, and appointed one of the twenty Commiſſioners to prepare matters for the Convocation in the ſame view, he was very active in this Commiſſion [*M*] while

(*l*) In Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 190. fol. Edit.

(*m*) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 488.

(*n*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 677. See alſo Archbiſhop Sharp's article.

(*) He is to teach thirty boys of the pariſh, and has a houſe adjoining to the ſchool.

(‡) The Truſtees were eight. The Vicar of St Martin's to be one.

(§) Dr Patrick. See Vol. V. p. 3306.

(‖) Who has an apartment at the end of the Library, which is for the uſe of the Weſtminſter Clergy.

(24) In Biſhop Ken's article.

(25) Gen. Dict. Vol. VI. p. 231. from Memoirs communicated by Mrs Prowſe, daughter of Dr Hooper.

the Schoolmaſter (*), by a deed of truſt made about 1695 (‡). He therein gave 1000l. to be added to 500l. given by the then Biſhop of Ely (§), and alſo the leaſes of two houſes ſtanding on the glebe of the Vicarage, for the maintenance of a Librarian, Uſher, and Schoolmaſter, who was alſo to take care of the Library. But there is now a diſtinct Librarian (‖), and no Uſher.

[*H*] *He ſpoke to the Duke ſo as not to diſpleaſe him.*] Having referred the Reader to the preſent article (24), for a further account of Biſhop Hooper's behaviour on this occaſion, we ſhall perform that promiſe here, as follows: In the evening before the Duke's execution, Dr Hooper received, by the Earl of Rocheſter, a meſſage from the King, immediately to attend the Duke. When he came to the Tower, and acquainted the Duke with his Majeſty's order, his Grace received it with ſome confuſion and ſurprize; but the Doctor aſſuring him that he was charged with no particular commiſſion, the Duke told him he was very welcome and acceptable to him, and, after much free converſation with him, told him, he would ſee him in the morning as ſoon as he was up. The Doctor ſat up all night, and in the morning the Duke told him, that he was ſure he had made his peace with God. Much time was ſpent to deſire his Grace to conſider the nature and foundation of ſuch a full perſuaſion, which the Doctor very faithfully laid before him with as great plainneſs and decency, as the Duke's firm adherence to this belief would admit of, in which he perſiſted to his laſt moment. The Doctor afterwards attended him to the ſcaffold, with Dr Teniſon, and the Biſhops of Bath and Wells, and Ely, where this laſt Prelate chiefly diſcourſed him, preſſing him to own the truth of the doctrine of non-reſiſtance, and confeſs himſelf guilty of rebellion (25).

[*I*] *He held a conference with Andrew Pulton, &c.*] He afterwards publiſhed an account of it under the following title, *A true account of a conference held about religion at London the 29th of September, 1687, between* Andrew Pulton, Jeſuit, and Thomas Teniſon, D. D. *as alſo that which led to it, and followed after it.* Lond. 1687. The ſame year came out *ſix conferences concerning the Euchariſt, wherein is ſhewed, that the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation overthrows the proofs of the Chriſtian religion.* Tranſlated from the French of Mr de la Placette by Dr Teniſon, and printed at London, 1687, 4to. Our Author publiſhed likewiſe this year the two following pieces in 4to: 1. *The difference between the church of England and the church of Rome; in anſwer to a book written by a Romaniſt,* intitled, *The agreement between them,* Oxon. 2. *An examination of Bellarmine's tenth note of Holineſs of life.*

[*K*] *According to their diſcretion.*] After a proper diſpoſition of ſome part of it to ſeveral charitable uſes, (as urgent occaſions then required) they determined at laſt to ſettle the remainder in augmenting the inſufficient maintenance of poor Vicars. And accordingly, for ſeveral years, they diſtributed the ſum of 100l. among twenty ſuch Vicars; one half of the dioceſe of Canterbury, the other of Ely, in equal portions of 5l. to each Vicar. And to provide for the ſecurity and continual fund of the ſaid Charity, they did, in 1697, aſſign over the principal ſtock in mortgages and money, amounting in the whole to 2400l. to Sir Nathan Wright, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and other Truſtees, to diſpoſe the mean profits yearly to the ſaid relief, and better (26) ſupport of poor Vicars.

(26) Kennet of Impropr. p. 310.

[*L*] *He publiſhed other tracts againſt Popery.*] Theſe are as follow: *The Introduction to Popery not founded on Scripture.* 2. *An Anſwer to a Letter of the Roman Catholic Soldier.* 3. *Speculum Eccleſiaſticum: or, an Eccleſiaſtical Proſpective Glaſs conſidered in its falſe Reaſonings and Quotations.* 4. *The incurable Scepticiſm of the Church of Rome*; tranſlated from Placette. To which may be added, as publiſhed probably the ſame year, though according to the Bookſellers account not till the following, *The Proteſtant and Popiſh way of interpreting Scripture, impartially compared*; in anſwer to *Pax vobis*, &c. ann. 1689. All in 4to.

[*M*] *He was active in this Commiſſion.*] His province was to collect the words and expreſſions excepted againſt throughout the Liturgy, and to propoſe others more clear and plain in their room, and leſs liable to objections. The original Papers of all the alterations propoſed by the Commiſſioners, reſted in his hands; and he was always cautious in truſting them out of his own keeping, alledging, that if they came to be public, they would give no ſatisfaction on either ſide, but be rather a handle for mutual reproaches, as one ſide would upbraid their brethren for having given up ſo much, while the other would juſtify their nonconformity, becauſe thoſe conceſſions were too little, or, however, not yet paſſed into a law (27). The original book came afterwards

(27) Kennet's Complete Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 591. note [*D*].

while it continued, and wrote a defence of it (o); and his diſtinguiſhed zeal in this cauſe, is ſaid to have merited a particular ſollicitation from Queen Mary for the Biſhopric of Lincoln [N] (p), to which he was nominated on the 25th of November, 1691, and conſecrated at Lambeth on the 10th of January following (q). He had not been ſeated in this See above two years, when, upon the death of Dr Francis Marſh, he was offered the Archbiſhopric of Dublin; but requeſted this favour as a motive to his acceptance of it, that the impropriations belonging to the eſtates then forfeited to the Crown, might be all reſtored to the reſpective Pariſh Churches. The motion was approved reaſonable by the King, but the difficulties were found ſo great, that it never could be carried into execution (r); and inſtead of being tranſlated into Ireland, the Biſhop of Lincoln was raiſed the following year to the Primacy of England, in the See of Canterbury [O]. Soon after this advancement, Queen Mary being ſeized with the ſmall-pox, the new Archbiſhop was choſen by her Majeſty to attend her, which he did to the moment of her death, and afterwards preached her Funeral Sermon, which, being printed, gave offence to ſeveral, and was ſeverely cenſured in a Letter to his Grace by Dr Ken, the deprived Biſhop of Bath and Wells [P]. Upon the the

(o) The piece is intitled, A Diſcourſe on the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, proving it agreeable to the Word of God, uſeful to the Convocation, &c. 1689. 4to.

(p) Archbiſhop Tillotſon is ſaid to have been his friend on this occaſion. Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 254. Edit. 1753.

(r) Kennet's Improp. p. 317, 318.

(q) Le Neve, p. 241. He held the months the Vicarage of St Martin's in commendam, as alſo the Rectory of St James, which being taken out of it in 1685, a chapel of eaſe, in King's-Street, New Golden-Square, and a free-ſchool for thirty-ſix boys of that pariſh to be qualified for apprentices, were by a deed of Sept. 10, 1700, endowed chiefly at his expence.

afterwards into the hands of Dr Gibſon, late Biſhop of London (28).

(28) Waterland's Hiſt. of the Ath. Creed. In the Poſtſcript to the Preface, Edit. 1728.

[N] *He was made Biſhop of Lincoln at the ſollicitation of Queen Mary.*] The Writer of his Life tells us (29), that this Biſhopric was deſigned for Dr John Scott, Rector of St Giles's in the Fields, by the Earl of Jerſey, then Maſter of the Horſe to his Majeſty, who therefore, in oppoſition to Dr Teniſon, endeavoured to prejudice him in her opinion. In which view, he repreſented to her, as ſhe was ſpeaking in reſpectful terms of the Doctor, that he had preached a funeral ſermon, wherein he had ſpoken favourably of Mrs Eleanor Gwynn, one of King Charles the Second's Miſtreſſes. *What then?* ſaid the Queen, *I have heard as much. This is a ſign* that *that poor unfortunate woman died penitent: for, if I can read a man's heart through his looks, had not ſhe made a truly pious Chriſtian end, the Doctor could never have been induced to ſpeak well of her.*

(29) In p. 20.

[O] *He was raiſed to the See of Canterbury.*] Biſhop Burnet inſinuates (30), that in his opinion, our Prelate was hardly equal in all reſpects to this Poſt. Many, ſays he, wiſhed Stillingfleet might have ſucceeded, he being not only ſo eminently learned, but judged a man in all reſpects fit for the Poſt. The Queen was inclined to him; ſhe ſpoke with ſome earneſtneſs oftener than once to the Duke of Shrewſbury on that ſubject; ſhe thought he would fill that Poſt with great dignity. She alſo preſſed the King earneſtly for him. But as his health made him not capable of the fatigue that belonged to that province, ſo the Whigs did generally apprehend, that both his notions, and his temper, were too high, and all concurred to deſire Teniſon, who had a firmer health, with a more active temper; and was univerſally well liked, for having ſerved the cure of St Martin's, in the worſt times, with ſo much courage and reſolution. So that at this time, he had many friends, and no enemies.

(30) In his Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 136. fol. Edit.

[P] *Was animadverted on by Dr Ken, the deprived Biſhop of Bath and Wells.*] This he publiſhed by way of a Letter, dated March 29, 1695, to the Archbiſhop. The whole is too long to be inſerted here: we ſhall content ourſelves with ſome paſſages, that more directly ſtrike at our Author's character. Dr Ken's cenſure turns wholly upon a ſuppoſed want of Duty, in not having repreſented to her Majeſty at this time, the great guilt ſhe lay under by her conduct at the Revolution. To aggravate the Archbiſhop's offence, he takes notice, that he had not only frequent opportunities, but ſingular encouragements to have done it. As to the firſt, he obſerves, from the Archbiſhop's own account, her Majeſty preſerved her ſenſes intire for the greateſt part of her illneſs. As to the ſecond, he addreſſes himſelf in theſe words: ‘ You had to deal with a perſon, whoſe ‘ knowledge and wiſdom you juſtly commend, p. 3. and ‘ who might eaſily have been convinced, if in any one ‘ inſtance ſhe had miſtaken her duty; you had to deal ‘ with one, whoſe piety and humility you, in many re‘ ſpects, deſervedly magnify. I only wiſh you had ‘ added her juſtice alſo, to have made her character ‘ compleat. However, theſe three virtues were powerful ‘ inducements to have uſed a conſcientious freedom with ‘ her. You had, as appears by the character you give ‘ of her, a pious, charitable, humble ſoul, under your ‘ care, a ſubject moſt happily diſpoſed to work on, who ‘ had always been *very reverent and attentive at ſermons*, ‘ p. 9. who had an averſeneſs to flattery, p. 12. and ‘ who would thankfully have received any piece of cha‘ ritable or humble admonition you had given her. I ‘ now beſeech you, Sir, ſpend a few thoughtful mo‘ ments in comparing your performance, as you your‘ ſelf repreſent it in your own Sermon, with your ‘ knowledge, with the opportunities and encourage‘ ments you had, and with the rubrick of the Church. ‘ You mention a very religious ſaying that fell from her, ‘ that ſhe had learned from her youth a true doctrine, ‘ that repentance was not to be put off to a death-bed, ‘ p. 26. But it was your duty, conſidering the deceit‘ fulneſs of all hearts, and the uſual infirmities and ‘ forgetfulneſs, and indiſpoſition of ſick perſons, to have ‘ ſupplied all her overſights and omiſſions, and to ‘ have examined the truth of her repentance, whether ‘ *ſhe truly repented of her ſins*; and where you knew any ‘ thing of moment, which had eſcaped her obſervation, ‘ you ought to have been her Remembrancer. I there‘ fore challenge you to anſwer before God and the ‘ world: Did you know of no weighty matter which ‘ ought to have troubled this Princeſs's Conſcience, ‘ though at preſent ſhe ſeemed not to have felt it, and ‘ for which you ought to have moved her to a ſpecial ‘ confeſſion, in order to abſolution? Were you aſſured, ‘ that ſhe was in charity with all the world? Did you ‘ know of no enmity between her and her Father, no ‘ variation between her and her ſiſter? Was the whole ‘ Revolution managed with that purity of intention, ‘ that perfect innocence and exact juſtice, that tender ‘ charity and that irreproachable equity, that there was ‘ nothing amiſs in it, no remarkable failings that might ‘ deſerve one penitent reflection? You cannot, you ‘ dare not ſay it, and if you ſhould, out of your own ‘ mouth I can condemn you; for you yourſelf, in your ‘ ſerious intervals, have paſſed as ſevere a cenſure on ‘ the Revolution, as any of thoſe they call Jacobites ‘ could do. You have ſaid more than once, *that it was ‘ all an unrighteous thing*. Why did not you deal then ſin‘ cerely with this dying Princeſs, and tell her ſo? when ‘ you muſt be ſenſible, that in ſteering her conſcience ‘ wrong, you ſhipwricked your own. What was it, ‘ Sir, that moved you to act thus notoriouſly againſt ‘ your own conſcience? was it the fear you had of loſing ‘ the favour of the Court, which made you rather ven‘ ture the indignation of Heaven? Even that fear was ‘ vain, for it had been no offence againſt the govern‘ ment to have perſuaded a dying daughter to have be‘ ſtowed one compaſſionate prayer on her afflicted Fa‘ ther, had he been never ſo unnatural. Though the ‘ caſe was here quite contrary; for he was one of the ‘ tendereſt Fathers in the world. Beſides, her illuſtrious ‘ Conſort, who manifeſted ſo very great and worthy a ‘ paſſion for her, would, I dare ſay, have had nothing ‘ omitted, which might have been conducible to her ‘ eternal happineſs; and a conſcientious Confeſſor, eſpe‘ cially on the death-bed, is one of a thouſand, who will ‘ always be deſired, and followed, and revered. Believe ‘ me, Sir, you have given the world reaſon to conclude, ‘ that your own conſcience miſgave you, being ſenſible, ‘ that in reproving her, you muſt have reproached your‘ ſelf. You ſay ſhe was ſo judicious and devout a Saint, ‘ as that degenerate Church of Rome can by no means ‘ ſhew us, p. 9; but ſurely it had been prudence in ‘ you, to have waved that compariſon, for ſhould you ‘ chance hereafter to blame that Church for canonizing ‘ Thomas a Becket, (for which ſhe is really blame‘ worthy) it is obvious for her to make this in reply to ‘ you, that it is as juſtifiable in her to ſaint ſuch a ſubject, ‘ as in you to ſaint ſuch a daughter. You tell us, ſhe ‘ was one, whom You are well aſſured had all the duty ‘ in the world for other relations [beſides her huſband] ‘ which, after long and laborious conſiderations, ſhe ‘ judged

the Princeſs Ann of Denmark's Letter of Condolence to King William (*), on occaſion of her ſiſter's death, the Archbiſhop laid hold of that favourable opportunity of reconciling the Family [Q], and was principally concerned in making up the difference between them about the Princeſs's ſettlement (s). The ſeveral injunctions and circular letters to his Clergy for preſerving the order and diſcipline of the Church, and for healing the animoſities that aroſe in his time about the Trinity, and the diſtinct powers of the two Houſes of Convocation (†), are the ſubject of general hiſtory, as is alſo his being appointed firſt of the Lords Juſtices for the Adminiſtration of the Government in his Majeſty's abſence, every year, during the war, a truſt which is naturally incident to the firſt ſubject after the blood royal, and as ſuch, is now by cuſtom annexed in a manner to the Primacy (t). But the following particulars are ſtrikingly characteriſtic of the perſon, and therefore come indiſpenſibly within the plan of theſe Memoirs. In 1696, our Archbiſhop gave a ſignal proof of his zeal for the Revolution in the caſe of Sir *John Fenwick*'s attainder: when the pious Mr Nelſon, who was a particular friend, came to pay him a viſit, in order to obtain his vote, if poſſible, againſt that bill, he received this anſwer: *My very good friend, give me leave to tell you, that I know not what ſpirit this man, nor I, am of; I wiſh for his, nor no man's blood; but how can I do my duty to God and the King, ſhould I declare a man innocent (for my not being on the ſide of the bill will convince the world that I think him ſo) when I am ſatisfied in my conſcience, not only from Goodman's evidence, but all the convincing teſtimonies in the world, that he is guilty. Laws* EX POST FACTO *may indeed carry the face of rigour with them; but if ever a law was neceſſary, this is* (u). Such a conduct muſt needs gain the heart of King William; and, accordingly, we find his Grace in ſo much reputation at Court, in 1700, that he obtained a commiſſion, authorizing him, jointly with the Archbiſhop of York, and four other Biſhops (w), to recommend to his Majeſty, proper perſons for all the Eccleſiaſtical preferments in his gift, above the value of 20 l. per ann. in the book of firſt fruits and tenths. He continued in the ſame favour till the death of this King, whom he conſtantly attended in his illneſs, and prevailed with him to put the laſt hand to a bill for the better ſecurity of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion (x). In conſequence of his ſtation, he had the honour of crowning Queen Ann; but held no degree of favour in the Court of that Sovereign. He continued the ſame charitable diſpoſition towards the Diſſenters, as he had done before; and in the three firſt years of her Majeſty's reign, he ſteadily oppoſed the bill to prevent occaſional conformity, and ſpoke with ſome warmth in the Houſe of Lords upon that ſubject, in

(*) Biſhop Burnet having told us, that the King upon this loſs turned himſelf much to the meditations of religion, and to ſecret prayer, obſerves, that the new Archbiſhop [Teniſon] was often and long with him, and that he entered into ſolemn and ſerious reſolutions of becoming in all things an exact and exemplary Chriſtian. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. II. Fol. Edition. See an inſtance of this in the note (‡) below.

(s) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 668.

(†) It is obſervable, that theſe diſputes proved the ruin of the Convocation, ſo that whilſt the Diſſenters of each ſect have their Synodical Aſſemblies, the Synod of the Church eſtabliſhed has never met ſince to any purpoſe. Godwin de præſulib. laſt Edit. under our Archbiſhop's Article.

(t) See more of him as Dioceſan of Canterbury, in Bret's Account of Church Government, and Governors, p. 235, 244. 2d Edit.

(u) Memoirs of his Life, p. 62.

(x) Maſters, p. 396.

(w) Viz. Gilbert [Burnet] of Saram, William [Lloyd] of Worceſter, Simon [Patrick] of Ely, and John [Moor] of Norwich. Le Neve's Faſti, Vol. I. where the Commiſſion is printed at length from the original MS. then in the hands of Dr Edward Teniſon, Archdeacon of Carmarthen.

(31) The Dutcheſs of Marlborough, ſpeaking of her behaviour on her firſt coming to Whitehall at the Revolution, tells us, it was too evident, by many inſtances, that *ſhe wanted bowels*. See that Dutcheſs's Conduct, p. 25.

(32) This taſk, however, was undertaken on another occaſion by his friend, Dr John Williams, who, in anſwer to Mr Jer. Collier's *Remarks on ſome late Sermons*, publiſhed *A Defence of Archbiſhop* Teniſon's *Sermon on the death of her late Majeſty, of bleſſed memory; and of the Sermons of the late Archbiſhop* [Tillotſon], &c.

(‡) For this reaſon, it is not known whether ſhe mentioned her concern at the King's criminal converſe with Lady Villiers; but the Archbiſhop, it is ſaid, took the freedom to repreſent to his Majeſty the great injury done therein to his excellent wife. The King took it well, did not deny his crime, and promiſed never to ſee that Lady more. Whiſton's Memoirs of himſelf, p. 100. Edit. 1757. from the information of Biſhop More, who added, that his Grace's Sermon concerning holy reſolution, preached at the King's lodgings at Kenſington before he appeared in public, was deſigned particularly to confirm his Majeſty in this reſolution.

> judged conſiſtent with her obligations to God, and to her Country, p. 15: the conſideration then, which ſhe uſed to reconcile her judgment to the Revolution, was, it ſeems, long and laborious, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance of her new aſſociates; it being no eaſy matter to overcome the contrary remonſtrances of nature, and of her own conſcience, and to unlearn thoſe evangelical maxims, which were carefully taught her by the faithful guides of her youth. Others might begin to inſtil oppoſite principles into her, others might confirm her, but the finiſhing ſtroke was reſerved for you. But who do you mean, Sir, by other relations? we may gueſs that you mean her Royal Father, her Mother-in-law, and her Brother; but you are at liberty to ſay you mean any other relations, if you pleaſe. You give us ambiguous and general words only, when you ſhould have given us moſt expreſs and particular. *All the duty in the world* is a comprehenſive term; but wherein, Sir, did any part of that duty appear? why are you not ſo juſt to her, and to yourſelf, as to give us ſome of thoſe compaſſionate and melting expreſſions of filial duty, which fell from her on that ſubject? why do you not produce ſome inſtances of her mildneſs and mercifulneſs to her enemies, p. 16. who, you know, ſhe treated as ſuch, though their crime was their being her Father's friends? It would have been much for her honour, would have given great ſatisfaction to all good people, would have convinced the world, that the manner of her death had been in all reſpects truly Chriſtian, p. 23. would have been much for your own reputation, and much for the credit of the Revolution, in which you are as great a zealot, as a gainer. If you were ſo well aſſured of all that duty, what dreadful negligence were you guilty of in not putting her in mind of it on her death-bed? Methinks, Sir, you are not juſt to her, when you give us inſtances of her charity to ſeveral ſorts of indigent people, and to ſtrangers, which *all the world knew*, and give no inſtances of even her natural affection to her own Royal Father, *of which all the world doubted* (31). When, had you ſuggeſted that doubt to her, as you ought to have done, ſhe would have ſhewed herſelf a tender-hearted daughter, and would have been extremely afflicted for having been inſtrumental in her Father's calamity. It is far from my intention here to diſpute the lawfulneſs of the Revolution; yet I may ſay, that I never met with any ſo bigotted to it, who would undertake to juſtify all the part which ſhe, as a daughter, had in it; and, I am perſuaded, that it would mightily puzzle you to tell us what thoſe obligations were, which ſhe had to God, and to her Country, which were inconſiſtent with her filial duty.' —The Archbiſhop never took any notice of this Letter in print (32), and, indeed, few I believe will blame his conduct therein. The reflections too plainly indicate the Author of them to be, on this occaſion, carried out of his natural temper, under the influence of ſpleen and peeviſhneſs; the demands were ſuch as could not, in prudence, be complied with; the Queen had ſatisfied him, as her Confeſſor, and it was not his buſineſs to reveal any particulars of the confeſſion (‡). With regard to the Queen, I ſay, his ſilence ſeems to have been highly commendable, and an exemplary inſtance of the ſoundneſs of his judgment. But his cenſure of the Revolution is of another nature; the truth of the charge is aſſerted in the moſt ſolemn manner; the piety and integrity of the accuſer in great eſteem among all parties; the words are challenged to be ſpoken more than once, and conſequently the opinion declared by them, could not but be ordinarily deemed the reſult of a mature deliberation. What could hinder him then from clearing up this matter, which ſeemed to be of ſo much importance to his character? Surely it muſt be attended with ſome particular paltry circumſtances, that were beſt treated with diſregard. No doubt, he gave his friends all the ſatisfaction they could deſire therein. But any notice he ſhould take of it in public, would have given his Antagoniſt a clear right to publiſh an anſwer, and ſo have furniſhed a vehicle for carrying fuel to feed the ſpirits of the Jacobite party all over the nation; whereas, it was the great policy of thoſe times, to let that cauſe gradually die away, by a cold neglect of thoſe who were quiet, and putting the laws ſtrictly in execution againſt ſuch as incurred them.

[Q] *To reconcile the Royal Family.*] Upon this occaſion, among other arguments, he repreſented to his Majeſty, both her Royal Highneſs's, and her Conſort's prudent and loyal conduct, during their receſs from Court; urging, that by their intereſt they might have given his Majeſty conſiderable diſturbance; but that they were ſo far from any ſuch deſign, that thoſe Members of either Houſe of Parliament, who had places under their Highneſſes, had always appeared foremoſt in promoting his Majeſty's intereſt (33).

(33) Boyer's Hiſtory of Queen Ann, in the Introduction, p. 7.

1704 [*R*]. At the same time, he testified a true regard for the welfare of the established Church, by engaging Dr White Kennet, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, to write *The Case of Impropriations, &c.* upon the Queen's having graciously given the first fruits for augmenting the maintenance of the poor Clergy (*y*). In 1705, he wrote a Letter to the Princess *Sophia*, acquainting her with his own zeal in particular, as also that of her friends, for the security of the Hanover succession; to which he received an answer from that Electress, wherein her Highness gave some intimations of her desire to come into England at that juncture [*S*]. Notwithstanding this part of his conduct must needs have been very disagreeable to her Majesty, who was always extremely averse to such a step (*z*); yet April 10, the following year, he was nominated first Commissioner in the treaty of Union between England and Scotland (*aa*). The same year, he heartily concurred with the majority of the Lords in their resolution against those who insinuated, that *the Church was in danger*. This brought upon him the imputation of being no good *Churchman*; and, as he observed, a chief brother rising into that honour upon a much less bottom, in his opinion, for it, he said to him, *Brother, you know I was always a greater Churchman than you*(*); *but e'en take the name of the Church, whilst I keep to the Constitution of it* (*bb*). During the severe winter, which happened in 1709, he gave a fresh instance of his charitable disposition, by an extraordinary liberality to the poor, especially those of his parish at Lambeth (*cc*), where he then kept his residence, being much afflicted with the gout. He had laboured many years under that distemper, and from this time was so much confined by it, that he could not give such attendance in the Convocation, as the great difference between the two Houses necessarily required (†). Upon which occasion, her Majesty joined some other Bishops with

(*y*) See Bishop Kennet's article.

(*z*) Duchess of Marlborough's Conduct, p. 107.

(*aa*) Gen. Hist. of England.

(*) He is particularly charged with neglecting a favourable opportunity to introduce Episcopacy into the Church of Prussia upon the model of the Church of England. Godwin de præsul. p. 167. Edit. 1743. Fol. But there is reason to suspect a mistake in this account. See Dr Grabe's article, in the Appen.

(*bb*) Newton's Life of Bishop Kennet, p. 110.

(*cc*) His Life, p. 107.

(†) During the controversy about Greenshields, the Episcopal Church in Scotland being in a manner thence, as was said, by persecution, came hither, and petitioned the Archbishop to subscribe to an intended Edition of the English Liturgy for the use of that Church. But his Grace suspected the design, and having brought the man to confess, that there was not above ten such Churches in Scotland, Then, said he, I see no necessity for printing a new Edition of the Liturgy; I will supply them with ten books at my own expence.

[*R*] *He opposed the bill to prevent occasional conformity.*] The last time this bill was brought into the House, in 1704 (34), he made the following speech upon the occasion. 'The noble Peer that spoke last, has considered the reasons that are given for the occasional bill itself; but, I must confess, I can see none that can satisfy me of the necessity of it. I think the practice of occasional conformity, as used by the Dissenters, so far from deserving the title of a vile hipocrisy, that I think it the duty of all moderate Dissenters, upon their own principles, to do it. I think, that however it may be disapproved by some rigid Dissenters, it ought to be encouraged by all good Churchmen, as a likely means to bring them over. The allowing persons of a different Religion from the established, has been practised in all countries, where Liberty of Conscience has been allowed; and we have gone farther already, in excluding Dissenters, than any other country has done; and whatever reasons there were to apprehend our Religion in danger from Papists, when the Test Act was made, yet there does not seem the least danger to it from the Dissenters now. But, on the other hand, I can see very great inconveniencies from this bill at present. As it is brought in this last time, indeed, they have added a plausible clause, which, though it was in the first draught of the bill, was left out in the second, that the Act for Toleration should be always kept inviolable; but the Toleration Act being to take away all the penalties that a man may incur by going to a separate congregation, and the occasional bill being to lay new penalties upon those that do it, how they can say that this is not a violation of the other, I cannot very easily comprehend. I doubt it will put people in mind of what passed in France, where every edict against the Protestants begun with a protestation, that the edict of Nantz ought to be always kept inviolable, till that very edict, in which it was in express words repealed. At a time that all England is engaged in a bloody, and expensive war; at a time that these nations have not only such considerable foreign enemies to deal withal, but has a party in her own bowels ready, upon all occasions, to bring in a Popish Pretender, and involve us all in the same, or rather worse calamities, than those from which, with so much blood and treasure, we have been freed; at a time that the Protestant Dissenters (however they may be in the wrong by separating from us, yet) are heartily united with us against the common foes of our Religion; what advantage is proposed by those, who are in earnest for advancing these things by lessening the number of such as are firmly united in the common cause, I cannot for my life imagine. Therefore I am for throwing out the bill, without giving it another reading (35)'

(34) It was said by a noble Lord, in the debates upon this bill, the preceding year, that the Archbishop being asked, what reason he had against the bill, replied, he had not well considered the bill; but that my Lord Somers told him, it ought not to pass: however that be, it is certain he left that Lord, in his will, a fine picture of St Sebastian.

(35) His Life, ubi supra, p. 102.

[*S*] *That Electress intimated her desire to come to England.*] This will be seen by reading the letter, as follows:

'My Lord,

'I received your Grace's letter. You have no reason 'to make any excuse, that you have not writ to me 'more often, for I do not judge of people's friendship 'for me by the good words they give; but I depend 'upon your integrity, and what you tell me of the honest men in England. I desire no farther assurance of 'their good-will and affection to me, unless they think 'it necessary, for the good of the Protestant Religion, 'the public liberties of Europe, and the people of 'England.

'I thank God I am in good health, and live in quiet 'and content here, therefore I have no reason to desire 'to change my way of living, on the account of any 'personal satisfaction I can propose to myself. However, I am ready and willing to comply with whatever 'can be desired of me by my friends, in case that the 'Parliament think that it is for the good of the kingdom to invite me into England. But I suppose they 'will do this in such a manner, as will make my coming 'agreeable to the Queen, whom I shall ever honour, 'and endeavour to deserve her favour, of which she 'hath given me many public demonstrations, by what 'she has done for me both in England and Scotland, 'which you can judge of more particularly. And I 'must remember that she ordered me to be prayed for 'in the churches. I doubt not but her Majesty is as 'much inclined at present to establish the safety of the 'three kingdoms upon such a foot, that they may be 'exposed to the least hazard that is possible, and that 'she will begin with England. Mr How has acquainted 'me with her Majesty's good inclinations for my family, 'which makes me think, that her Majesty sees this is a 'proper time for her to express herself in our favour. 'But whether I am right in this point or no, my friends 'in England can best judge. It is but reasonable that 'I should submit myself to their opinions and advice, 'and I depend most upon what your Grace shall advise, 'which will ever have the greatest weight with me. 'Therefore I write the more plainly to you, and tell 'you my thoughts, that you may communicate them to 'all you think fit. For they will then see, that I have 'a great zeal for the good of England, and a most sincere respect for the Queen. This is the best proof I 'can give at present of my esteem for your Grace; but 'I shall be glad of further opportunities to assure you, 'that I am, and shall ever be, most sincerely, My Lord,

'Votre tres affectionnée

'A vous servir,

'Sophie Electrice.'

This letter was published sometime after, together with one from Sir Rowland Gwynn to the Earl of Stamford, upon the same subject of the Princess's coming over, the latter being voted by both Houses to be a scandalous libel, tending to create misunderstandings between her Majesty and the Princess Sophia; and the Publisher, Mr Charles Gildon, was fined 100l. by the court of Queen's bench, May 12, 1707 (36).

(36) Boyer's Annal. of Queen Ann, year IV.

with

with him, in a Commiſſion for executing the office of Preſident in that Aſſembly. This was thought a little derogatory to his Grace's title *(dd)*, and though he continued to diſtinguiſh himſelf in the moſt memorable debates in Parliament, till the great change of the Miniſtry, in 1710 *(ee)*, yet that change of the public affairs, together with his growing infirmities, induced him to live in a more retired manner at Lambeth. And, indeed, he had no farther ſhare in the Adminiſtration of affairs, either eccleſiaſtical, or civil, than what was purely due to his Poſt, during the reign of Queen Ann. But her deceaſe brought him again to Court. He was one of the three State Officers, in whoſe hands were lodged, by authority of Parliament, one of thoſe inſtruments, empowering her ſucceſſor, if abroad at the time of her demiſe, to appoint ſuch Regents as he ſhould think proper to continue the Adminiſtration in his name, till his arrival. His Grace, therefore, notwithſtanding his ill ſtate of health, went himſelf to the Council with this inſtrument *(ff)*. He had alſo, afterwards, the ſatisfaction of crowning King George I, and of being admitted to a private conference with him; when his Majeſty was highly pleaſed with the plainneſs and ſincerity of his converſation, and took an opportunity of expreſſing his ſenſe particularly of the Archbiſhop's modeſty, in the moſt ſtriking manner, to one of his Courtiers [*T*]. This was the laſt, and only time of our Primate's attendance upon that Prince: whence, after recommending Dr Wake, Biſhop of Lincoln, for his ſucceſſor at Canterbury, and his Chaplain, Dr Gibſon, for the See of Lincoln, as he had done with great zeal before, Biſhop Fleetwood for the See of Ely, he returned to his Palace at Lambeth, where he continued till his death, which happened on the 14th of December, 1715, in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age *(gg)*. He was interred privately in the chancel of the Church at Lambeth, and in the ſame vault with his wife, who died the preceding year *(hh)*, leaving him without iſſue. He gave very particular directions concerning his funeral, in his will. By which, beſides ſeveral benefactions beſtowed in his life-time, he left an uncommon number of legacies, and he bequeathed ſeveral charities, the moſt remarkable of which, we ſhall mention in note [*U*]. The reſidue of his fortune, which was very conſiderable, he ordered to be equally divided to the children of his kinſmen, Dr Edward Teniſon (*)[*W*], Mr Richard Tubby, and Mr George Fage(†). As he lived

(dd) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. II.

(ee) Maſters, as before.

(ff) Political State, Vol. VIII. p. 103. 114.

(*) He alſo left to this kinſman's ſon, Thomas Teniſon, who was his Godſon, 300 l. to each of his daughters 50 l. and to the father, Dr Edw. Teniſon, 1000 l. as one of the Executors of his Will. From the Probate in the Prerogative Office.

(gg) His Life, p. 111.

(hh) Viz. on the 12th of Febr. 1714. The Inſcription on the grave-ſtone.

(†) He likewiſe left Mr Fage 400 l. as one of his Executors, as he did 300 l. to Mr Sam. Bradey, the third Executor. Idem.

[*T*] *In the moſt ſtriking manner to one of his Courtiers.*] This was a certain nobleman that had been a great ſollicitor for grants, &c. on all occaſions, who aſking his Majeſty how he liked the Archbiſhop, he was pleaſed to anſwer; *to the greateſt degree of ſatisfaction, ſince that venerable old man had been above an hour and a half with him, and in all that time had not aſked one favour of him for himſelf or friends* (37).

(37) His Life, p. 111.

[*U*] *His moſt remarkable charities.*] His will is dated April 11, 1715 (38). The firſt article in it is the inſcription over his grave,

(38) The Probate in the Prerogative Office.

Here lyeth
the Body of THOMAS TENISON,
late
Archbiſhop of Canterbury,
who departed this life in peace
on the 14th day of December,
MDCCXV (39).

(39) It is upon his grave-ſtone of black marble.

Beſides the donations already mentioned in his life-time, he founded a charity-ſchool at Lambeth for the education of twelve poor girls; and another at Croyden. He built, anno 1706, the epiſcopal throne in the church of Canterbury, at the expence of 244 l. 8 s. 2 d. In 1707, he gave books to the library of St Paul's cathedral, London, to the value of 256 l. 17 s. In 1709, he gave ſeventy guineas to the poor Palatines. In 1710, he gave 30 l. towards beautifying the chancel of the pariſh-church of Cranbrook in Kent. In 1713, he preſented to the church of Lambeth a velvet pall, which coſt him 46 l. (40), and he had before been a great encourager of Strype in writing his life of Archbiſhop Parker, beſides bearing the expence of the plate of his Grace's figure prefixed thereto. To theſe muſt be added his benefactions to Bennet-College in Cambridge, to the amount of about 3000 l. (41), and to the Univerſity 50 l. to advance printing there, beſides the copy of Dr Spencer's book *De Legibus Hebræorum*. By his will he gave to the Society for propagation of the goſpel, 1000 l. toward the ſettlement of two Proteſtant Biſhops; one on the continent, the other on one of the iſles in North America. The intereſt of which ſum to be given in the mean time to ſuch diſabled miſſionaries of the province of Canterbury as have diſcharged their truſts faithfully. To the Governors of Queen Ann's bounty for the augmentation of five ſmall livings in Kent, 1000 l. (42). To the corporation for the relief of clergymen's widows and children, 500 l. To Bromley-College, fifty guineas toward repairing the houſe, and the like ſum to the poor widows thereof. To the French Proteſtant refugree, 100 l. To the pariſh of Lambeth, a piece of ground for a burying-place, whereon his ſchool was erected. To Archbiſhop Whitgift's hoſpital at Croyden, 100 l. with 400 l. to the ſchool founded there in his life-time. To ten poor Rectors or Vicars in the dioceſe of Canterbury, 10 l. each. To the poor of Canterbury, Lambeth, and Croyden, 40 l. each. To thoſe of St Martin's in the Fields, London, and St James's, Weſtminſter, 30 l. each. And to thoſe of Topcroft, Tharſton, and Bracon-Aſh in Norfolk, Cottenham in Cambridgeſhire, and Holywell in Huntingtonſhire, 10 l. each. He gave his fire-engine, maps, and pictures, in Lambeth-houſe, to the uſe of his ſucceſſors; and many books and papers to the library there. To his chaplains, relations, and ſervants, &c. he made handſome bequeſts; and to Dr Lilly Butler, miniſter of Aldermanbury, who had many children, 50 l.

(40) On it was a bible, embroidered with gold and ſilver, and this ſentence: There remaineth a reſt for the people of God. Le Neve, under the Archbiſhop's article.

(41) Beſides paving Bennet-college hall with ſtone, and wainſcoting with oak that Norwich fellowſhip chamber wherein he himſelf had dwelt, he gave the advowſons of the Rectories of Duxford, St Peter in Cambridgeſhire, and of Stalbridge in Dorſetſhire, and the intereſt of 1000 l. for augmenting ſcholarſhips and fellowſhips left by his will. Maſters, p. 64, 79, 80.

(42) The rectories of Hawkigg, and St James in Dover, and the vicarages of Lidden, Debtling, and St Dunſtan's, all in Kent, or the city of Canterbury.

[*W*] *Dr. Edward Teniſon.*] As this relation of our Archbiſhop made ſome noiſe in his life-time, we ſhall give the following account of him. He was a native of Norwich, and ſon of the Regiſter to the Archdeacon of Norfolk, and nephew to the Lady Dorothy Browne, widow of the famous Sir Thomas Browne the phyſician. After going through St Paul's ſchool, under Dr Gale, he was admitted of Bennet-College, Cambridge, in 1690, and ſoon after became a ſcholar of the houſe, upon Archbiſhop Parker's foundation. In 1694, he took the degree of A. B. at Cambridge; but proceeded to that of LL. B. (43) probably at Lambeth, where he was afterwards created D. D. He was ordained both Deacon and Prieſt by Biſhop Sprat in 1697, and collated by our Archbiſhop the ſame year to the Rectory of Witterſham in the iſle of Oxney in Kent, which he quitted, in 1698, for that of Sundrich, a peculiar of the Archbiſhop's in the dioceſe of Rocheſter, to which the ſame patron afterwards added the adjoining Rectory of Chidingſtone, which he held together for many years. In 1704, he had the Prebend of Tarvin in the church of Litchfield, but reſigned this to his kinſman, Mr George Fage, upon his inſtalment to a Canonry in that of Canterbury in 1708, and to the Archdeaconry of Carmaerthen the ſame year. Upon the firſt arrival of his late Majeſty King George II, then Prince of Wales, in England, the Doctor was appointed one of his Chaplains, and ſo continued after his advancement to the throne. He had married a lady, whoſe name was Searle, more nearly related to the Archbiſhop than himſelf, ſhe being his niece; he had by her one ſon and five daughters, to each of whom his Grace bequeathed 1600 l. and made him one of his Executors (44). His Uncle, who had been Steward to the Archbiſhop, left him all his ſubſtance, to the amount of 12000 l. With which, and a great part of his children's fortunes, he embarked in the South-Sea, in 1720; and, when ſtocks were at the higheſt, bought an eſtate of Lord Bulkeley's, in the iſle of Angleſea, which

(43) Where he took this degree is not certainly known.

(44) In the diſcharge of this truſt, he entered too warmly into a litigation with Archbiſh. Wake about the dilapidations of the palaces at Lambeth and Croyden: the merits of which he publiſhed. Letter to Mr Archdeacon Teniſon, &c. by Henry Farrar, Proctor in the Commons. Lond. 1714. 4to.

lived in the times of the ſevereſt trial, ſo his character has been variouſly repreſented. The following ſketch of it being taken from the Writer of his Memoirs *(ii)*, with ſome alterations, is ſubmitted to the readers cenſure. He was a Prelate who ordinarily, through the whole courſe of his life, practiſed that integrity and reſolution he firſt ſet out with: nor was he influenced by the changes of the age he lived in, to act contrary to the pure and peaceable ſpirit of the Goſpel. He adorned his high ſtation with an exemplary Piety, and a munificent Charity, and was happily endued with ſuch a hardineſs of temper, as enabled him to ſteer the Church with ſteadineſs through thoſe violent ſtorms of party, the rage of which too much affected the too tender ſpirit of his Predeceſſor. The Primate's character, as a writer, is ſeen in his performances of that kind. He had the misfortune to be given by Burnet *(kk)* for a very learned man, who maintained the Proteſtant cauſe againſt Popery, not only with courage, but judgment too. This high-charged colouring, provoked another Writer to darken it, by repreſenting him as loſing ground in the controverſy with the Church of Rome, maintaining that he was foiled in his conference with Pulton the Jeſuit, for want of capacity to defend ſo good a cauſe; and had committed too many blunders in his writings, to be reckoned, either a man of good ſenſe, or extraordinary learning *(ll)*. Upon the whole, it cannot be denied, that the Archbiſhop's writings ſet his character as a ſcholar far enough above contempt; and though we ſhould allow, that his manner is rather heavy and clumſy, than elegant or accurate; yet that bitter ſarcaſm upon him, which is commonly fathered upon Dean Swift, cannot be treated with too much indignation, that *he was hot and heavy like a Taylor's Gooſe*. Beſides what has been already mentioned, the Archbiſhop publiſhed ſeveral other pieces, a liſt of which is inſerted below [*X*].

(*ii*) p. 112.

(*kk*) In the Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. II. p. 192. fol. Edit.

(*ll*) Higgons's Rem. on Burnet's Hiſtory, p. 186.

which purchaſe was made void by act of Parliament (45). He retired however to that iſland, with all his family, in 1723, to which he had a ſtrong attachment (46); but on trial, finding it by no means anſwerable to his expectations, he was glad to return again to his prebendal houſe at Canterbury, for which Church he was choſen Proctor in Convocation, in 1727. Where, after reſigning Sundrich to Dr Lynch (47), and Chidingſtone to his ſon, he reſided till 1730, when he went firſt Chaplain to the Duke of Dorſet, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who gave him the Biſhopric of Oſſory in that Kingdom. Upon which he reſided the reſt of his life, which was not long, being cut off by a pleuriſy (48), in 1735. He died at Dublin, and was buried in St Mary's Church in that city. His wife ſurvived him, and has not been dead many years (49). By will he bequeathed 40 l. per ann. during life, to Michael Stephenſon, a Deacon, to catechiſe the children of Papiſts in the pariſh of Kilkeaſy (a wild and mountainous part of his Dioceſe) where he obliged him to reſidence, under the penalty of forfeiting the penſion.—To the Incorporated Society for promoting Engliſh Proteſtant ſchools, 20 l.—To every Incumbent, and Reſident Curate in his Dioceſe, a copy of the lateſt edition of Chillingſworth's Religion of Proteſtants. To the poor of Kilkenny, Canterbury, Sundrich, and Chidingſtone, 20 l. each. To the pariſhes of Aghamacart, Roſconnell, Kildemogh, Kilbeacon, Liſterling, and Kilkeaſy, 10 l. each, for building and enlarging ſmall oratories within the ruined walls of thoſe Churches. And to Bennet-College in Cambridge, beſides a legacy of 200 l. for the encouragement of the ſtudy of agriculture, he bequeathed 40 l. per ann. for founding a lecture on huſbandry (50). The Biſhop being ever of a generous hoſpitable diſpoſition, was likewiſe liberal in his charities while living; and no man had the propagation of the Proteſtant Religion more at heart, than himſelf; but he has been thought, by ſome, in great meaſure to have defeated his own good intentions, by too intemperate a zeal, by too unhappy an obſtinacy in his temper, and by too inflexible an adherence to his own ſchemes and ways. In public life, he was indefatigably reſolute in the ſupport of the preſent eſtabliſhment; and in carrying forward any work of common utility: in private, no one was more loved as a friend, nor dreaded as an enemy; ſo that nothing could better characterize him, than the motto he made choice of, *Petra immobilior* (51). Beſides his Proteſt, mentioned in the margin, he publiſhed two Letters to the Prolocutor [Dr Stanhope], in 1718; and two Sermons, one called, *The Excellency and Uſefulneſs of a Public Spirit*, preached before the Gentlemen educated at St Paul's School, January 25, 1710; and the other preached before the Lords at Chriſt-Church, Dublin, November 5, 1733.

His only ſon, Thomas, who was born in Kent, in 1700, and bred at the Schools of Croyden and Sevenoak, was admitted, by proxy, at Bennet-College, in May, 1711; but being then of an unſtatutable age, that admiſſion was ſuperſeded, which his father, for other reaſons, ſo reſented, as afterwards to enter him at Clare-Hall, where he reſided when he came to the Univerſity; but after taking the degree of LL. B. there, in 1724, he removed to Trinity-Hall, being put into a Fellowſhip by Sir Nathaniel Lloyd, the Maſter, upon a lapſe incurred by the Fellows, and proceeded LL. D. in 1726. His father being uncertain what profeſſion he might make choice of, and that no qualification for any might be wanting, admitted him both at the Temple and Doctor's Commons, at the ſame time that he did at the Univerſity: however, he had like to have eluded all theſe precautions, and defeated all his father's views, by an imprudent conduct. Provoked by a gentle, though juſt correction, at Sevenoak School, to which he was removed againſt his will, he ſtole away to Briſtol, and embarked there on board a veſſel in the ſlave trade, bound to Guinea, where, by his good behaviour, he roſe to be Superintendant of the ſlaves, during their voyage to Barbadoes. Great offers were made him there, on account of his ſkill in writing and accompts, if he would have ſtaid, and become a Schoolmaſter; but being, by this time, deſirous of returning to his native country, he rejected theſe, and after eighteen months abſence, and being obliged to work his paſſage home, as a common ſailor, he came to his family and friends, who, having heard nothing of him during all that time, received him gladly, though his habit and complexion, at firſt, diſguiſed him from their knowledge. After his return, his father grew exceedingly fond of him, and upon his leaving the Univerſity, reſigned to him, in April 1727, firſt the Archdeaconry of Carmaerthen, and then the Rectory of Chidingſtone, which he held with the Vicarage of Lydd in Kent, and the Sinecure of Llandrillo in Wales. He was appointed Chancellor of the Dioceſe of Oxford, 1734 (*), after having been Commiſſary in that of Canterbury, of which Cathedral he was inſtalled a Prebendary, February 10, 1738, where, May 7, 1742, he died (52), and was buried, not living to finiſh the new prebendal houſe he had begun. His firſt wife was the eldeſt daughter of Dr Potter, then Biſhop of Oxford, who died in 1729 (53). His ſecond wife, who ſurvived him, was the daughter of Mr Smith of Nottingham, by whom he had one ſon living, in 1757, and a daughter. The Doctor, from his youth, was of an open, generous, good-natured diſpoſition, but mixed with ſuch a warmth and impetuoſity of temper, and that inflamed by a party zeal, as made him impatient of any control, and inclined him to be ſelf-opinionated and wayward (54).

[*X*] *A liſt of which is inſerted below.*] Theſe are the following Sermons: 1. *Againſt Self-Love*; before the Commons, on a faſt, June 5, 1689. 2. *On doing Good to Poſterity*; before their Majeſties, at Whitehall, in February, 1689-90. 3. *On the wandering of the Mind in God's Service*; February 15, 1690. 4to. 4. *The Folly of Atheiſm*; before the Queen, at Whitehall, February 22, 1690 (55). 5. Before the Sons of the Clergy, December 3, 1691. 4to. 6. *Concerning the Celeſtial Body of a Chriſtian*; before the Queen, at Eaſter, Lond. 1694. 4to. 7. *Concerning Holy Reſolution*; before the King, December 30, 1694. 8. *A Letter to the Archdeacon, and the reſt of the Clergy of St David's*; Lond. 1703. 8vo. 9. *A*

(45) He agreed to give 3000 l. and depoſited 1000 l. which was forfeited on his being unable to complete the purchaſe by the fall of ſtocks.

(46) This aroſe from prejudices contracted in its favour, by ſome books he had met with at ſchool, ſo that at one breaking-up he travelled on foot through Wales to take a ſurvey of it.

(47) Late Dean of Canterbury.

(48) As was thought for want of bleeding, to which he would not ſubmit.

(49) After burying all her daughters ſingle, except one, who married Mr Peter St Eloy, one of the Deputy-Regiſters of the Prerogative-Court of Canterbury.

(50) But clogged with ſuch conditions, that the Society refuſed it, and the clauſe was afterwards revoked by a codicil. Agriculture was his favourite ſtudy; he encouraged and recommended it in his Dioceſe, by publiſhing two books of *Columella De Re Ruſtica*, which he gave away to the youth, who were lovers of it. Ware's Hiſt. of the Iriſh Biſhops, p. 433. Edit. 1739.

(51) A ſtrong inſtance of this temper we have in his remarkable Proteſt, made in the Convocation, in 1717, in the heighth of the Bangorian Controverſy, in defence of that Prelate, printed in Feb. 1717-18.

(*) Upon the reſignation of the Lord Talbot, Lord Chancellor of England.

(52) He had laboured ſome years before his death under an aneuriſm in one of the Carotid arteries.

(53) In child-bed, at the age of eighteen, and was buried in St Margaret's, Weſtminſter, where a monument is erected to her memory.

(54) Maſters, p. 400 to 405.

(55) He alſo wrote a Preface to a piece entitled, Certain Paſſages which happened at Newport in the Iſle of Wight, Nov. 29, 1648, relating to King Charles, written by Mr Edward Cook of Highgate in Glouceſterſhire, ſometime Colonel of a regiment under

Cromwell, firſt publiſhed in 1690. 4to. Biſhop Kennet from the mouth of the Archbiſhop, who complained to him, that the Preface was left out in a following edition. Comp. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 178.

9. *A Copy of his Speech*; February 19, 1701-2. 10. *His Circular Letter*; Lond. 1707. 4to. He is likewiſe ſuppoſed to be the Author of *The Grievances of the Church of England, which are not in the Power of its Governors to remedy.* And there is a Letter of his, relating to the iſle of Thanet, among Mr Lewis's manuſcripts, once in the poſſeſſion of the late Dr Rawlinſon, but is now in Sir Peter Thompſon's collections.

THORESBY [RALPH], *(a)* an eminent Antiquarian, who flouriſhed in the latter end of the laſt, and the beginning of the preſent Century; was deſcended from a family, whoſe origin is carried up as high as to the time of King Canute, the Dane [*A*]; and at the Norman conqueſt, was ſeated at Thoreſby in Yorkſhire. But that branch, from which our Author ſprung, having been ſettled for ſeveral generations at Leedes, in the Weſt Riding of that County, where they lived in good reputation as merchants, he was born there on the 16th of Auguſt, 1658, and after going through the Grammar-ſchool of that town, was carried, in 1677, for further improvement, to London, and placed in the family of a worthy relation by his Father; who, though a merchant by profeſſion, had a particular turn to the knowledge of Antiquities *(b)*, which being inherited by this his eldeſt ſon, he employed his leiſure hours in viſiting the moſt remarkable places in and near the great Metropolis, copying the monumental inſcriptions, ſtudying their hiſtory, and particularly collecting accounts of Proteſtant benefactions *(c)*. However, his Father deſigning him for his own buſineſs, ſent him the next ſpring, 1678, to Rotterdam, in order to learn the Dutch and French languages, and to be perfected in mercantile accompliſhments. The young Gentleman made a good progreſs in the languages, ſtudying them grammatically: and in the interim, joined in company with ſome other Gentlemen, (who underſtood them) in a tour that ſummer through the principal towns in Holland, when he made ſeveral ingenious obſervations on the manners of the people, and the curioſities of the country. But his ſtay there happened to be much ſhorter than was intended; for being ſeized with a dangerous ague, he was obliged to return in December, the ſame year, to his native air. The diſtemper proving ſtill obſtinate after his return, he made ſeveral ſmall excurſions the enſuing ſummer, in order to clear off the remains of it. Theſe exerciſes, though undertaken for the ſake of his health, furniſhed him with an opportunity (which he did not let ſlip) of improving his knowledge in local antiquities. But ſcarce was he recovered from this diſorder, before it pleaſed God to viſit him with another ſevere affliction in the ſudden death of his father [*B*], on the 31ſt of October this year, 1679. This melancholy event devolved

(a) The chief particulars of this article were communicated by the eldeſt ſon of Mr Thoreſby.

(b) He was alſo poſſeſſed of a good ſhare of learning, and ſuperintended every part of his ſon's education.

(c) Here he alſo began by the direction, and after the example of his Father, to keep a Diary of his Life, which he continued till near the time of his death.

[*A*] *Whoſe origin is carried up to the time of Canute.*] The pedigree of this family, which is one of the moſt complete that we have (1), begins with Aykfith, or Aykfrith, a noble Baron, who in the time of King Kneut, the Dane, was Lord of Dent, Sudbergh, and twelve other ſeignories, which, in the time of King Edward the Confeſſor, deſcended to his ſon Arkill, whoſe ſon, Goſpatrick, was Lord of Thoreſby at the Conqueſt; whence the family from that time took the name of Thoreſby. From Goſpatrick, in the fifth lineal deſcent, ſprung Sir Adam Thoreſby, Knight, of Thoreſby near Middleham, in the North Riding of Yorkſhire, one of whoſe great grandſons, was the famous Cardinal John Thoreſby, who being bred at Oxford, was much eſteemed both as a Divine and Canoniſt (2), and in September, 1347, was conſecrated Biſhop of St David's, having been made, on the 2d of July preceding, Keeper of the Great-Seal, by Edward III, whom he attended the ſame year at the ſiege and taking of Calais, with a retinue of one Banneret, two Knights, thirty Eſquires, thirty Archers on horſe-back, and thirty-ſix on foot (3). In 1349, he was tranſlated to the Biſhoprick of Worceſter, and the ſame year made Lord Chancellor of England. After which he was created Cardinal of *St Peter ad Vincula*, and in 1352, nominated Archbiſhop of York, and being enthronized in 1353, he then reſigned the Great Seal, devoting himſelf intirely to the duties of his ſpiritual function with exemplary humility and charity (4). In this ſpirit, he made an accord with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whereby he waved the right of bearing the croſs in his province, a diſpute which had long ſubſiſted, to the great ſcandal of the Church. In 1361, he began the foundation of the choir in York Minſter, and, laying the firſt ſtone himſelf, gave 100 l. then, and 200 l. per ann. afterwards, till it was finiſhed. He alſo beautified the Lady's-Chapel at the eaſt end with images and pictures of coſtly, and excellent workmanſhip, and removing the bodies of diverſe of his Predeceſſors, that lay diſperſed about the Church, he had them entombed there at his own expence, leaving a place for himſelf in the middle: he likewiſe founded a Chantry therein, with a ſalary of 40 s. per ann. Laſtly, he gave this Church two mitres of conſiderable value. Beſides theſe benefactions, he gave the Rectory of Roxby to the Monks of Drax, erected Vicarages in ſome impropriate Churches ill ſerved before, and enlarged the endowment of others. Some of which Vicars he defended in an expreſs treatiſe againſt the Friars Mendicants in Latin (5). But his principal glory is his Engliſh *Expoſition of the Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer, Creed, Sacrament* (6), *&c.* which he ordered all the Clergy to read diligently to their pariſhioners, a reform juſtly to be admired for the courage ſhewn in it in the time of Edward III; and in the ſame ſpirit, he was a great favourer of Wickliffe, and is juſtly named the firſt of that firſt Reformer's friends (7) He died November 6, 1373, at his manor of Thorp, and was interred in the middle of his Chapel aforementioned (8). This Archbiſhop's elder brother, Hugh Thoreſby, was father of John Thoreſby, who flouriſhed in 25 Edward III, and was Anceſtor to three families of his name, ſeated in Yorkſhire, Eſſex, and Norfolk; from the firſt of which deſcended Henry Thoreſby, who, removing to London, became one of the firſt Governors of Charter-houſe (9), and having no male iſſue, the abovementioned manor of Thoreſby came into the poſſeſſion of Sir Thomas Hardreſſe of Great Hardreſſe in Kent, who married Elinor, ſole daughter and heir of the ſaid Henry (10); whoſe younger brother, Ralph Thoreſby of Woolham near Barnard-Caſtle, was father to George Thoreſby of Weſt Cottingwith, Com. Ebor. and George's eldeſt ſon, John Thoreſby, Merchant and Alderman of Leedes, was grandfather to Ralph Thoreſby, the ſubject of the preſent article, to whom we owe this account of his family (11).

(1) Richard Lee Clarencieux added this note to it. But, in my opinion, I never ſaw any deſcent ſo well travelled, nor truly ſet down. Ducat. Leod. p. 75.

(2) Upon which account, John Baconthorp dedicated to him his Commentary upon Ariſtotle's Ethics. Godwin's Catalogue of the Archbiſhops of York.

(3) In all ninety-nine, which was more than half a dozen of ſome of the Barons, and eighteen among the Knights. MS. of the late Mr Warburton, Somerſet Herald.

(4) Stubbs de Pontif. Ebor. inter decem Scriptores Angliæ, p. 1732.

(5) The title of which may be ſeen in Bale's Script. Brit. Cent. 6. p. 493. Some conſtitutions of his in a provincial Synod, in 1364 and 1367, are among Dodſworth's MSS. at Oxford. And ſome regulations made by him in Foſſegate hoſpital at York, are in Dugdale's Monaſt. p. 266. Edit. 1718.

(6) The original MS. is in the Archbiſhop's Regiſter-office at York, which being tranſcribed in 1702 by Mr R. Thoreſby, is printed in his Vicaria Leodienſis. Append. No. 7.

(7) Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 181.

(8) The Chapel, with all its rich furniture, was demoliſhed at the Reformation.

(9) See the article of R. Sutton, Founder of that hoſpital.

(10) He died at Hackney, and was buried in that Church, where there is a handſome monument to his memory.

(11) Ducat. Leod. p. 71, 72, 73.

[*B*] *His father died ſuddenly.*] The manner of his death muſt needs have greatly ſurprized his family. In the evening of the 30th, he went in good health to bed, and in the morning was found dead on his knees and face. It was ſomewhat remarkable, that in the evening, after reading a portion of Scripture as uſual, he inſiſted in his explication much longer than his ordinary cuſtom, and prayed with the greateſt fervency imaginable. In his cloſet alſo was found a ſhort pious hymn, written with his own hand, and, no doubt, his own compoſition (12), beginning with the following lines:

Remember, Mortal, that unlook'd for death
Oft in deep ſleep ſurprizes vital breath;
Then ſlumber not, for often the moſt ſound,
When he thinks leaſt, next morning dead is found.

(12) He ſometimes diverted himſelf with writing as well as reading poetry. A copy of recommendatory verſes by him is prefixed to Scarborough Spaw, ſpagyrically anatomized by G. Tonſtal, M. D. edit. 1670.

Such

devolved on him the care of a brother and ſiſter (*d*); whoſe education and ſettlement in the world, he conducted with a paternal tenderneſs and prudence: In the mean time, he entered into his father's buſineſs of a Merchant; and becauſe the foreign woollen trade from Leedes had fallen to decay before the old Gentleman's death, he endeavoured to make up that defect by the linnen trade, in which view he purchaſed his freedom in the incorporated Society of Merchant-Adventurers, trading to Hamburgh. Being now ſettled in buſineſs, he began to think of entering into the nuptial ſtate, and accordingly, on the 25th of February, 1684-5, he married *Anna*, the third daughter, and coheireſs of *Richard Sykes* of Leedes, Gent. [*C*]. He was extremely happy in his choice; but this domeſtic happineſs was ſoon diſturbed by the infelicity of the times under James II. He had been bred among the Preſbyterians, but never imbibing any of their rigid principles, he had always occaſionally conformed (*e*) to the eſtabliſhed Church; and now that Popery began to threaten the ruin of that Church, he more frequently attended its worſhip, in the view of promoting ſuch an union of the Proteſtants, as was in this juncture thought neceſſary on both ſides, for their mutual preſervation. All this while, though merchandize was his profeſſion, yet learning and antiquities were his great delight, and they took ſo firm a poſſeſſion of his heart, that contenting himſelf with a moderate patrimony, he made thoſe reſearches the great employment of his life. He had been initiated into theſe ſtudies by his Father, and the old Gentleman's learned friends (particularly the Fairfax family (‡)) obſerving the ſon's inclination and genius, turned the ſame way, transferred their reſpect to him. But the number was much increaſed by himſelf. Two of the earlieſt and moſt intimate of theſe, were Mr Thornton, the Recorder of Leedes, and the celebrated Biſhop *Nicolſon* [*D*], to whom muſt be added, Biſhop

(*d*) Jeremiah and Abigail.

(*e*) In this too he was trained up by, and followed the example of, his Father.

(‡) Mr John Thoreſby has merited the Patronage of this family, firſt by entering into the army under the General in the Parliament's ſervice, and afterwards, in 1659, againſt the remains of the ſame Parliament, then called the Rump, and in favour of the King's Reſtoration; when Mr Thoreſby not only engaged himſelf, but brought a large party along with him. Mr R. Thoreſby's Diary.

Such an extraordinary caſe may ſerve to confirm the opinion of ſome Divines and Philoſophers, that the ſoul of man, when near its ſeparation from the body, acts with an extraordinary vigour, and becomes receptive of a kind of prophetic influence: an obſervation which was remembered on this occaſion by his ſon, who pioufly added his own aſſent to it (13). The old gentleman was buried in St Peter's church (14), where there is a decent monument erected to his memory, with an elegant Latin inſcription, which, becauſe of the great reſemblance it bears to the character of the ſon, we ſhall inſert as follows:

M. S.
Juxta in pace requieſcit
quod mortale fuit
JOANNIS THORESBY, Gen.
THORESBEIORUM DE THORESBY Comitatus EBORAC
Antiquæ, qua ortus eſt, familiæ
Ornamenti;
Hiſtoriarum & Antiquitatum peritiſſimi (15):
Viri, ſi quis alius
Ob exemplarem & vere primævam pietatem
Venuſtam morum Comitatem
fervidam erga omnes charitatem
Deo & hominibus dilectiſſimi.
Cujus
piiſſimam & bene præparatam animam
Mors repentina non abripuit, ſed
Cœlo reddidit
XXXI Octob. Anno { *Salutis MDCLXXIX.* / *Ætatis ſuæ LIV.*

He was the founder of the *Muſæum Thoreſbeianum*, by purchaſing the Lord Fairfax's valuable collection of coins and medals of his Lordſhip's executors, after it had been enriched with the coins and medals collected by Mr Stonehouſe, Rector of Darfield in Yorkſhire.

(13) His Diary, now in the hands of his eldeſt ſon.

(14) A funeral ſermon was preached the next day at the Preſbyterian Meeting-houſe, by Mr Sharp, the Miniſter there, who alſo wrote an account of his life, being aſſiſted therein by Mr Thoreſby. Both pieces are in Muſ. Thoreſb. MSS. in 4to. No. 158.

(15) Vide Phil. Collections for Jan. 10, 1681-2. No. 4. Article 2. by Dr Martin Liſter, to whom he was well known.

(*) The Chief Magiſtrate is ſtiled Alderman by our Author, from the firſt incorporation of the town, in 1626, to the Reſtoration; when a new Charter being granted, he gives the title of Mayor to the ſame Magiſtrate. Ducat. Leod. p. 265.

(16) Among other benefactions, he built and endowed St John's church, here. Vicaria Leod. p. 79.

(17) Ducatus Leod. p. 34, 263, 266.

(†) This Gentleman wrote an excellent anſwer to *Prieſtcraft in Perfection*; as alſo *Reaſons for taking the Oaths to Queen Anne*: both in Muſ. Thoreſb. MSS. in 4to. No. 178.

[*C*] *Daughter and co-heir of Richard Sykes.*] This gentleman was deſcended from a family of his name at Sykes-dike near Carliſle, whence William Sykes, a younger brother, coming into this country, improved his fortune conſiderably by the cloathing trade: his grandſon, Richard Sykes, was Alderman of Leedes when firſt incorporated, and one of the moſt eminent merchants in theſe parts, whoſe ſon, Richard Sykes, Mrs Thoreſby's great grandfather, was alſo Alderman (*) of the town in 1629 and 1636, and firſt purchaſed the manor from the crown. But, at the requeſt of Mr Harriſon, a grand benefactor to the place (16), let him and half a dozen more come in as joint purchaſers with him, on this conſideration, that the Lordſhip, if veſted in a ſingle perſon, would have given him too great a ſuperiority; which the good old gentleman not being ambitious of, reſerved only one ſhare for himſelf, and another for his ſon, William Sykes, merchant, admitting the reſt as he had contracted for it. The old gentleman, as is ſaid, being great grandfather to Mrs Thoreſby, our Author in her right became poſſeſſed of his ſhare (17).

[*D*] *Mr Thornton, Biſhop Nicolſon, Gibſon, Kennet, &c.*] To begin with the firſt of theſe, Mr Thornton (†). This moſt intimate and uſeful friend was poſſeſſed of a curious library, in which were many valuable manuſcripts, and gave Mr Thoreſby the liberty of taking copies of whatever he pleaſed, who, among other things, tranſcribed a folio volume of the pedigrees of the gentry of the Weſt-riding of Yorkſhire, written by Mr Hopkinſon, with which he enriched the Muſæum Thoreſbeianum. To this eminent Recorder is joined Biſhop Nicolſon, with whom our Author held a conſtant correſpondence, and their mutual communications were free and frequent, and ended not till death (18). What gives this learned Biſhop a title to a prime place among our Author's correſpondents is, that he firſt of all diſcovered the value of that famous ſilver Runic coin, or medal, which is the diſtinguiſhing ornament and glory of the *Muſæum Thoreſbeianum*. This moſt curious piece had lain in the father's collection unnoticed, as being unknown till the ſon ſent it, being not bigger than a ſilver groat, under the ſeal of a letter to his friend, Dr Nicolſon, then Archdeacon of Carliſle, who returned it with a reading and interpretation of the inſcription, as follows, *Thur Gut Luetis*, i. e. *Thoris Dei facies, The Effigies of the God Thor* (19). This is literally the greateſt curioſity of the kind in the world. This ſingle medal being the only one known to be in any Muſæum in Europe, with the true Runic letters upon it. On one ſide it repreſents the figure of the God *Thor*, with a glory incircling his head, and a ſceptre or golden mallet in his hand; on the reverſe two creſcents, &c. A learned Foreigner has printed a treatiſe upon it, intituled, *De argento Runis ſeu literis Gothicis inſignito, quod dilucidatum in Camdeni Britannia Anglice nunc loquente, & ampliata literato exhibetur orbi, ſententia Nicolai Kederi, Regii antiquitatum collegii, quod Holmiæ eſt, Aſſeſſoris Lipſiæ* 1703, 4to (20). This otherwiſe invaluable piece is more particularly ſo to the family who poſſeſſes it, by bearing the God Thor (21), whence the name of Thoreſby is derived. The word *bye* in the Saxon language ſignifying habitation; ſo that Thoreſby intends the habitation or ſeat of Thor. In our Author's Muſæum is a coin of King Edward ſenior, an. 901 (22), with this inſcription, EDW*ARD. REX. round the King's head, with a crown and a ſort of arched ſcepter. On the reverſe theſe words, ÐORR. ON EOFERPIC, i. e. *Thorr of York* (23); and another of King Edward the Confeſſor, an. 1042, with the ſame words on the reverſe (24). Whence he concludes, that this Thorr was probably the very ſame perſon who is frequently mentioned in Domeſday-book, as having had a vaſt eſtate in the Northern parts of England. However, being diſpoſſeſſed thereof by the Conqueror, moſt of it lay waſte at the time of that memorable ſurvey. But to proceed,

The new edition of Camden's Britannia in 1695 introduced our Author to Dr Gibſon, at whoſe requeſt he wrote notes and additional obſervations on the Weſt-riding of Yorkſhire, and, for the uſe of this edition, he tranſmitted above a hundred of his coins to Mr Obadiah Walker (25), who undertook that province which related to the Roman, Britiſh, and Saxon monies. And, when the Biſhop was preparing that work for another and more complete impreſſion, Mr Thoreſby ſent a great

(18) They were ſtrictly coteraporaries, the Biſhop being born in 1655, and dying in Feb. 1726-7, ſee his Article; and our Author's birth happened in 1658, and his death in Oct. 1725.

(19) The ſubſtance of his deſcription is inſerted in Dr Gibſon's edition of Camden's Britannia, p. 814.

(20) Moſt Daniſh Antiquaries being of opinion, that no current monies were ever minted in theſe Northern kingdoms before the Runic characters were laid aſide, therefore Mr Keder, differing from all others, will have the image, which has a glory round it's head, on the face of this coin, to be that of our Saviour.

(21) One of the deities of our Saxon or Daniſh anceſtors, whence that day of the week called Thurſday, or Thorſday, takes its name.

(22) Ducatus Leod. p. 344.

(23) As explained by our Author: the ſtreet being eaſy from Eoferwic to Yoſerwic, Yorwic, and York.

(24) Ducatus Leod. p. 347, 348.

(25) Maſter of Univerſity-College in Oxford in the reign of King James II. See his Article.

ſhop *Gibſon*, Dr *Gale*, Dean of York, and his two ſons, Dr *Hickes*, Sir *Andrew Fountaine*, Mr *Wanley*, Mr *Hearne*, Dr *Richardſon*, Mr *Ray*, Mr *Strype*, Biſhop *Kennet* [*D*], and above all, Archbiſhop *Sharp*, his Dioceſan: who, to his knowledge in Theology, added a good taſte for coins and medals, and collected a curious cabinet of them. Their converſation frequently turned upon ſubjects of that nature, and his Grace preſented to him a copy of his Remarks on Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh money (*f*), requeſting his additions to them, with his opinion of ſome particular Saxon coins, which it was difficult to determine to what King they belonged [*E*]. But, in the interim, there aroſe an affair more immediately intereſting to Mr Thoreſby, in which he conſulted the Archbiſhop, and received from him a moſt affectionate treatment, as well by letters, as perſonal converſation. We have already obſerved, that our Author, in the time of King James, frequently attended the worſhip of the Church of England, in the view of ſtrengthening the Proteſtant bulwark againſt the Papiſts. This compliance, though done with ſo good a deſign, happened highly to diſpleaſe his Preſbyterian Paſtor, who, how worthy ſoever in other reſpects, behaved on this occaſion with ſuch an indiſcreet zeal, as turned to the prejudice of his own cauſe. Mr Thoreſby was thereby prompted to enter into a cloſer examination of the arguments on both ſides, and, adviſing with the Archbiſhop, was ſettled by his Grace in full communion with the Church eſtabliſhed (*g*). In the mean time, the circle of his acquaintance, already large, kept continually ſpreading [*F*], an advantage which naturally grew

(*f*) See a particular account of the Contents of this treatiſe in Muſ. Thoreſb. No. 95. of the MSS. in folio, Ducat. Leod. p. 528.

(*g*) Beſides the Archbiſhop, he conſulted other judicious friends on this important occaſion, particularly Mr Thornton, the Recorder above mentioned. He was alſo more inclined to the Church by the miniſtry of the Vicar of his pariſh, Mr Killingbeck, a Clergyman of ſo excellent a character, that Archbiſhop Sharp, in his ſpeech at a viſitation, propoſed him to his Clergy as an example, both for preaching, and practice. Vic. Leod. p. 725.

many queries to Mr Thoreſby, which were anſwered with alacrity, and the deſired expedition accompanied with other miſcellaneous obſervations, entirely to his Lordſhip's ſatisfaction.

The particulars of the mutual communication between our Author and Dr Gale, Dean of York, and his two ſons, eſpecially his ſon, Roger Gale, Eſq; are too numerous to inſert here (26), but frequently and gratefully acknowledged in the Ducatus Leodienſis. Our Author, ſpeaking of the Armitage family, and their chief ſeat called Kirklees, obſerves that it was of old a Benedictine nunnery. Near which the noted *Robin Hood* lies buried under a grave-ſtone, that yet remains near the Park, but the inſcription ſcarce legible (27). But he afterwards gives us, from the papers of Dr Gale, Dean of York, the following epitaph:

Hear undernead dis laitl ſtean
laiz robert earl of Huntingtun
nea arcir ver az hiz ſa geud
an pipl hauld im robin heud
ſick utlawz az hi an iz men
wil england nivr ſi agen.
obiit 24 kal. dekembris, 1247 (28).

(26) In the Index to the Ducatus Leod. are no leſs than forty-four references to this family.

(27) Ducatus Leod. p. 92.

Mr Thoreſby's correſpondence with Dr Hickes was alſo for ſome time very frequent. Among other things, the Doctor favoured him with his thoughts upon the inſcription of the abovementioned Runic medal. Concerning which he varies a little from Biſhop Nicolſon, rendering it, *Thor Deus Populi*, ſeu *Thor Nationis Deus*, vel *Deus Patrius*. Thor the God of the People, Nation, or Country. The reaſon whereof may be ſeen in Sir Andrew Fountaine's *Diſſertatio Epiſtolaris to Thomas Earl of Pembroke*, where it is very well engraved (29).

Mr. Thomas Hearne requeſted our Author's correſpondence, the favour of which he acknowledged often in print. For inſtance, in his edition of Livy's Roman hiſtory, Vol. 6, p. 181, for an inſcription relating to the ninth legion (30). Mr Hearne alſo publiſhed a letter of Mr Thoreſby at the end of the firſt volume of Leland's Itinerary, concerning ſome antiquities found in Yorkſhire, with a diſcourſe of his own upon them (31). And to his *Sylloge Epiſtolarum a variis Angliæ Principibus ſcriptarum*, at the end of *Titi Livii Foro Julienſis Vita Henrici Quinti*, he has ſubjoined *Auctarium Epiſtolarum ex Autographis in Muſeo Thoreſbeiano* (*). This celebrated Antiquary publiſhed likewiſe a letter of Mr Thoreſby's to Dr Richardſon of North Bierly in Yorkſhire, giving an account of the hoſpital of St Mary Magdalen at Bautre, in the Weſt riding of Yorkſhire (32). Mr Strype thought himſelf obliged to our Author for communicating ſome original letters in his collection (33). Mr Ray, among other things, received from our Author a collection of Local words (34), with which he promiſed to enrich the next edition of that book, if there ſhould be a call for another. Biſhop Kennet, in his correſpondence with our Author, thankfully acknowledges the receipt of ſome accounts of benefactions, &c. from him. Beſides theſe perſons mentioned above, Mr Thoreſby imparted to Dr Edmund Calamy memoirs of ſeveral Northern Divines for his *abridgment* of Baxter's *life and times*, as he did alſo of ſome of the worthy Royaliſts to Mr Walker for his *Sufferings of the Clergy*, which was publiſhed as an antidote to Dr Calamy's book: eſteeming good men of all parties worthy to have their names and characters tranſmitted to poſterity.

(28) Id. p. 576.

(29) Sir Andrew Founta.ne's Numiſm. in Dr Hickes's Theſaurus. It is alſo well engraved in the laſt Edition of Camden's Britannia.

(30) See alſo Phil. Tranſ. No. 305.

(31) Ibid. No. 322.

(*) He alſo prefixed to the fourth Vol. of Leland's Itinerary, a Diſſertation upon the *Securis Lapidea*, or Flint-mallet, in Muſ. Thoreſb. containing ſome curious remarks upon the Mallet, which, inſtead of a *Scepter*, is put into the hands of the God Thor. Ducat. Leod. p. 565, 566.

(32) Appendix, No. XIX. to Langtoft's Chronicle.

(33) Particularly two of Archbiſhop Whitgift, inſerted in his life of that prelate. Appendix, No. XLIV. and XLVII.

(34) This letter is inſerted in the Philoſophical Letters of Mr Ray, publiſhed by Dr Derham.

[*E*] *The Archbiſhop deſired his opinion of ſome particular coins*, &c.] His Grace had begun a moſt uſeful work, of collecting the endowments and benefactions belonging to the churches and chapels in his extenſive dioceſe, and deſired Mr Thoreſby to give him an account of what things had been done of that kind in the pariſh of Leedes. A more agreeable taſk could not have been enjoined him; and from the commiſſions of pious uſes, and other manuſcripts, he returned ſo ample and ſatisfactory an hiſtory, that he not only received his Grace's thanks for it, but the thanks alſo of his ſucceſſor, Sir William Dawes.

[*F*] *His acquaintance, already large, kept ſpreading.*] It would be injurious to the memory of Mr Thoreſby, in whoſe compoſition gratitude was a moſt rich and lovely ingredient, to omit mentioning, among his principal friends, his obligations to Mr Boulter, of Gawthorp-hall, a gentleman of ample fortune, and as great munificence; a conſiderable patron of learning and learned men; the nobleſt benefactor to his Muſæum, and for whom he drew up the antiquities of his ſeat and pariſh of Harwood. To Mr Boulter muſt be added that noble benefactreſs, Lady Elizabeth Haſtings, to whom he was indebted for many acts of favour and reſpect. And to his friends among the Antiquaries muſt be ſubjoined Dr Benjamin Longwith, firſt Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, and afterwards Rector of Petworth in Suſſex, and Mr Smith, Rector of Melſonby in Yorkſhire. To the former of whom Mr Thoreſby's collection was helpful in ſettling the true ſtandard of the Roman ounce (35) by a very curious *Denarius*, deſcribed in a treatiſe written by the latter (36), for the uſe of which, among the reſt of his Roman coins, it had been furniſhed by our Author. In general, Mr Thoreſby was well reſpected by the clergy and gentry of his town and neighbourhood, who had any taſte for learning or regard for piety. But it is in particular due to the memory of Mr *John Lucas*, to acknowledge how kind, affectionate, and ſerviceable a friend he was to our Author and his family, as well after as before his death, for many years; and though his buſineſs was teaching young people to read and write, yet he was a good maſter of the learned languages, was an excellent hiſtorian, and left behind him, in writing, many good collections, and eſpecially a large folio hiſtory of *Warton* (where he was born), and parts adjacent in the county of Lancaſter, which, by interſperſing a great variety of obſervations, eccleſiaſtical, civil, and natural, he has rendered a uſeful work (37). Moreover, Mr Thoreſby's ſkill in heraldry and genealogy rendered him a very ſerviceable correſpondent to Mr Arthur Collins in his Peerage of England, and an acceptable one to the principal perſons of the college of arms at London, eſpecially Mr Anſtis, Garter Principal King at Arms, Mr Le Neve Norroy, Mr Dale, and others. His judicious ſkill in coins and medals procured him a hearty welcome to the cabinets of other Virtuoſos in that way, particularly to that of the famous Earl of Pembroke, who regarded him with an extraordinary condeſcenſion and affectionate familiarity, and his knowledge in coins was greatly improved by the Earl's curious collection.

(35) Obſervations on Dr Arbuthnot's book on coins, weights, and meaſures, ſubjoined to the ſecond Edition of that treatiſe.

(36) Entitled *De Re Nummaria*, where their correſpondence is inſerted.

(37) Mr Lucas enriched the *Muſæum Thoreſbeianum* with a book, intituled *Faſciculus temporum*, a great curioſity, printed in or about 1485. Vicaria Leod. p. 75.

out of the felicity of his diſpoſition. He was not more diligent to encreaſe his learned treaſure, than communicative of it to others. It would be almoſt endleſs to enumerate the aſſiſtances which Mr Thoreſby gave, in one way or other, to the works of the learned. By theſe kindneſſes, ſweetened with the eaſineſs of acceſs to his own Cabinet, he always found the like eaſy acceſs to thoſe of other Virtuoſoes, which gave him frequent opportunities of enlarging his collection far beyond what could have been expected from a private perſon, not wealthy. And perhaps no private gentleman, beſide himſelf, had ſo general, and ſo reſpectable an acquaintance among perſons of the firſt reputation in the literary republic (*b*). This, as it did him great honour, ſo was it a mighty ſupport to him under the ſeveral vexations, and ſome great loſſes, which he met with in the courſe of his life. Among other Virtuoſoes, he commenced an early friendſhip with the celebrated Naturaliſt, Dr *Martin Liſter*. It was to this friend, that he ſent an account of ſome Roman antiquities he had diſcovered in Yorkſhire, which being communicated by him, and Dr Gale, Dean of York, to the Royal Society (*i*), obtained our Author a Fellowſhip of that learned body, into which he was unanimouſly choſen at their anniverſary meeting on St Andrew's day, 1697; and the great number of his papers, which appear in their Tranſactions, ſhew how deſerving he was of that honour [*G*]. At the ſame time, this connexion was of uſe, by enlarging the number of his friends, and gave riſe to his correſpondence with Sir Hans Sloane, Mr Evelyn, Mr Chamberlayne, and others. He was likewiſe well known to, and reſpected by, Mr Folkes (*k*), Dr Woodward, Dr Mead, Dr Stukeley, and many of thoſe Gentlemen who were afterwards incorporated by the title of The Society of Antiquaries. He had, of a long time, formed a deſign of doing honour to his native town and its environs, by writing the hiſtory thereof, and with this view had accumulated a vaſt quantity of materials for the work, which came out under the title of *Ducatus Leodienſis*: or, the Topography of Leedes, and Parts adjacent (*l*). In this piece, he frequently refers to the hiſtorical part intended for giving a view of the ſtate of the northern parts of the kingdom, during the dark, and more remote ages of the Britons and Romans; and of the alterations afterwards made by the Saxons, Danes, and Normans; and he proceeded ſo far, as to bring his narration, in a fair copy, nearly to the end of the ſixth Century, illuſtrating and confirming his hiſtory by his coins [*H*]. The reaſon of his leaving off there, may be eaſily conjectured from his advancement

(*b*) Out of regard to the memory of Mr Thoreſby's modeſty, we forbear to enumerate the many Nobility and Gentry, both of our own country, and foreigners, who viſited his Muſæum, and honoured his Album with their names and mottoes.

(*k*) This Gentleman, in the catalogue of his own collection of coins, occaſionally mentions ſeveral of our Author's, and particularly extols one as a great curioſity, that obſidional piece, which was coined by the Governor of Pontefract for the King, after the death of Charles I, and has this inſcription round the Caſtle, *Carolus Secundus*, 1648; and on the reverſe, a Crown with *C. R. Dum Spiro, Spero*; being the firſt monier that bore the name of Charles II.

(*i*) He was recommended by them for a candidate.

(*l*) To which is ſubjoined, Muſæum Thoreſbianum: or, a Catalogue of the Antiquities, &c. in the Repoſitory of Ralph Thoreſby, Gent. &c. which, though printed as the title-page declares, in 1712, was firſt publiſhed, together with the Ducat. Leod. in 1714. There is an account of both in Phil. Tranſ. No. 344.

[*G*] *The great number of his papers in the Phil. Tranſ.*] The following is a complete liſt of them: No. 222, 231, 234, 241, 244, 249, 256, 264, 277, 279, 282, 289, 291, 296, 297, 303, 304, 305, 306, 310, 316, 319, 320, 322, 331, 335, 336, 344, 372, and 377. They relate chiefly to Roman and Saxon monuments of antiquity in the North of England, with notes upon them, and the inſcriptions of coins, &c. The reſt containing accounts of uncommon accidents, &c.

[*H*] *His Manuſcript was left unfiniſhed.*] This curious piece, which conſiſts of thirty-three pages in quarto, being communicated by the preſent poſſeſſor, was carefully peruſed, and being found well prepared for the preſs as far as it extends, and very worthy of the public acceptance, we have obtained his conſent to inſert it here, in hopes that it may excite ſome able hand to carry it on and compleat the noble deſign of its Author in it. In the firſt leaf is this paſſage, apparently deſigned for a motto in the title-page.

Tho' in the North, yet there doth God work. Job xxiii. 9.

In partibus Septentrionalibus homines et ingenio et moribus cultiores ſunt, inter quos et per quos Deus maxima opera præſtat.

Poli Synopſis Critic. in locum.

Hiſtorical part of the Ducatus Leodienſis.

Though my deſign be chiefly to collect the memoirs of perſons eminent for learning and piety, beneficence and valour, who have adorned theſe Northern parts in later ages, wherein we have the advantage of more certain and expreſs authorities, yet I ſhall endeavour to give a view of the ſtate thereof, during the darker and more remote ages of the Britons and Romans, together with the Saxons, Danes, and Normans, only reſolving to be more ſhort where poſitive authorities cannot be had, as none are to be expected in parochial affairs during the firſt epocha.

For though *Jeffery of Monmouth* and his followers boaſt not only of twenty-eight cities, but of twenty-five flamins and three arch-flamins in thoſe cities, in whoſe places King Lucius, upon the converſion of the nation, appointed the like number of biſhops and archbiſhops; yet it is evident from Cæſar, that, though the Britons were populous, yet their habitations were like thoſe in Gallia (1), woods fortified with ditches and rampires. Nay, the very learned Biſhop *Stillingfleet* argues, that Cæſar takes not a city for a place, but for a people under one government, and that *civitas* is not once uſed by him in any other ſenſe (2). This was reſented ſo heinouſly by the Cambro-Britanni, that the learned Mr *James Owen* writ an anſwer thereto, ſtiled *Vindiciæ Britannicæ*, which he favoured me with a ſight of in manuſcript. And upon the whole I am of opinion, that, tho' the cities had their improvement from the Romans, yet their original, even as cities, were from the Britons.

(1) Cæſar's Com. lib. 5. cap. 4.

(2) Stillingfleet's true Antiq. of London and its ſtate in the Roman times, p. 473.

Amongſt the twenty-eight cities, which are expreſsly mentioned by Nennius, a Britiſh hiſtorian, who flouriſhed eleven hundred years ago, is *Caer-Loidcoit* or *Caer-Luyt-coit*, as Archbiſhop *Uſher* found it writ in ſome of the ancient manuſcripts (3), of which he had the opportunity of conſulting nine. *Geoffrey* indeed writes it *Lindcoit*, and applies it to *Lincoln*. But the learned Dr *Gale*, who firſt publiſhed *Nennius*, in his emendations of that ancient hiſtorian, thinks it rather applicable to *Leedes*, [Leedes in Elmeto (4)] and adds further in a letter to myſelf, *it might be your town, but by no means Lincoln*. There are two reaſons that, in my opinion, do abundantly confirm the learned Dean's opinion, that it is rather to be applied to *Leedes* than *Lincoln*. 1. The name of the place itſelf, *Caer-Loidcoit*; now *Coit*, ſignifies *wood*, and, being taken appellatively, what reference can the monoſyllable *Loid* or *Luit* (and it is never writ *Lind* by any of the ancient hiſtorians) have to *Lincoln*, but it manifeſtly has to *Leedes*, or Loidis, as it is called by Bede, and King Alfred in his Saxon verſion of that venerable Author (5). So that *Caer-Loidcoit* ſignifies, in our modern dialect, the city of *Loid in the wood*. 2. The circumſtances of the actions, wherein the place is mentioned, which I believe any one, who impartially conſiders them, will acknowledge do more genuinely ſuit this than that city. The Britons having driven the Saxons out of Lincolnſhire northward, we find mention of *Caer-Loidcoit* as a place further north than Lincoln; and ſo *Caer Coit Celedon*, which in the Britiſh tongue ſignifies Haſſels, now both *Haſſelwood*, and Bede's *Sylva Elmetæ* being in this tract, it might well be ſtiled *Loid in the wood*. I would not herein argue as a party man, ſuch being apt ſometimes to force an argument where it comes not in voluntarily, and as an evidence do freely relinquiſh what a learned Author hath lately granted concerning the rencounter, anno 1091, betwixt the two Kings of England and Scotland, which he ſays was in the province of Leedes in Yorkſhire; becauſe in truth (which is always to be preferred) it was Lothian in Scotland.

(3) Uſher's Brit. Eccl. Ant.

(4) Gale's Hiſt. Britann. p. 135.

(5) Edit. Whelor, p. 146.

As to the ſignification of the Britiſh name *Loid* or *Luyt*, Mr *Owen* beforementioned writes to me that 'it 'ſignifies *Grey*, and is a famous name amongſt the Bri-'tons to this day (as Gray amongſt the Engliſh). One 'of

Leedes one of the twenty-eight Britiſh cities.

The ſignification of the Britiſh name.

advancement in years; he therefore contented himself with committing to the press, his *Vicaria Leodiensis*: or, the History of the Church of Leedes, &c. which was published at London

' of them I know, says he (6), to be the eldest house ' descending from the British Kings; and adds, most ' of the families of eminency in that his native country ' were in those ages deduced from colours. When it is ' writ *Lind*, it is a corruption of *Luyt* or *Llwyd*, which ' is the original word; but, because *Ll* cannot be well ' pronounced by the English, *Fl*, being something near ' it in sound, is substituted in its place, and corruptly ' writ *Floyd* or *Loid* or *Lud*. It is certain that *Coit* or ' *Coet* signifieth a wood in British, and *Kaer* a city, and ' it might be called *Caer-Lud* or *Loidcoit* [the city of *Lud*, ' or *Lud* in the *wood*] to distinguish it from another ' *Caer-Lud*, or *London*: both so called from some great ' man or men, who built the cities that bear their names, ' corruptly *Lud* or *Loid*, but more regularly *Llwyd*.' To what my deceased friend has writ let me add, that a place in this town is called *Lid-gate* to this day, the same which, in some ancient charts belonging to the Lords of this manor, is called the *Tower-hill*, from some such fabrick built there in former ages, as is probable not only from its situation in the highest part of the town, but from some very large stones, and foundations of such a building, at a considerable depth below those of the late houses (7); but whether of British antiquity, from *Tûr* a *pile*, L. *Turris* (8), or later ages, will be hard to determine at this distance of time.

A tower there.

(6) Epist. 17 March, 1703.

(7) Ducat. Leod. P. 32.

(8) Lhuyd's Archæol. Brit. p. 288.

My Lord Almoner obliged me with a curious remark, which cannot be better expressed than in his Lordship's own words, where, having spoken of the Saxon etymology, from *Leod populus*, (which was my first thoughts) he adds, *verum altius (puto) quærenda est origo vocis. Britannicum* LLWYD *(inter alia ejus significata) statum denotat rebus undique prosperis amœnum. Annon igitur Leedes hæc Eboracensis, (ut et illa Cantiorum altera) Beilositi nomen cum Oxonio aliquando meruit? Huic equidem conjecturæ Jubblandiri videntur Illa Regii Bede Interpretis* on dam land ðe Loiv is haten (9).

(9) Epist. D. D. W. Nicolson, Episc. Carliol. Dec. 8, 1694.

I have formerly observed (10), that, though the names of the towns and villages in these parts, being of later erection, are generally Saxon, as Hunsworth, Holbec, Fennley, &c. yet the rivers and the woods, into which the natives retired, retain the British names. As to *Are*, the learned Clarencieux has long since informed us (11), that it is deduced from the British word *Ara*, which signifies *slow, easy*, as *Araris (Saone)* in France, and is very suitably applied to the calm and smooth course of this river *Are*; whereas the very next river, *Wherfe*, is swift and violent, fretful and angry, as the same historian expresseth it, which he inclines therefore to deduce from the British *Guer*, swift, the Roman *Verbeia*; for, as the industrious Mr Lhuyd truly observes (12), *Gu* is common to the Britons, with the French, Spaniards, and Italians, and that the Romans began such words with an V consonant. But we need not go five miles for another instance; there is a nameless water near the town of Leedes, which is of British original from *Dour, water*, whence the bridge over it is called *Dow-brig*, for *Dour-bridge*, as *Dow-gate* at London for *Dour-gate*. For an example of woods we have *Cat-Beeston* in this parish, which, in the language of those ages, signifies the Woody Beeston, from *Coit Sylva*, as the vale of *Catmore* (13), or the *Woody field* or ground. I was at a loss for the Etymon of *Cad-Beeston*, as it is sometimes called in ancient writings, till Mr *Owen* informed me, that *Coed* as well as *Coit* doth in the British signify a *Wood*. *Archæologia Britannica*, since published, has also *Koed Sylva*, p. 160. So also the *saltus*, or *Sylva Andred*, was by the Britons called *Coid-Andred*. (14). I shall only give one instance more that relates to those times, and it is *Bardsey* by *Rigton* near *Harewood*, which seems to be denominated by the ancient *Bards*, the historians and poets of those ages when the ancient festivals were little esteemed without the *Carmina Bardi* chanted to the harp. It is said King *Arthur*'s sepulture at *Glastonbury* was discovered by one of their historical ballads, and it is certain that Mr Neile, the late Bishop Hopkins's steward, found some gold by a particular description of the place given in another of them (15).

The river Are British.

(11) Camden's Britan. XXIII. & 710. Edit. 1695.

So Wherfe.

(12) Comp. Etimol. p. 9. col. 3.

(13) Camden's Britan. p. 455.

(14) Somner, of the Roman ports and forts in Kent, (p. 106.) to which the learned Bishop of Lincoln has added instructive and judicious remarks.

Bardsey.

(15) Camden's Britan. p. 1021.

While the government of the Britons lasted, the *Brigantes*, a people stout and numerous, possessed not these parts only, but almost the whole tract between the east and west sea, containing Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and the Bishoprick of Durham, as Sir Henry Savile enumerates them in his Edition of Julius Agricola's Life by Tacitus. These struggled hard with the *Romans* to maintain their ancient freedom, which brings me to the next Dynastic.

The Brigantes.

That *Julius Cæsar* made an expedition into Britain fifty-five years before the incarnation of the blessed Jesus, is evident beyond contradiction, but must be omitted here, because he never penetrated thus far. *Augustus* was not ambitious of extending the bounds of the Empire. *Tiberius* followed his example. *Caligula* indeed, sollicited by *Admimus (Cunobaline*'s son) made a ridiculous expedition, of which nothing remains, but the ruins of a *Pharus* upon the coast of Holland, and called there *Britenbuis*. But *Claudius*, in the third year of his reign, ann. Dom. 44, came in person, and having taken *Camelodunum*, the King's seat, reduced the fourth part of Britain into the form of a province, which gave a mighty turn to affairs here, where he was four times saluted emperor, and upon his return to Rome, had a glorious triumph, and to perpetuate the memory thereof, called his son *Britannicus*. *London*, that noble *Emporium*, was built in his time, saith the learned Bishop *Stillingfleet* (16). *Aulus Plautius* was the first *Legatus*, or *Proprætor*; for those provinces that were under the immediate care of the Emperor (as *Britain* was) had a Governor in chief over the whole province sent among them, whose title commonly was *Legatus Aug. Proprætor Prov.* who had his chief residence in the Metropolis. He had power of life and death, which the *Procurator Cæsaris* had not, except in smaller provinces (as *Pilate* in Judæa, under the President of Syria.) As the capital causes belonged to the *Legatus*, so those of the Exchequer belonged to *Cæsar's Procurator*; whence the Britons complain in *Tacitus*, that whereas, before they had one King of their own, they had now two put upon them, the Legate, who disposed of their blood, and the Procurator of their estates.

The Roman invasion.

(16) The Antiq. of London, P. 535.

Claudius was the first of all the Romans, who made an attempt upon our *Brigantes*, and that these very parts were full of men and actions in those times, is evident from the plentiful remains of that nation, which are yet to be met with. Of these, none can be more remarkable, than the great military road upon *Bramham-moor*; *Leland* himself confessing, "I never saw yn any parte of England so manyfest a token as heere, of the large high crest of the waie of Watelyng streate, made yn hand, as I found it in a transcript of his *Itinerary* for Lancashire and Yorkshire, lent me by his Grace, the late excellent Archbishop *Sharp*, with liberty to transcribe both, which I gladly undertook: but the whole *Itinerary* is since most accurately printed, in nine volumes, with many learned and curious additions by my kind friend, the ingenious and industrious Mr *Thomas Hearne*, at Oxford. In the sixth volume of which, is published a most judicious account of the four great Roman ways. I formerly intimated (17), that I supposed it to be the performance of the very learned *Roger Gale*, Esq; and can now assure the Reader that it is so. By which essay it is manifest, that those Authors who called this way *Watling-street*, are mistaken, and that it is the *Erming-street*, the course whereof through these parts, I shall give in his own words.

These parts full of men and actions. Temp. Claudii, &c.

Their highways.

(17) Ducat. Leod. P. 579.

Erming-street.

' As soon as you are out of *Doncaster*, it rises with a ' high bank, and carries you to *Adwick in the Street*, ' and is again visible a little to the west of the Park by ' *Pontfract*. Thence it crosses the *Are* at *Castleford*, ' and goes by *Ollerton* and *Ledston* to *Aberford*, and ap' pears on several places of Bramham-moor. It is cut ' by the river *Wherfe*, at *St Helensford*, a little below ' *Wetherby*, but the *Agger* shews itself again immediately ' on the north side of it, and proceeds in a direct line ' to *Aldborough*. It is frequently visible in the way ' thither; but is not the great road now generally used, ' which lies to the west of it; nevertheless it is well ' enough known in those parts by the name of the ' *Road-gate*, or *Road-way*. Near *Burrowbridge* it passed ' the *Eure*, and a mile north from that river you have ' it again, as soon as you are out of *Kirby-hill*, from ' whence it scarce ever disappears for near twenty miles ' together, having been paved, as is still evident. From ' this place to *Catterick*, in a straight line, and about ' fourteen miles of it being hedged in on both sides, ' is now called *Leeming-lane*, from a town of that name ' standing upon it, and the *High-street*.' Besides this grand road, there were several *Viæ Vicinales* from one station to another, particularly one from the great Consular-way upon Bramham-moor, by *Thorner* and *Shadwel*, through *Street-lane* in this parish (so called from the Roman *Stratum*) by *Haw-Caster-rig* (so denominated from their *Castrum*) to *Adle-moor*, where the

Their Viæ Vicinales.

Street-lane.

Haw-Caster-rig.

the veſtigia of a Roman town were diſcovered, ann. 1702. Some funeral monuments, and other antiquities diſcovered there, are now depoſited in this Muſæum by the kindneſs of *Cyril Arthington*, Eſq; F. R. S. Lord of the Manor (18); thence through the grounds of *Thomas Kirk*, Eſq; F. R. S. (an ingenious virtuoſo, ſince deceaſed) at *Cookridge*, over the moors to *Ilkly*, a known Roman ſtation. Another of theſe *Viæ Minores*, (though theſe alſo were large and publick, compared with the more private *Agrarian* ways) brancheth from another part of the ſaid *Erming-ſtreet* to *Berwick in Elmet*, where the great *Agger*, that Camden ſuppoſeth to have been the walls of the town, when the Saxon Kings reſided there, ſeems to have been a Roman work, and particularly raiſed by the *Vandals* (and from them called *Wendal-hill*) of whoſe expedition into theſe parts more anon. Thence over *Whitkirk-moor* by *Thorp Stapleton* (19) to *Leedes*; where this very year, 1717, in digging for clay for re-edifying a new Vicarage-houſe, the labourers found a paved cauſeway, a yard below the preſent ſurface of the ground; it was twelve feet in breadth, for this part, being low and moiſt in thoſe ages, was ſet with ſtones, as is another (juſt as broad) in the pariſh of *Bringley*, lately diſcovered by the learned Dr Richardſon, which doubtleſs, as he ſays, was a Roman way (20). Upon the aſcent of the hill, on the other ſide of the rivulet here called *Sheeps-car-beck*, are the remains of a large camp, the *Agger*, conſidering its nearneſs to the town, and the interpoſition of ſo many ages, is very great; this, from the ſingle *Vallum*, and the convenience of water (a thing the Romans always made ſure of,) may, I think, be ſafely pronounced one of the many camps they had in theſe parts. At the head of the very ſame beck, is another of them, which being upon the moors, and four miles diſtant from hence, is intire to this day. It is near the Roman town upon *Adle-moor*, before mentioned. This camp at *Leedes* retains ſomewhat of the *Vallum* in its preſent name, *Walſtat*; for it is plain from all Authors who write upon that ſubject, that the Romans pronounced V conſonant as we do W, and Caſaubon (21) particularly inſtanceth in Wall, *Vallum*; the termination ſignifies *Area*, a plat of ground; *Area-belli*, Barle-ground. Mr *Gale*, in his curious treatiſe before mentioned (22), ſuppoſeth *Walm-gate* in York, ſo denominated from its leading to the *Vallum* of that City.

That theſe parts were in thoſe ages of the world full of men and money, may be argued from the great quantities of Roman coins found here. I ſhall inſtance only in ſome diſcovered ſince Camden's time, that I may not *actum agere*. The Right Hon. the Lord *Moleſworth*, obliged me with an account of thoſe that, ann. 1705, were accidentally found near his ſeat at *Edlington*, by his own ſervant's ſtriking his pick-ax into an urn that contained about two gallons; upon further ſearch, another *Theca Nummaria* was diſcovered, full of the like money (23), of which his Lordſhip ſent me above a hundred: the probable reaſon of their concealment will be mentioned in the ſequel. Theſe are all of the Baſſe-Empire: but I have from other places, of an elder date, a *Trajan* from *Peckfield*; another *Trajan*, with a *Severus*, from *Pontefract*; a *Geta* formerly found at *Caſtleford*: but though plenty in old time, not one is to be met with now at the ſtation. Of thoſe found at *Cookridge*, ann. 1708, an account is already publiſhed, Phil. Tranſ. No. 316; they were moſtly of *Domitian*, *Nerva*, *Trajan*, and *Hadrian*, though I have a rare one of *Vitellius*, and another of *Titus*, from the ſame place; a *Domitian* from *Tadcaſter*, not that with CALCAPAVC, which Dr N. J. very inconſiderately got inſerted in a late noted book, as coined at *Calcaria*, or *Tadcaſter*: I have the original MS. which led him into the miſtake; for it is CAESAR. AVG. upon the coin itſelf. If it was really deſigned for the name of a place, it would have been upon the reverſe, as LON. for London in the later Emperors, but never round his head, with his name and titles. That many Roman coins were found at this ſtation, as alſo at York and Aldborough, is evident from Camden, ſo not to be repeated here; but the ingenious Dr *Richardſon* mentions (24) ſeveral places in this Weſt-riding, not taken notice of by any preceding Author; viz. at *Sowerby* near *Halifax*, at *Hoveledge* in the townſhip of *Hipperholm*, found in a thick glaſs veſſel, others were fallen from a precipice at *Stainland*, and ſome nigh *Heaton* in *Burſtal* pariſh; to which I ſhall only add thoſe diſcovered ann. 1695, upon the moors that bound in Yorkſhire, towards *Burnley* in Lancaſhire, of which Mr Charles *Townley* of Townley ſent me a ſcore, ſome of which being conſular, and none later than *Nerva*, argue that theſe places were frequented in thoſe more early times, when the Roman Empire was in its glory.

(18) Phil. Tranſ. No. 282. and Ducat. Leod. p. 158, &c.

Wendal-hill.

(19) At which place I traced above 400 paces.

(20) Dr Richardſon's Letter, in the ninth Volume of Leland's Itinerary, p. 146.

Walſtat.

(21) De Lingua Saxonica, p. 169. See more in the Ducat. Leod. p. [111].

Walm-gate.

(22) Letter of the four Roman ways, p. 108.

(23) Of which, ſee Phil. Tranſ. No. 303.

(24) His Letter in Leland's Itinerary, Vol. IX. p. 145.

Under *Claudius*, before mentioned, *Veſpaſian* laid the foundation of his future glory here in Britain *tricies cum hoſte conſixit*, &c. (25), ſubduing two of the moſt potent nations; he fought the enemy thirty times, took above twenty towns, and ſubdued the *Iſle of Wight*. Here alſo *Titus* fought as a Tribune under his father. *Oſtoſius Scapula* ſucceeded *A. Plautius* as Proprætor in Britain, ann. Dom. 50, and behaved himſelf ſo fortunately, that *Claudius* was the twenty-firſt time ſaluted Emperor. He is ſaid to have ſubdued the *Brigantes*, whoſe Queen, *Cartiſmandua* delivered to the Romans *Caraćtacus*, the valiant King of the *Silures*, whom *Tacitus* (26) makes the greateſt glory of Claudius's triumph, in the year 52 (27); but, as *Camden* and *Lipſius* have noted, that is an Anticroniſma in that excellent author; for the *Brigantes* rather ſurrendered than were ſubdued; and *Tacitus* himſelf owns, that *Oſtorius* after this, having new conqueſts in his eye, was forced to return, becauſe of the mutinies among the *Brigantes*, who at beſt were very impatient of reſtraint, but at this juncture had an additional provocation; *Venutius* their King, being ſupplanted by *Vellocatus* his armour-bearer, whom *Caſtimandua* had married, was neceſſitated to war upon the Romans, becauſe they aſſiſted her and her paramour with their garriſons, wings, and cohorts; the *Brigantes*, taking part with the lawful huſband, under the conduct of *Venutius*, reduced the faithleſs Queen to the utmoſt extremity.

(25) Suetonius in Veſpaſian, c. 4.

(26) Tacitus, Annals, Lib. XII. Cap. VIII.

(27) Saville's Faſti, ad calcem Rer. Angl. Scriptor. N. B. This piece of hiſtory has given birth to an excellent Poem, called *Caraćtacus*, publiſhed a few years ago by Mr Maſon.

For theſe and other provocations, the Brigantes may be ſafely concluded to have made up a conſiderable part of the enraged *Boadicea*'s army, with which ſhe ſlew ſeventy thouſand Romans and their confederates (28), ſacked *Camelodunum*, burnt *London*, deſtroyed *Verulam*, and cut off moſt of the ninth legion, which came to their reſcue under *Petilius Cerealis*, ſlaying the foot, and putting the horſe to flight. This was in the ſeventh year of *Nero*, an. Dom. 62. An. D. 62.

(28) Tacitus, Annals, XIV. 20.

So that, for any thing which appears to the contrary, the Brigantes were not ſubjugated till the reign of *Veſpaſian*, who, with the reſt of the world, recovered Britain alſo by his great captains and good ſoldiers. In the year 73 he ſent, as his Proprætor, into Britain, *Petilius Cerealis*, who, on *Boadicea*'s revolt, neither fled into Gallia, as did *Catus* the Procurator, nor through cowardice diſobeyed the general's order, as the camp-maſter of the ſecond legion did, only was overpowered in the common calamity; but now ſtruck a terror into the Britons by invading, upon his firſt entry, the *Brigantes*, the moſt populous (to uſe the very words of that ancient hiſtorian) ſtate of the whole province. Many battles were fought, and ſome bloody, and the greateſt part of them either conquered or waſted (29). An. D. 73.

(29) Life of Agricola, by Tacitus, Edit. Savil. p. 191.

Where this victorious ninth legion reſided, or that it was ſtiled *Victrix*, we cannot learn from any of the ancient hiſtorians that have written about the Roman legions, who ſay nothing about this, but leave us quite in the dark; only from this paſſage in *Tacitus* it is concluded, that it muſt be ſomewhere in Britain. But both are now evident from two inſcriptions found of late years in the very ancient city of York, where it was certainly quartered: the former is a funeral monument for the ſtandard-bearer, which need not here be repeated, having been already thrice printed (30). It was diſcovered in Trinity-yard, and happily reſcued by my honoured friend, Dr *Bryan Fairfax*, from the bruiſh workmen, who had broken it in the middle, and were going to make uſe of it for two Throughs, as they call them, in the wall; but, by that worthy gentleman's directions, it was placed upright, with the inſcription, and his ſtatue in baſſe-relieve placed outwards, and was ſo juſtly valued by the proprietor of the place, that it was removed to his ſeat at Ribſton, where the very courteous Sir *Henry Goodrick*, Bart. ſhewed it me in his gardens. That this 9th legion was alſo ſtiled *Victrix* (perhaps for its victories over the ſtout *Brigantes*) is evident from a Roman brick, upon which is inſcribed LEG. IX. VIC. This was found by an ingenious artiſt, Mr *Samuel Smith*, the bell-founder, near the ſame place, in Micklegate, York, and is now in my poſſeſſion. By theſe and many other inſcriptions, and noble remains of the Roman glory, the great antiquity of that celebrated city is evident; and if we ſhould, with Biſhop *Stillingfleet*, caſt aſide the Britiſh hiſtory, yet theſe would ſhew it to have been eminent when Rome was in its flouriſhing ſtate; and there are yet more evident tokens of it's glory in Severus's reign; of which anon.

The 9th legion

(30) In the Phil. Tranſ. No. 305. in Mr Hearne's valuable edition of Livy, lib. 6. p. 181. and in Mr Gale's accurate edition of Antoninus, where it is alſo depicted, p. 23.

Stiled Victrix.

Only I cannot omit before to take notice how a kind Providence overpowered the ſtruggling *Brigantes*, and made them happy even againſt their wills, in becoming early a Roman province; which cannot be better expreſſed

Chriſtianity early here.

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preſſed than in the words of our late excellent Primate (31). 'Of all the iſles of the Gentiles, if any 'one above the reſt hath felt the benign and gracious 'influences of the Lord's being our King, certainly 'ours is that iſland. How wonderfully bountiful has 'God been to us in a continued ſucceſſion of publick 'bleſſings, even from the firſt beginning of time that 'we have had any memorials of events among us? We 'had the happineſs to be early made a province of the 'Roman empire, and by that means were trained up 'to civility, and arts, and good manners. That made 'way for the greateſt bleſſing Heaven could beſtow 'upon us, even the receiving Chriſtianity: and that 'bleſſing we had with the moſt early, being the firſt 'among the Nations that embraced it. When, through 'the juſt judgment of God, barbariſm and ignorance 'overſpread the face of Europe, and by the occaſion there-'of ſuperſtition and idolatry made their way, and all 'the Weſtern kingdoms gave up their power to a foreign 'uſurper, even then this iſland made the longeſt ſtand; 'nay, and was never ſo perfectly ſubdued, but that Po-'pery was here a different thing from what it was in 'the Southern climates. When the happy time came, 'that God thought fit to ſet on foot the Reformation, 'having firſt made way for it by the reſtoring of learning, 'ſuch was his particular care of us, that this was one of 'the firſt kingdoms that was brought over to it.'

(31) Archbiſhop Sharp's Sermons, Vol. I. f. 450.

But I am tranſported beyond my preſent bounds, which concern only the firſt planting of Chriſtianity. That it was here very early, is acknowledged by all; but by whom firſt planted, is much controverted. *Sanders* the Jeſuit, and others, contend earneſtly for St *Peter*, that our engagement to the Roman church might become more viſible. Others plead for St *James*, *Simon Zelotes*, St *Philip*, and *Ariſtobulus*; but the tradition of *Joſeph of Arimathea* and his brethren coming to *Glaſſenbury* having met with better entertainment, the learned Biſhop *Stillingfleet* hath at large examined it (32), and ſhews how much more probable it is, that St *Paul* himſelf was the firſt founder of a church here (33), and evinceth that there was a Chriſtian church in Britain even in the Apoſtle's time, which he proveth from *Theodoret*, *Clemens Romanus*, and alſo from *Euſebius*, whoſe teſtimony is the more convincing, being not only a learned and inquiſitive perſon, but a favourite of *Conſtantine*, the firſt Chriſtian Emperor, and preſent at the council of Nice, whither Biſhops were ſummoned from all parts of the empire; and one who, deſigning an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, had a particular curioſity to enquire into the original of all churches.

(32) Biſhop Stillingfleet's Origines Brit. p. 6.

(33) Idem, p. 39.

The two moſt noted converts to Chriſtianity in this age, were *Pomponia Græcina*, the wife of Aulus Plautius, the Roman Lieutenant in Britain (which put her in a capacity to be a happy inſtrument of propagating the Chriſtian faith in this country) and *Claudia Ruffina*, ſo much celebrated by Martial for her wit and beauty. She was certainly a Briton by birth, and wife of Pudens, a Roman Senator, and both rationally concluded to be the ſame perſons mentioned by St *Paul* (34) himſelf. The reſt of the kindred of this noble family, who were baptized with her, might be the occaſion of diſperſing Chriſtianity in the Britiſh nation, and were probably ſome of the *Saints in Cæſar's houſhold* mentioned by the ſame Apoſtle (35).

(34) 2 Tim. iv. 21.

(35) In his Epiſtle to the Philippians, iv. 22.

Petilius Cerealis before mentioned was ſucceeded by *Julius Frontinus*, and he by *Cn. Julius Agricola*, ann. Dom. 79, who, as he carried his conqueſts by ſea as well as land, to the utmoſt extent of Britain, the iſles of the *Orcades*, ſo, by a notable policy, he ſought to induce the natives by pleaſures to quietneſs and reſt, exhorting them in private, and aſſiſting them in publick, to build temples and houſes; and inſtructed the noblemen's ſons in the liberal ſciences, preferring the wits of the Britons before the ſtudents of France (36); ſo that they became curious to attain the eloquence of the Roman language, as well as their habit, ſumptuous buildings, and too ſoon even their luxuries.

An. D. 79.

An. D. 86.

(36) Tacitus's Agricola, p. 193.

Agricola, being recalled by Domitian, delivered up the province in a peaceable condition to his ſucceſſor, *Salluſtius Lucullus*, who had the hard fate to be put to death for no other cauſe but that, having deviſed certain ſpears or launces, he cauſed them to be called *Lucullians*. Much cannot be expected concerning theſe affairs in the ſhort reign of *Nerva*; but his ſucceſſor, *Trajan*, as he brought the empire to its utmoſt extent, power, and glory, ſo he is particularly famous for repairing the Roman ways here in Britain (37), which, being toilſome to the labourers therein, might perhaps be one occaſion of the revolt in his reign; for it was the general complaint of the natives, as *Tacitus* confeſſes, that the Romans put their hands and bodies to the drudgery of ridding out [clearing] woods and paving fens, with a great many ſtripes and indignities: and the *Brigantes* are eſpecially noted as impatient of ſervitude: inſomuch that *Julius Severus*, *Hadrian's* Lieutenant, being recalled upon an inſurrection in Judea, the Britons had certainly freed themſelves from the Roman yoke, had not the Emperor himſelf come in perſon, an. Dom. 123. But he reduced them, and built that noted wall, eighty miles in length, (not eight only as miſprinted in Speed) (38), between *Tyne* and *Solway* Frith.

(37) Camden's Britan. p. lxvi.

An. D. 99.

An. D. 118.

An. D. 123.

(38) Speed's Hiſtory, p. 97.

In this revolt it is probable that *Adellocum* or *Burgdunum*, the Roman ſtation upon *Adel-moor* near Leedes, was burnt by the *Brigantes* in their zeal to retrieve their native freedom. As that ſtation flouriſhed during the height of the Roman glory, ſo that it was burnt, ſeems evident by the ſlag, or aduſt colour I obſerved in my ſurvey thereof; and that it was in this very revolt is probable, becauſe that, amongſt the Roman coins found in that neighbourhood, ſince the diſcovery of the *veſtigia* of that town and the monuments were firſt publiſhed in Phil. Tranſ. No. 282, there was not one of a later Emperor than *Hadrian*; not to repeat other reaſons, from the form of the letters, which are elſewhere aſſigned (39).

(39) Ducatus Leod. p. 190. Phil. Tranſ. No. 282, and No. 316.

Upon this expedition of *Hadrian*, and his ſucceſs here, the ſenate ordered medals to be ſtruck, one of which is in this collection, and was probably found in theſe parts, being paid me in the fee-farm rents belonging to the Lords of the manor of Leedes; but the ſimple fellow had ſlipt away, fearing, it is likely, he ſhould have been obliged to exchange it. Upon it is the Emperor's head, inſcribed *Trajanus Hadrianus Aug.* . . . . . and upon the reverſe, *Britain*, or perhaps *Rome* triumphant upon this occaſion, ſitting upon a ſhield, with a ſpear in her right hand, Pont. Max. Tr. POT. COS. III. S. C. Exergue BRITANNIA, which is the more rare, becauſe it has eſcaped the induſtrious *Occo*.

The war broke out again in the reign of his ſucceſſor, *Antoninus Pius*, in the year 139; but *Lollius Urbicus*, his Lieutenant, repulſed the Barbarians, and repaired the wall. In the mean time, a new inſurrection was kindled amongſt the *Brigantes* (40), but quaſhed by the ſame Legate, who, for his ſucceſſes here, obtained the ſirname of *Britannicus*. He took away ſome part of their country from the Brigantes, becauſe they had made incurſions into *Genounia*, and recovered the former wall between the two Friths of *Bodobria* and *Glotta* (41), (now called *Edinburgh* and *Dunbritton*) that had been firſt built by *Agricola*, in *Veſpaſian's* time, and rebuilt the wall there, to ſecure it againſt the Picts.

An. D. 139.

(40) Speed's Hiſt. p. 99.

(41) Biſhop Lloyd of St Aſaph's Hiſt. Account, p. 3.

I have alſo a very rare medal of this excellent Emperor's, referred to in the learned Biſhop of Lincoln's edition of the Britannia (42); whereupon Britain is repreſented ſitting upon the rocks, thoſe *mirificas moles*, as *Cicero* calls them, wherewith ſhe is ſurrounded, liſting up her right hand to her head, inſcribed ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS. PP. TR. P. XVIII. reverſe, BRITANNIA COS. IIII. S. C. which was in the year of our Lord, one hundred fifty-ſix (43).

(42) Camden's Brit. p. xxvii.

An. D. 156.

(43) Muſæum Thoreſbeian. No. 323, and 369.

Notwithſtanding the barbarous Britons were thus driven 100 miles Northward, for ſo much is the diſtance between the walls of *Hadrian* and *Antoninus*; yet the old grudge at the Roman oppreſſion, made them revolt again with ſo much violence, in the beginning of *Antoninus Philoſophus's* reign, that *Calphurnius Agricola* was ſent againſt them with freſh ſupplies, amongſt which was *Helvius Pertinax*, afterwards Emperor. The very name of Agricola reminding them of their former overthrows, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Britons, that we read of no diſturbance here till the time of *Commodus*. But there is a matter of greater concernment, not to be omitted in this interval. Though Chriſtianity was planted here, as is before mentioned, very early; yet was there not a crowned head that ever embraced the true faith till the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, under whom flouriſhed *Lucius*, *ultimus in Britannia regum Paganorum & primus Chriſtianorum*, to uſe the words of our countryman Alured of Beverly, lately publiſhed with notes by the moſt induſtrious Mr Hearne (44). There are diſputes about the preciſe year, and other circumſtances of his reign; but that there was ſuch a one, and that he was alſo the firſt Chriſtian King in the world, is owned by all, and fully evinced by the incomparable Archbiſhop *Uſher* (45), and acknowledged by the learned Biſhop *Stillingfleet* (46). He was converted by *Timothy*, not he to whom St *Paul* directs his Epiſtle, (as ſome have vainly imagined) but his name-ſake, the ſon of *Pudens* and *Claudia Ruffina*, before mentioned, who being a Britiſh convert, was more proba-

An. D. 164.

(44) Aluredi Beverlacenſis Annales. Oxon. 1716. p. 30.

(45) Uſſerii Brit. Antiq. Dublinii 1639. c. 3 & 4.

(46) Stillingfleet's Origin. Brit. p. 62.

bly employed in converting a Britiſh King. Nennius makes him [*cum univerſis Regulis totius Britanniæ* (47)] to be baptized ann. Dom. 164, which others defer till 169, and which is worſe, deny the exiſtence of ſuch *Reguli* under him, the ſtate of the Roman province not permitting it. Biſhop *Stillingfleet*'s aſſigning Surrey and Suſſex as the moſt probable place of his dominion under the Romans, might acquit me from any further proſecution of his ſtory, could I but expect pardon from the Eboracenſes for omitting, that this firſt Chriſtian King made *York* the ſeat of an Archbiſhop, viz. *Faganus*, whom *Eleutherius*, Biſhop of Rome, ſent to confirm him in the Chriſtian Faith, *ſubjacuit Metropolitano Eboraci* Deira *et* Albania (48). All Scotland, together with the counties of York, Lancaſter, Durham, Weſtmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland (49), being ſubject to this Primate till later ages.

(47) Nennius inter Script. Brit. Edit. Gale. p. 103.

An. D. 169.

(48) Alur. Bev. P. 33.

(49) Uſher, p. 72.

An. D. 181.

In the reign of *Commodus*, there was nothing but wars and ſeditions throughout Britain: for the barbarous Britains having got over the *Wall*, waſted the country, and cut off the Roman General. So that *Ulpius Marcellus* was ſent againſt them, who ſucceeded ſo well, that the jealous Emperor envied and recalled him, aſſuming to himſelf the title of *Britannicus*, as he is ſtiled in ſeveral of his coins in this Muſæum; upon one of which is Victory with laurel in the right, and a palm in the left hand (50). After this, weaker Commanders were ſent hither by his favourite *Perennius*, who not only had a deſign to uſurp the Empire, but, as *Herodian* tells us) had actually coined monies with his own image. Theſe brought all into confuſion, inſomuch that 1500 ſoldiers went to complain at Rome; whereupon *Perennius* was beheaded, and *Helv. Pertinax* was again ſent into Britain. He quieted theſe broils, but not without great danger, being himſelf almoſt ſlain in appeaſing them. He ſucceeded *Commodus* in the Empire, but reigned only eighty-ſeven days, which was more by twenty-one than his ſucceſſor, *Didius Julianus*, who purchaſed the Empire, *quod tunc primum venale fuit*. For the coins of theſe ſhort-lived Emperors, ſee the Catalogue (51): as alſo of *Clodius Albinus*, who refuſing to reſign his government in Britain, which had been committed to him by Pertinax, was at firſt flattered by *Severus* with the title of Cæſar, till he had defeated *Peſc. Niger* (52), and then overcome in battle at Lyons (53) in Gaul, whither *Albinus* had drawn the flower of his Britiſh army; and when they fought ſo ſtoutly, that *Severus* threw off his purple, and was put to the rout, with his whole army, except *Lætus*, who hearing that *Severus* was ſlain, renewed the battle, with his own men that were freſh and untouched, in expectation of attaining the Empire to himſelf: *Severus* ſeeing this, rallied his men, reſumed his purple, purſued eagerly, ſlew *Albinus*, and became ſole Emperor of the world. Hereupon he ſent into Britain, as Proprætor, *Virius Lupus*, who not only reſided in theſe parts, but, as appears by an inſcription found at *Ilkley*, in this Weſt-riding, re-edified that place (54). He ſtrengthened the northern parts of the province with many ſtrong caſtles, reſtoring ſeveral places that had been ruined, either by fire, or the fury of the borderers, particularly the bath at *Lavatris*, or *Lavatra*, now *Bowes*, under *Stainmoor* in *Richmondſhire*, which having been burnt, he reſtored for the uſe of the firſt cohort of the *Thracians*, which was quartered there, as appears by an Altar dedicated *Deæ Fortunæ*: the name of *Lavatris*, or *Lavatrā*, but by no means *Lavat. Ror* (as miſprinted in Speed, p. 140.) may be deduced from *Lavacrum*, which the learned *Roger Gale*, Eſq; in his accurate edition of the Itinerary, p. 41, proves from *Eutropius* to be uſed for a bath by the Romans in thoſe ages.

(50) Muſ. Thor. No. 450.

(51) Id. p. 306.

(52) A fair medal of Niger's is inſerted, No. 460.

(53) Lugdunum in Eutropius,

An. D. 193, 194.

An. D. 198.

(54) Camd. Brit. p. 713. and Speed's Hiſt. p. 139. or rather p. 111. where it is miſprinted Olinaca and Hekeley, in Yorkſhire, for Olicana and Ilkley.

But at laſt *Virius Lupus* was ſo overpowered by the Britons, that he was forced to ſend to Rome for freſh ſupplies. This ſo affected *Severus*, that though aged and gouty, he undertook the journey in perſon, and arriving ſafe, he left his ſon *Geta* at York to govern the civilized Britons, and marched to reduce the northern Britons and Caledonians, taking his other ſon, *Caracalla*, along with him. In this expedition he, with exceeding bravery, encountered great difficulties from the ambuſcades of the enemy, who retiring into woods, ſallied thence, intercepting their proviſions, deſtroying their carriages, killing their allies, and paſſengers, and diſturbing their garriſons, that he was conſtrained, with incredible labour, to deſtroy their woods, drain meers, &c. wherein he loſt fifty thouſand men. Whether the moſſes in this pariſh (55) were occaſioned by this, or rather ſome preceding actions, cannot be poſitively aſcertained; but that the woods there were deſtroyed *(more Romano)* by fire and axe, is evident from the burnt wood found in the turf-pits, and the marks upon others of the very tools that cut down the remainder. His vigorous proſecution forced the enemy to a peace, and the delivery of a conſiderable part of their country, with all their arms and weapons. And for the better ſecurity, he built a famous wall of ſtone thirty-two (56) miles in length, from ſea to ſea, upon Adrian's frontier, anſwerable to the grandeur of the Roman Empire, with a tower at the end of each mile, and pipes of braſs in the wall (57) from tower to tower, which ſpeedily conveyed the news of any approach of the enemy over all the borders. *Nennius*, the ancient Britiſh Hiſtorian (58), with Speed and others of the moderns, make this wall to be 132 miles in length, but the *Scala Mundi* (a rare MS in this Muſæum) hath it expreſsly thirty-two. *Noviſſimum bellum in Britannia habuit, et ut Provincias adquiſitas omni ſecuritate muniret; vallum per* xxxii°. *miliaria a mari uſque ad mare perduxit* (59), which agrees with the beſt editions of *Eutropius*, and other Roman Authors. Upon theſe ſucceſſes, he aſſumed the title of *Britannicus Maximus*, and is ſtiled *Fundator Pacis* upon a medal in my collection, which is juſtly aſcribed to theſe tranſactions in Britain (60), though by ſome to his conqueſts in the Eaſt: upon another (61), which was found at *Pontefract* in this neighbourhood, he is inſcribed SEVERVS PIVS AVG. BRIT. reverſe, P. M. TR. P. XVIII. COS. III. P. P. (which was ann. Dom. 211.) This has upon it Jupiter *cum puerulis*; another hath Mars *ſiniſtra haſtam*. After his ſucceſſes in the North, he retired to York, which ſeems then to have been in its chiefeſt glory. *Severus* had here his Royal Palace, which was honoured with his conſtant reſidence, with his Empreſs and two ſons: and here that oracle of the law, *Æmilius Paulus Papirianus*, happily adminiſtered juſtice. *Bellona*, the ſiſter and companion of *Mars*, had here alſo a temple, by the ſame token that *Severus*, through the Augur's miſtake, was conducted thereto.

(55) Ducat. Lood. p. 142.

(56) Uſher Brit. Eccleſ. Antiq. p. 1027.

(57) Eachard's Roman Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 410. N. B. This famous wall is eight feet broad, and twelve high, with battlements, great part of which is ſtill ſtanding, and well may be reckoned one of the greateſt works in the world, as appears by Mr *Warburton*'s Map, and Dr *Stukeley*'s moſt accurate, as well as lateſt diſcovery of a Roman Temple, and other Antiquities in thoſe parts. Ann. 1720.

(58) Nennius, Edit. Gale, p. 103. Speed, p. 141, or rather 113.

(59) Scala Mundi, MS. p. 83.

(60) Muſ. Thor. p. 307. No. 475.

(61) Idem, p. 493 and 494.

An. D. 211.

It makes not the leaſt for the fame and glory of York, that this maſter of the world, *Severus*, one deſervedly equalled with the greateſt Martialiſts of any age, not only had his palace and reſidence here, but alſo here breathed his laſt, not ſlain by *Fulgentius* (as the Britiſh hiſtory affirms) but rather worn out with age and travail, and partly with grief for the irreclaimable conduct of his ſon *Caracalla*, who with his own hands had made two attempts upon his life: which *Caracalla*, being his ſon by *Martia* a Britiſh lady, was favoured by the Britons, and declared Emperor by the ſoldiers; the other ſon Geta, his mother was of Rome (62). His dying ſpeeches are memorable, and full of brave ſpirit. *I have been all that a man can be, but it is of no uſe to me now. The empire was declining and languiſhing in all parts when I received it, yet I leave it in peace even to the Britons, firm and laſting to my ſons if they prove good, if otherwiſe, feeble and ſinking*; and calling for his urn, wherein his aſhes were to be incloſed: *Little Urn*, ſaid he, *thou ſhalt now contain what the whole world could not before.* His corpſe was carried out in a military manner to a place near *Akeham*, which is called *Severs-hill* to this day, and there committed to the flames. *Victor*, in his account of this matter, calls York (which is known by all to be a colony) a *municipium* (63), or free city, which (if the terms be not promiſcuouſly uſed by the Roman authors) ſhews ſomewhat of the old ſpirit of the *Bigentes*, the inhabitants having a greater value for their own municipal laws than all the other privileges of Rome.

(62) Higden's Polychron. lib. 3. cap. 18. p. cciv.

(63) Hiſt. Rom. Epitome, Edit. Plautin. p. 295.

After *Severus* there is no expreſs mention of *Eboracum* for about a hundred years; only that the ſixth legion continued their abode there. It is true, that *Caracalla* is ſaid to be ſlain by *Carauſius*, an obſcure Briton (64), and it is probable he might receive ſome wounds in the wars here which might occaſion that error; but from the Roman hiſtory it is certain, that, as he had ſlain his brother Geta, he met with the ſame fate from *Macrinus*, who, ſucceeding him in the empire, aſſociated his ſon *Diadumenianus*, but both were ſlain after a ſhort reign of fourteen months and three days, for whoſe coins ſee the Catalogue, p. 309 and 627. Amongſt ſome Roman antiquities found at *Linguel-yan* in this neighbourhood, A. D. 1697, were molds for counterfeiting the monies of *Diadumenianus*, with others, of which ſee Phil. Tranſ. No. 234: but whereas it is there queſtioned whether the preſent age could produce a genuine coin of this ſhort-lived Emperor, I muſt retract that paſſage; for, ſince that was printed, the truly noble Earl of *Pembroke* ſhewed me one in his ineſtimable Muſæum; and of late, the very obliging Mr *St John* of London preſented a very fair one to this collection.

(64) Al. Bevel. Annales, Edit. Hearne, p. 34.

An. D. 213.

An. D. 218.

An. D. 219.

Heliogabalus,

An. D. 220. *Heliogabalus*, the ſucceſſor of *Macrinus*, exceeding all his predeceſſors in wickedneſs, it is the leſs wonder we have no memorial of his tranſactions in theſe parts of the world, further than that his boundleſs prodigality conſumed all the revenues of *Britain, Gaul, Italy, Spain, Germany, Dacia, Illyrium, Greece, Africk, Aſia, Syria, Egypt*, and *Arabia*, with thoſe of other provinces and iſlands. Of his medals, upon ſome of which he is ſtiled SACERDos DEI SOLIS ELAGABALUS, and repreſented as ſacrificing to his God, the *Sun*, ſee the Catalogue (65), and a learned Diſſertation upon the curious writing of his name in *Selden* de DIS SYRIS (66), wherein he mentions alſo (as proceeding from the ſame original *Bel* or *Baal)* the Britiſh deity *Belatucadrus*, which was adored in theſe Northern parts of Britain. Camden mentions one altar dedicated to this topical God, and Selden another, to which may be added a third, found in the river *Irdin*, not far from *Scaleby*, communicated to me by the ingenious Dr Jabez Cay, of Newcaſtle upon Tyne; there is a rough draught of it in the additions to the *Britannia* (67), which is to be read thus, *Deo Sancto Belatucadro Aulus Decius Camillinus vovit ſacravit*. By which we ſee the Romans of later ages had the ſame notions that the Aſſyrians had in the former, who, having led away captive the ten tribes, deſired the prieſts of Iſrael to teach their Aſſyrian colony the manner of the God of the land. Beſides thoſe of *Baſſianus*, with *ſummus ſacerdos*, &c. here are thoſe of his wives, *Julia Cornelia Paula*, and *Julia Aquilia Severa* (once a veſtal virgin) with *Julia Mæſa* his grandmother; to which the learned Dr *Ben. Languith*, Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Somerſet, added a very rare medal of *Julia Socennias's*, his unhappy mother, who not only ruined her ſon by the moſt infamous laſciviouſneſs, but endeavoured by all means to deſtroy her ſiſter's ſon, *Alexander Severus*, who, notwithſtanding all her malice, ſucceeded him in the empire. This repairer of the almoſt ruined Commonwealth was baſely murthered, though not in Britain (as ſome pretend) (68), but in Gaul (as the judicious Camden (69) has it) at the inſtigation of the gigantic *Maximinus*, who, with his ſon *Maximus*, had the like fate two years after.

(65) Muſ. Thoreſb. No. 526 and 527.
(66) Syntagma 11. cap. 1.
(67) Camden's Brit. p. 844.
An. D. 223.
(68) Speed, p. 132.
(69) Britannia, p. lxxii.
An. D. 236.
An. D. 238.

An. D. 243. Under the ſhort-lived Emperors, *Balbinus, Pupienus*, and *Gordian* the Elder, we find no account of Britain; but under the young *Gordian* it appears, by an inſcription upon a votive altar found in Cumberland, that *Æmilius Criſpinus* commanded that part of the army under *Nonnius Philippus*, Proprætor of Britain. *Gordian* was ſlain by *Philip*, anno 245, as he and his ſon *Philippus Cæſar* was in the year 250, when *Decius* was by the army made Emperor againſt his will: his ſucceſſor *Gallus*, with his ſon *Voluſianus*, were ſlain by *Æmilianus*, who enjoyed the government but about three months, being murthered to make way for *Valerianus*. This Emperor being taken priſoner by *Sapor* King of Perſia, was by that ſavage monarch made his footſtool, whenever he was diſpoſed to take horſe; a juſt puniſhment for his moſt barbarous perſecution of the Chriſtians. Heaven and earth ſeemed to threaten the ruin of the Roman empire, *Gallienus* his ſon's reign being the moſt confuſed and calamitous of all that were before him, not only by the invaſion of the barbarous nations, but by its own inteſtine diviſions: the ſoldiers, in all parts, electing their own generals, advanced no leſs than thirty at once, who aſſumed the title of Emperors, but are generally recorded by the name of the thirty tyrants.

An. D. 245.
An. D. 250.
An. D. 254.
An. D. 261.

And now we have too much of the Britiſh affairs; for *Poſthumus, Victorinus, Marius*, and *Tetricus*, both father and ſon, uſurped and reigned here, as appears both by the Roman hiſtorians, and the great quantity of their monies found in Yorkſhire, and elſewhere in Britain. *Poſthumus*, the moſt illuſtrious of all the thirty, was called the *Gallick Hercules*: I have a medal of his, with a galley upon it, inſcribed LÆTITIA AUG. which an author, curious enough in theſe matters, takes to relate particularly to Britain for ſome naval victory (70). He aſſociated *Victorinus*, an excellent commander; but he was ſlain, together with his ſon *L Aurelius Victorinus*: whereupon his mother *Victoria*, or *Victorina*, who for her maſculine courage was ſtiled mother of armies (and is ſuppoſed to be deſigned by VICTORIA upon the reverſe of ſome of his medals) to ſupport herſelf, procured *Tetricus*, a Senator of Rome, who had a command in Gaul, to proclaim himſelf Emperor, and to make his ſon, *C. Piveſus Tetricus*, his Cæſar: of all whoſe monies found in theſe parts, ſee the Catalogue (71). As alſo for *Marius*, who ſome ſay was born in Britain; he was originally a ſmith, and, after a ſhort reign of three, or, as others ſay, ſeven, days, was ſlain by a ſword of his own making, having firſt obtained a victory in Britain, as appears by VICTORIA AUG. upon his monies; ſo that it is rationally ſuppoſed, that he reigned a longer time than is aſſigned him.

An. D. 261.
(70) Ob. Walker, of coins and medals, p. 291.
An. D. 268.
(71) Muſ. Thoreſb. p. 317, 318, 319.
An. D. 269.

Claudius, ſirnamed *Gothicus*, for his memorable victories over the Goths, was a mighty ſupport to the declining empire during theſe confuſions. He generouſly reſolved to march firſt againſt the Goths, as enemies to the Commonwealth, rather than againſt *Tetricus* and the other Uſurpers, who were only enemies to himſelf; a public wrong, as he ſaid, being to be revenged before a private injury. This Emperor, after a ſhort but glorious reign, died a natural death, which was rare in thoſe times. His brother *Quintillus* was proclaimed Emperor by the ſenate; but, after ſeventeen days, was conſtrained to give place to *Aurelianus*, whom the Senate had advanced to that dignity.

An. D. 271.

Tacitus's ſhort reign of ſix months, and *Florianus's* of two, will admit of no enlargement in this Breviary. Though, about this time, *Bonoſus*, a Briton, uſurping the government, occaſioned a diſturbance to *Probus* the Emperor; but being overcome, and deſpairing ever again to make head, put his own into a halter, of whom it is ſaid, he being an inſatiable vaſſal to Bacchus, *there hangs a barrel, not a man*. *Probus*, having ſubdued the Germans, Vandals, and Burgundians, &c. had nine kings priſoners at the ſame time. The Vandals he ſent to inhabit this country, who, being deſirous to leave their names at the place of their ſettlement, were very probably the raiſers of the fortifications at *Berwick in Elmet*, called to this day *Wendall-hill* for Vandal-hill (72). The Vandals, though invaders and enemies in Gaul, were ſerviceable and auxiliaries in Britain. Other places in this neighbourhood ſeem to have received their names upon the like occaſions. So *Almonbury* is much more probably deduced from the *Almanes* (who were auxiliaries to the Romans) than from St *Albans*; and the learned Dr Gale was of opinion, that *Mexburgh, Banburgh*, and *Duiſburgh*, &c. received their names from other auxiliaries, the ſixth legion having many camps in theſe parts of Yorkſhire.

An. D. 276.
An. D. 277.
(72) I need not repeat, that the Romans pronounced their V as our W, as *Vallum*, Wallum,

I ſhall only add, that the great quantities of Roman coins, found of late years near *Doncaſter* in Yorkſhire, and at *South Holland* in Lincolnſhire, were probably concealed upon the arrival of the Vandals, by thoſe that had made the inſurrection, who being ſlain in the conflict, their treaſure lay hid above 1400 years. There were no leſs than thirty-ſix pound weight of theſe found in the midſt of the vaſteſt flat, or level, in England (73); and one of the pots found near Edlington (74), contained about two gallons. I bought ſixty of the former, and the Right Honourable the Lord Moleſworth ſent me a preſent of near 200 of the latter, and there was not in either parcel one elder than *Gallienus*, or later than *Quintillus*; ſo that they ſeem to have been concealed in one common calamity about Probus's time.

(73) See Phil. Tranſ. No. 279.
(74) Selden, No. 303.

Carus ſucceeding *Probus*, an. Dom. 283, aſſociated his two ſons, *Carinus*, whom he left to govern Britain, and *Numerianus*. *Carinus* was ſlain by *Dioclefian*, who joined *Maximianus* to himſelf in the government, and upon ſome commotions in the Empire, each made choice of a Cæſar, viz. *Galerius* and *Conſtantius Chlorus*.

An. D. 284.

Caraufius, an Iriſhman, being deputed by *Maximian* to guard the coaſt, became rich by the ſpoils of the Pirates, which he never returned to the owners, nor accounted for to the Emperor; but aſſuming that title himſelf, became ſo powerful, that *Maximian* was glad to make peace with him, leaving him the command of the iſland, upon condition, he ſhould defend it againſt the Barbarians, which he did for ſeven years together. Upon this ſucceſs, he ſtampt money with PAX. AVG. one of which I have, it was found at *Aldburgh* in this Weſt-riding. Upon others are ML. Moneta Londinenſis, and SPC. for *ſignata pecunia Cumeloduni*. He recovered the outer boundary, and there erected a wall of ſtone, fortified it with ſeven caſtles, and upon the bank of the river *Carun*, ſo called from him, built a round houſe of hewn ſtone (probably a temple to *Terminus)* with a triumphal arch in memory of his Victory; but, in the concluſion, was expelled by *Conſtantius*, and ſlain by his own familiar friend, *Allectus*, perhaps at *Caraufield* (75), now *Caverſfield*, two miles from *Allchester*, ſo denominated from this *Allectus*, upon ſome of whoſe coins are ML. upon others QL. for *Moneta Londinenſis*, and a *Quartarius* coined at London, or *Quæſtor* (Treaſurer) of London.

An. D. 287.
An. D. 293.
(75) Hiſtory of Allchester, annexed to Dr Kennet's Parochial Antiquities, p. 683.

Allectus having retained the government three years, was ſlain by *Conſtantius Chlorus*, who ſcoured the Britiſh ſeas, which had been infeſted by the Saxons and Gauls, and ſettled the Kingdom in peace. This excellent Prince married *Helena*, daughter of *Coit*, a Britiſh King, by whom he had iſſue *Conſtantine* the Great. It is not a little

An. D. 296.

a little for the honour of York, that this pious Emperor, endowed with all moral and christian virtues, had there his Royal Seat. The remains of many valuable Roman monuments are scattered up and down that ancient city, which it is a pity that none of the many learned men thereof have illustrated, as Dr *Lister* has done the mult-angular tower and Roman wall there (76), of which I have the original drawing by the ingenious Mr *Lodge*, a native of Leedes. Here also *Constantius* died, and was deified (77), as appears by his medals in this Musæum, inscribed DIVO. CONSTANTIO. PIO. round his veiled head. Reverse, MEMORIA FELIX Exergue PLN. *Pecunia Londini Notata.* A noted Antiquary observes, in respect of this coin, that Rome, in the height of its greatness, had not a more glorious shew to exhibit (78), than the apotheosis of their Emperors hereby represented. At the dissolution of Religious Houses, there was found always burning a lamp in a kind of grot, or vault, where constant fame reported the reliques of *Constantius* were laid (79). Monies were also coined in honour of his wife, the celebrated St *Helen: Camden* mentions one that was minted at *Triers*; but I have one more valuable, as coined at London, which, at her request, was surrounded with a wall by her son *Constantine*, if not by herself, as Henry of Huntington affirms (80). Of this fabric, and the composition of this ancient Roman wall, there is an accurate description by the learned and ingenious Dr *Woodward* (81). This medal has her head inscribed FL. HELENA. AVGVSTA. Reverse, SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE. Exergue P. LON. This excellent Princess was born at Colchester in Essex, which she also walled, and which has for the arms thereof a Cross between four Crowns, in memory of the Cross, which she found at Jerusalem, where she built a Church in the place where our blessed Saviour suffered: she also founded another Church, where the Inn had stood that he was born in. So that in old inscriptions, she is stiled *Piissima & Venerabilis Augusta. St Helensford* near Tadcaster is generally supposed to be denominated from her, though the learned Dr *Gale*, late Dean of York, told me he rather inclined to deduce it from the goddess *Nehalennia*, who was *Præses artis calcariæ, seu erectariæ*; and I am apt to think it might be so, by the *Calcarienses*, or heathen Romans employed in burning the lime-stone, wherewith this tract abounds to this day; but by the Christian Romans be afterwards applied to St *Helen*.

That her son *Constantine* the Great was born in Britain, is not only affirmed by our own Historians (82), but acknowledged by *Baronius* himself, and the generality of learned Authors; and though a very few Writers would have it at *Colchester* or *London*, yet the most, and most considerable, do assign the honour to York; and to use the words of a very learned man, lately deceased, *all those who assert Britain to have been the place of his birth, must needs acknowledge him to have been born at York* (83). And that this was the current opinion, not only of private persons, whose works are particularly enumerated by the judicious Bishop Usher (84), but the public also, is evident, because the Embassadors of England asserted it in the hearing of the learned world, both at the Council of Constance, and at Basil: where they condescend to mention the very particular place in York, where he was born. *Peternæ natum in Eboracensi civitate*, by which is indisputably meant Bedern, which is verily thought to have been part of the Imperial Palace in old time, as in after ages it was a College of Vicars; the Saxon name may be deduced either from Boc-ærne *Refectorium*, or from Bead *oratio* and ærne *locus*, their place of prayer; and Trinity, or Christ's Church, in that part of the city, is in his Grace the Lord Archbishop's register, stiled *Ecclesia Sæ Trinitatis in Curia Regis*. But to proceed,

Constantine, who had been many years detained in the Court of *Diocletian*, and after of *Galerius*, as an honourable pledge, finding treachery intended against him, made his escape from Rome, and arrived safe at York, to the great joy of his dying father, who shortly after expired in his arms. By his father's will, and consent of the army, he was unanimously saluted Emperor, which his modesty refused, till prevailed on by their importunity, and especially by *Erocus*, King of the *Alemains* (85), who had accompanied him in his flight from Court, whose auxiliary forces lay, no doubt, at *Almanbury*, in this West-riding of the county of York, as is before intimated.

From all this it may justly be inferred, what figure York made in the secular affairs of the world, it being the seat of the Roman Emperors; I shall now add, for the Ecclesiastical glory of *Eboracum*, that it was adorned with an Episcopal See by *Constantine*, and that *Eborius*, the Bishop thereof, was present at the Council of *Arles*, called to take notice of the cause of the *Donatists*, wherein were present, to represent the British Churches, *Eborius*, Bishop of York; *Restitutus*, Bishop of London; and *Adelfius de civitate Colonia Londinensium*; *Sacerdos*, a Priest both by name and office; and *Arminius*, a Deacon: of what place the third Bishop was, hath been much controverted by learned men; Archbishop *Usher* thought it was *Colchester*, Mr *Selden*, and Sir Henry *Spelman*, took it for *Camelodunum* [*Malden* in Essex]; but Bishop *Stillingfleet* fixes it most probably at *Caerleon* in Monmouthshire, from the way of summoning Bishops to Councils at that time, viz. one out of a Province (86); and therefore, that as the other two Bishops were out of the other two Provinces, *Maxima Cæsariensis* and *Britannia Prima*, the third Bishop was out of the third Province, *Britannia Secunda*; his arguments from thence to prove the great antiquity of Episcopal Government in Britain, and that the Pagan Hierarchy was rather in imitation of the Christian, than that the Christians borrowed it from them, may be seen in that very learned Author's *Origines Britannicæ*, Chap. II. What more immediately appertains to this county, is the note of a Critic upon the name *Arminius*, the Deacon. 'It is worth taking notice of, says he, that 'the name remaineth still intire in Yorkshire in a very 'noble and religious family, after so many ages (87),' of which I shall, in the sequel of this History, give an instance in the Memoirs of the no less pious, than Right Honourable Lady, the Lady Mary *Armine*, whose benefactions to these parts were considerable.

The British Bishops being summoned, and appearing at this Council of *Arles* before, and at those of *Sardica* and *Arminum* afterwards, it is more than probable, that they, and the Bishop of York at the head of them, (as before) were present at the famous, and indeed the first general Council of *Nice*, which this pious Emperor called to suppress the Arians and Quartodecimani, ann. Dom. 325. It being very unlikely, that *Constantine* should omit those of his native country; though *Athanasius's Synodicon* (wherein all their names were set down) being long since lost, we are forced to make use of probabilities, but such as are very convincing, as managed by the learned Bishop of Worcester (88).

When *Constantine* went against *Maxentius*, he took divers of the nobles and others with him, who, planting themselves in the West sea-coast of France, called it Britain. He was victorious over the *Franks*, as well as over *Maxentius*, and as he had formerly been over the Sarmatians, against whom he was sent by *Galerius* with a few men on purpose to be destroyed; but he overcame them, and in person drew a fierce young *Sarmate* by the hair of the head before *Galerius*: I have a medal, struck upon this occasion, inscribed SARMATIA DEVICTA, whereupon is represented victory, with a palm, carrying a trophy, and a captive at her feet (89). But as to the affairs of our own country, *Octavius*, taking advantage of his absence, caused the Britons to revolt, and assumed the kingdom; whereupon, saith Alured of Beverley (90), *Constantine* sent *Trahern* against him; but it is evident from *Eusebius* (91), that himself came again in person to Britain, surrounded by the sea, and became Victor. The joyful memorial of this expedition is registered to posterity upon a medal exhibited by Speed (92). In this Musæum is one somewhat different, though coined at the same place in London, trampling an enemy under the horse's feet, CONSTANTINUS. P. F. AUG. reverse, ADVENTUS AUG. Exergue P. LN. (93). In this his head has a laurel; upon another (94) he is represented with a helmet, and a spear in his right hand; whereby it appears there were two different mints at the same city; upon a third, whereon he has a sceptre, it is expressly P. LON.

When Constantine new modelled the empire, Britain was governed by a Lord Deputy, whose blazonry was a book shut with a green cover (95): he was honoured with the title of *Spectabilis*. The other officers may be seen in Camden's Britannia (96), to which we refer; it may suffice, that these parts, called *Maxima Cæsariensis*, were under the *Dux Britannicus*, as the Southern were under the *Comes Britanniarum*.

Upon the death of this ever famous Emperor, May 22, 337, and division of the empire amongst his three sons, Britain (together with *Spain*, *Gallia*, and *Germany*) fell to the share of his eldest son, *Constantius Junior*, who enjoyed it but three years, being slain, anno 340, by his brother *Constans*; yet are there four distinct medals of his, all minted at London (97). His death was much lamented by his brother

(76) Phil. Transf. No. 149.

An. D. 306.

(77) Obiit Eboraci atque inter Divos relatus est Eutrop. Lib. X. p. 516.

(78) Burton's Comment on Antonin. Itiner. p. 78.

(79) Idem vide etiam, Camden's Britan. p. 719.

(80) Lib. I. p. 176. inter Savilii Scriptores rerum Anglic.

(81) Letter to Sir Christ. Wren, in Leland's Itin. Vol. VIII. p. 14.

(82) Constantinus Flos Britanniæ . . . Britannicus genere et patria. Henry Huntington, p. 176.

(83) Dr Hicke's Moral Shechemah, Vol. I. of his Serm. p. 313.

(84) Usher de primordiis, &c. Cap. VIII.

(85) Victor in Epitome Rom. Imperii, p. 348.

An. D. 314.

(86) Stillingfleet's Origines Brit. p. 75.

(87) Burton's Com. on Antonnus's Itin. p. 85.

An. D. 325.

(88) Orig. Brit. chap. 3.

(89) Must. Thorsb. No. 920.

(90) Edit. Hearne, lib. 3. p. 37.

(91) Euseb. Life of Constantine, cap. 19.

(92) Speed's Chron. 357, 359.

(93) Must. Thoresb. No. 894.

(94) Idem, 915 and 916.

(95) Selden's Jani Anglorum facies altera, cap. 16.

(96) p. lxxviii.

An. D. 337.

An. D. 340.

(97) Must. Thoresb. p. 328.

brother *Conſtantius*, to whom Britain ſubmitted itſelf; and I have of his money alſo coined at London (98). *Julian* the *Apoſtate* was made his ſucceſſor, having diſſembled his religion, but afterwards publickly reſtored the Pagan altars and temples: while he reſided at *Paris* (99), he heard of the incurſions of the Scots and Picts into the province; but, not daring to come himſelf, he ſent *Lupicinus* to repreſs the troubles (100). *Jovian*, his ſucceſſor, was an orthodox Chriſtian, and refuſed to act, except he had liberty of his religion, and, when Emperor, ſeverely puniſhed idolatry; but his ſhort reign affords nothing relating to theſe parts. *Valentinian* ſucceeded, in whoſe time the Scots, Picts, and Attacoſts, deſtroyed the North, as the Saxons and Francs did the South; but theſe being ſubdued by the forces he ſent over under *Theodoſius*, learning and arts began a little to revive; and in the *Theodoſian* code there is an edict of *Gratian*, who ſucceeded in the empire, anno 376 (101), requiring all the chief cities in theſe parts of the Roman empire to ſettle and maintain in them profeſſors of learning, both of the Greek and Roman languages, amongſt which cities Biſhop *Stillingfleet* expreſsly mentions *London*, *York*, and *Caerleon* (102); ſo that theſe parts, as long as the Roman power continued, had the ſame advantages for learning as the other provinces. This brave general *Theodoſius*, having thus happily reduced theſe Northern parts to their priſtine ſtate, obtained leave to have them named another province, and it was thenceforward called *Valentia* in honour of the Emperor (103).

Maximus, a commander in thoſe parts, having by his affability won the hearts of the Britons, ſet up himſelf for Emperor in the year 381, according to Sir *Henry Savile* (104), whoſe chronology I entirely follow. Some would make *Maximus* a Spaniard; but the Saxon annals, publiſhed by the learned Biſhop of *Lincoln* (105), ſay expreſsly, he; æ; on Bꝛexen londe zebopen. With this agrees *Wheloc*'s edition of the Saxon chronology, ſave that, being leſs correct, the Emperor is called *Maximianus* (106). With this agrees alſo *Fabius Ethelwerdus* (107), and Henry of Huntington (108); and all authors acknowledge he was declared Emperor in Britain, and that he was a man juſt and valiant, and worthy of the honour, if he had not come to it by uſurpation. After his victory over the Picts and Scots, he tranſported the flower of the Britiſh troops, and fixed his court at Triers, and, by the meer terror of his name, raiſed taxes among the barbarous nations. After *Gratian* was ſlain, he made his ſon *Victor*, *Cæſar*, and entered Italy with ſo great terror, that *Valentinian* fled, and the cities opened their gates: there is yet extant at *Bononia* an inſcription in honour of him (109); but after five years reign he was ſlain at *Aquileia*: his coins, and thoſe of his ſon *Victor*, are very rare; yet of both are found in theſe Northern parts, where he performed his moſt noble acts againſt the *Caledonians*. I have of his, coined both at *Triers* and *Aquileia* (110); and, ſince the Catalogue was printed, *Edward Thompſon*, jun. Eſq; ſent me a moſt rare one of *Victor*, whereon he is ſtiled *Auguſtus*, which, with many others of the later Emperors, were found, anno 1720, at Richmond in Yorkſhire.

The Britiſh hiſtorians ſet this matter in a different light, and ſay, that, after *Conſtantine* the Great, one *Octavius* reigned, and that he gave his daughter to *Maximus*, *cum regno Britannico* (111). Some hiſtorians miſapply the peopling of *Armorica* from this iſland to him; for Biſhop *Stillingfleet* proves it was called by the old name, and not *Britannia*, near fourſcore years after this time (112).

But what more immediately relates to theſe times and parts of Britain is, that, by reaſon of theſe inroads of the Picts and Scots, who continually infeſted the Northern parts, *Fraomarius*, King of the Almains (113), (who at that time were eminent for their ſtrength and number) was ſent here to check the Barbarians. And that they not only reſided in theſe parts of Yorkſhire, but left their name to a noted camp at *Cambodunum*, is evident from the name of a place which is called Almanbury to this day, which is far more probably deduced from the Almans than from the pretended St. Alban; and to this opinion I have the ſanction of Dr *Gale*, the late learned Dean of York. St *Alban* reminds me of St *Urſula* and the 11000 martyred virgins, whoſe ſtory is generally placed in the reign of this *Maximus*, though *Ser. Creſſy* makes it to be anno 453: but the thing is not material; I ſhould not have thought it worth the mentioning at all, but that a worthy gentleman brought me from *Colen* one of the antique arrows that are there expoſed as the inſtruments of that barbarous ſlaughter; the Monk that attends there told him, that, though many are given away, the number is [*miraculouſly*] made up again in a ſmall time, which, one word excepted, is, I believe, the trueſt part of the legend.

The Emperors *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, to oblige *Maximus* to withdraw his forces out of Gaul, are ſaid by the author of the *Eulogium*, as cited by Biſhop *Uſher* (114), to enter into a league with the Gothic Picts, and help them with ſhips to convey them into the Northern parts of Britain, who coming hither in greater numbers, and finding the country naked and without defence, ſettled themſelves with greater encouragement than ever. The Britons, in this diſtreſs, choſe Marcus for their Emperor, and after him ſet up *Gratian*, a native of Britain, anno 409; but, falling into a diſlike of him too, after a reign of four months they dethroned him, and choſe *Conſtantine*, one of the common ſoldiers, upon the ſole account of his name, which they took for a good omen. He defended *Valentia* with great bravery; and I have one of his coins minted in Britain (115). But he afterwards fixed the ſeat of his empire at Arles, and was preſented with an imperial robe by *Honorius* (116); but was ſlain anno 414 (*). Britain was now again happy for a while under the gallant and wiſe conduct of *Victorinus*, who put a ſtop to the inroads of the Scots and Picts: and perhaps we may add the happineſs of theſe parts in *Faſtidius*, as Archbiſhop of York, who flouriſhed anno 420, and was not only a man of wit and eloquence, but, which is infinitely preferable, of great piety, and an excellent preacher. He, being ſtiled *Britanniarum Epiſcopus*, is by many concluded Archbiſhop of London, which they ſuppoſe the metropolis of Britain; but the famous Archbiſhop *Uſher* rather inclines to the opinion of *Bertarius*, that York was then the metropolis of Britain, not only becauſe it was a Roman colony, but becauſe the Prætorium and Emperor's palace were there. However this ſhall not be inſiſted on, becauſe the generality of hiſtorians place *Faſtidius* among the Biſhops of London. What we are more concerned for is, that *Honorius* was conſtrained to recall the brave *Victorinus* to maintain the heart of the empire, Rome the head of it being taken and ſacked by *Alaric* the Goth (117).

Miſerable was the ſtate of the Britons thus forſaken; their earneſt ſupplications to the Romans for aſſiſtance, and what ſupplies were granted, may be read in our general hiſtories. I ſhall here only add in brief, that under *Valentinian* III, the laſt wall for their defence againſt the Barbarians, was built not of Turf, but ſolid ſtone twelve feet high, and eight broad, now known by the name of the Picts wall. Afterwards the Romans intirely abandoned the nation, about 476 years after Cæſar's landing. Thus the natives being forced to it, ſtood in their own defence, and were awakened to that degree, that they made their enemy quiet for ſome time.

But as their own Hiſtorian, *Gildas* (118), complains, though their foes left our people, our people left not their iniquities, exceſſive drinking, treats, oppreſſion, diviſions, &c.; ſo that their old enemies obſerving their inteſtine diviſions, did again invade the land, and reduced them to that extremity, which was aggravated by a ſevere famine and plague, that it was finally reſolved by *Vortigern*, to ſend for the *Saxons*. Theſe arrived ann. Dom. 449, under the conduct of *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*; but having overcome the common enemy, the Saxons turn againſt the Britons, and make a miſerable deſtruction: all the cities and churches were burnt to the ground from the eaſt to the weſtern ocean, the inhabitants deſtroyed with horrible devaſtation (119), ſome eſcaped to the mountains, or hid themſelves in caves, and others went over into foreign parts, which was the foundation of the Armorican colony in Little Britain. This *Hengiſt* deſcended from their idolized *Woden*, was the founder of the Kingdom of Kent, the firſt of the *Saxon Heptarchy*. There were for many years bloody wars betwixt the Britons and Saxons; but I ſhall chiefly confine myſelf to the northern tranſactions.

Hengiſt was ſo ſucceſsful, that he not only erected for himſelf a Kingdom in the South, but gave to his brother Otho, and his eldeſt ſon Ebuſa, all *Northumberland*, by which is to be underſtood, not only the county that bears the name, but all the land north of *Humber*, afterwards divided into two Kingdoms; *Deira*, from the Humber to Tine; and *Bernicia*, from thence to the Frith of Edinburgh: all this was conquered under *Hengiſt*'s Commiſſion, by *Otho* and his ſon, and held as feudatory Earldoms, and tranſmitted to their ſucceſſors, who, for ninety-nine years, uſed no other title than *Ealderman*, *Dux*, or *Comes*, which words, in thoſe days, were ſynonimous (120).

(98) Muſ. Thoreſb. No. 982. An. D. 363.
(99) Dr Brady's Hiſt. of England, p. 34.
An. D. 364.
(100) Ammian. Marcell. lib. xx. c. 1.
An. D. 376.
(101) Sir Henry Savile's Faſti.
(102) Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. p. 215.
(103) Am. Marcell. lib. 28. c. 7.
An. D. 381.
(104) Faſti ad calcem rerum Anglicarum ſcriptores.
(105) Gibſon's Chron. Saxon, p. 9.
(106) Wheloc's Bede, p. 506.
(107) Ethelwerd, p. 474.
(108) Henry Huntington, p. 176. Both publiſhed by Sir Henry Savile in his rerum Anglicarum ſcriptores, an. 1596.
(109) Camd. Brit. p. lxxxiii.
(110) Muſ. Thoreſb. p. 332.
(111) Alured Beverlac. Annales, lib. 3. p. 41.
(112) Orig. Brit. p. 181.
(113) Britan. p. lxxx.
(114) Uſher de Brit. Eccleſ. Antiq. p. 590. 4to.
An. D. 409.
An. D. 410.
(115) Muſ. Thoreſb. p. 303.
An. D. 414.
(116) Camden's Brit. p. lxxxiv.
(*) The Britiſh hiſtorians pretend, that Conſtantine reigned ſixteen years in Britain, and in the ſeventeenth died at York, contrary to the Greek and Latin hiſtorians, both heathen and Chriſtian, as Biſhop Stillingfleet obſerves, p. 294.
An. D. 420
(117) In the laſt cited treatiſe, p. 97.
An. D. 421.
(118) Gildas, § 18.
An. D. 435.
An. D. 449.
(119) Idem, § 24.
(120) Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 616.

An. D. 456. Among the Britains that firſt oppoſed *Hengiſt*, the Kentiſh, none more ſtout than *Vortimer*, who was ſo ſucceſsful in four battles, that he expelled the Saxons into the iſle of *Thanet*; but upon his death (by treachery and poiſon), and the arrival of more forces, they return, and are victorious, till reſtrained by *Aurelius Ambroſius*, and his brother *Uter Pendragon*, who coming from Little Britain, infuſed new life into the Britons, who at the battle of *Maiſbelly* (121), routed the Saxons, and put them to a diſorderly flight; upon which *Hengiſt* retired to *Conniſborow*, near *Doncaſter*, to ſecure himſelf, and a few days after took the field a ſecond time againſt the Britons, who purſued him; but it proved fatal to himſelf and his army, which was intirely defeated, and himſelf beheaded, if, ſaith a noted Hiſtorian (122), the authority of the Britiſh Hiſtory is to be preferred in this matter before that of the Saxon Annals, which report him to have died a natural death, being worn out with fatigue and buſineſs. But to this may be appoſitely replied, what the learned Editor of the Saxon Annals affirms, that not any of them do ſay ſo; but on the contrary, thoſe Hiſtorians, who ſeem beſt acquainted with ſuch ancient records, aſſert plainly, that he was ſlain, (as *Matthew of Weſtminſter* expreſſeth it) *captus amputato capite ad Tarcara deſtinabatur*: to which may be added that of *Polydore Virgil*, *Hengiſto primo impetu cæſo* (123), and ſaith the memory of the victory was freſh among the neighbouring inhabitants, even to his time, which was above a thouſand years after: and we are further told, that before the gate is an *agger* that tradition ſaith is the burying-place of *Hengiſt* (124).

An. D. 466.

(121) Camd. Brit. No. 2. p. 706.

(122) Idem.

An. D. 407.

(123) Polyd. Virg. Anglic Hiſt. Lib. 3. p. 58.

(124) Camden, p. 724.

After this victory, *Aurelius Ambroſius* called the Princes and great men together at York, and gave orders for repairing the churches, which the Saxons had deſtroyed. For though the Hiſtorians of thoſe contending nations differ very much as to the battles, it is agreed on all hands, that *Ambroſius* was very zealous in repairing the Britiſh churches, ſetting up divine worſhip, and giving great encouragement to the Clergy to perform divine offices. In a ſolemn Council of the Britons, ann. 490, he appointed two Metropolitans for the two vacant Sees at that time, viz. *Sampſon*, one of eminent piety, for York; and *Dubritius* for *Caerleon*. Sampſon was afterwards driven over to *Armorica*, or Little Britain (125).

An. D. 490.

(125) Still. Orig. Brit. p. 329.

He was ſucceeded by his brother, *Uter Pendragon*, who hearing that *Octa*, the ſon of *Hengiſt*, after he had deſtroyed the North *(ab Albania uſque Eboracum* (126)*)* had beſieged the city of York, haſted thither, gave them battle, diſcomfited their forces, and took him and his brother *Eoſa* priſoners. Before his death, there was a pitched battle between *Cerdic* and *Natanleod*, whom ſome make *Uter's* General, others a mighty King; Henry Huntington ſaith expreſsly (127), he was *Rex Maximus Britannorum*; and then it implies, that the Britons, as well as the Saxons, had ſeveral Kings at the ſame time: but of as great fame and pride as he was, *Cerdic* ſlew him and 5000 men, at a place which bore his name. Camden ſays, he had been very curious in ſearch of the place, but could not find the leaſt footſteps of that name (128). If this county was not too much northward for the other circumſtances of that engagement, why might not *Natland* put in for it? ſome indeed call him *Nazaleod*; but the Saxon Annals ſay expreſsly Natanleob (129).

An. D. 498.

(126) Allured Beverl. Annal. Lib. v. p. 57.

(127) Huntington's Hiſt. Lib. 2. p. 179.

An. D. 508.

(128) Britan. p. 114.

(129) Whelock's Bede, p. 509.

An. D. 517.

The celebrated King *Arthur* ſucceeded *Uter*, ann. 517, whoſe mighty feats are moſt amply related by the Britiſh Hiſtorians. But in reſpect of this Prince, I am much of Biſhop *Stillingfleet's* opinion, that both parties are to blame; thoſe who tell ſuch incredible tales of him as are utterly inconſiſtent with the circumſtances of the Britiſh affairs at that time; and thoſe, who on the other hand deny there was any ſuch perſon, or of any conſiderable power; for doubtleſs he was a valiant Prince, and victorious in many battles againſt the Saxons. Of the twelve battles ſo much celebrated, I ſhall only mention ſuch as we have moſt certainty of, and do alſo relate to theſe northern parts. As that *Arthur* having defeated the Saxons in Northumberland, beſieged *Colgrin* in York, which yielded to him ann. 521, this is indiſputable; but there are other tranſactions that are commonly ſuppoſed to be more *Southward*, which yet do more ſtrictly, I preſume, appertain to theſe northern parts, and particularly the ſeventh battle, wherein he ſlew 6000 Saxons. This is expreſsly ſaid to be at *Cair Loid Coit*, or *Cair Luit Coit*, which later Writers frequently miſapply to *Lincoln*; but not in my opinion only, but that alſo of Dr Gale, the late Dean of York, is more applicable to *Leedes*, that the very name imports as much, appears by the etimology (of which before) and all the circumſtances countenance it. The Britons having driven the Saxons out of Lincolnſhire northward, we find mention of *Cair Loid Coit* as a place further north. That *Holinſhed*, and other Writers, ſhould herein be miſled by *Alured Beverlacenſis*, is no great wonder in affairs tranſacted 1200 years ago, when in a matter ſo late as King Edward the Third's reign, the nativity of a Prince of the Royal Blood, is almoſt univerſally placed at Hatfield in Hertfordſhire, and even by ſuch, as writing the genealogy of the Kings of England, might have been preſumed more knowing in thoſe affairs (130); whereas, undeniable evidence from records, manifeſt that it was at *Hatfield* in Yorkſhire (131). It is the leſs wonder that later Authors miſtake in an affair of ſo great intricacy, when the Archdeacon of Huntington, who writ his Hiſtory 500 years ago, owns fairly, that as to the places of the twelve battles, *loca noſtræ ætati incognita ſunt* (132). I am apt to ſuſpect that the expreſs mention of the *Sylva Celydonis*, with reſpect of this very tranſaction, has induced ſome to place it at Lincoln, leaſt it ſhould be referred to the Scotch Caledonian woods, *quo Saxones nunquam penetrarunt*; but this very paſſage of the wood, that ſhould be Celydon, may be juſtly improved as an argument, that it was in theſe parts of Yorkſhire; *Celidon* in Britiſh ſignifying *Haſſel*, and Haſſel wood is adjoining to Bede's *Sylva Elmetæ*: which the very learned Dean Gale, in his Emendations of *Nennius*, acquaints us *is territoriolum agri Ebor. prope Leedes* (133).

(130) Sandford's Genealogy, p. 177.

(131) Camden's Brit. No. 2. p. 725.

(132) Henry Hunting. p. 180.

(133) Gale's Script. Britan. Vol. I. p. 134.

This famous King *Arthur* was ſlain in the year 542. Perſons of greateſt repute in his time for learning and ſanctity were St *David* and *Kentigern*. The memory of the firſt continues famous to this day in Wales, and of the other in Scotland and theſe parts, by reaſon of a noted ſpring that bears his *Noriſh* name, *St Mungo*. An eminent Phyſician, that writ of the four famous medicinal wells near Knaresburgh (134), confeſſes himſelf at a loſs for the meaning of the true name *Magnus* or *Mugnus*; but Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* has ſince told us, it is *Mongah* or *Mungo*, that ſignifies a dear friend (135). The cures wrought there are juſtly aſcribed to the activity of the coldneſs, rather than the interceſſion of the Saint, though by the *credulous believed to be the ſon of a pure virgin*. The legend may be ſeen in the Romiſh authors (136), formerly belonging to New-Abbey (or *St Mary de dulci corde*) in Galloway. The learned Biſhop *Nicolſon* has obſerved, from a rare manuſcript breviary now in this Muſeum, that this Saint's day was January 14; but the Engliſh martyrology (137) ſays, that at *Glaſcow*, the depoſition of St *Kentigern*, for to *Eugenius*, ſon third King of Scotland, is the 13th. The author of this book (which is a great curioſity) is not commonly known, but a learned Vicar of *Leedes* acquaints us (138) that it was one *Wilſon*; it is remarkable that, in the annexed catalogue of the late Martyrs in England, *Richard Oldcorne*, Prieſt, and *Henry Garnet*, Superior of the Jeſuits, are both recorded as ſuch, though executed for the Gunpowder treaſon.

(134) Dr French, of the Yorkſhire Spaw, p. 129.

(135) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the church of Scotland, p. 11.

(136) Creſſy's church hiſtory, lib. xi. c. 5.

(137) Printed permiſſu ſuperiorum 1608.

(138) Camden's Brit. p. 711.

What more immediately appertains to this place is, that the northern Britons, after ſome time, came to an agreement with the Saxons, and by their permiſſion enjoyed the Chriſtian religion; and that *Ida* and *Alla* from *Aldermen* (of which before) became now Kings of Northumberland, in which new erected kingdom there was a ſucceſſion of twenty-one Kings, of whom four were Pagans, and ſeventeen Chriſtians, ſome of whom were chief monarchs of the whole iſland, and had their royal ſeat at *Leedes* when *Cambodunum* was burnt down by the enemy (139). It continued 245 years, from anno 547 to 792. This, as was intimated before, being divided into the kingdoms of *Deira* and *Bernicia*, was ſometimes under one monarch, and ſometimes had two diſtinct Kings. *Ida* reigned over both for twelve years, *Adda* ſucceeded him, and reigned five years in *Bernicia*; but in *Deira*, *Ælla*, the ſon of *Yffus*, ruled thirty years. This *Alla* was father to the famous *Edwin*, the firſt Chriſtian King of Northumberland. In his time was *Careticus*, the fifth Britiſh King from *Arthur*, who began his unfortunate reign anno 586; he was unwilling to God and to Saynts (140), which the Saxons perceiving, began to war upon him, and in fine drove him to the mountains of Wales. Near *Aburford*, in this neighbourhood, is the foundation of an old caſtle ſtill viſible, ſuppoſed to be called from him *Caſtle-Cary*; this, with all the territory called *Elmet*, was conquered and taken from him by the ſaid *Edwin*. If it be objected, that it is very uncertain whether this was the monarch, or another of the ſame name, that was only King of *Elmet*, I muſt anſwer with Father *Creſſy*, that the records of thoſe times afford us ſo ſmall light, that it is extremely difficult to determine whether they were monarchs of the Britons,

An. D. 521.

An. D. 547.

(139) Gibſon's Chron. Saxon, p. 20.

An. D. 559.

An. D. 586.

(140) Ran. Higden's Polychron. p. clxxxix.

London in 1724. 8vo. [*I*]. He did not long ſurvive this publication. He was always inclined to a thickneſs of blood (*m*), which ſubjected him to a pain and numbneſs in the back part of his head, accompanied ſometimes with faintings to the loſs of his ſenſes, and other apoplective ſymptoms. Theſe he looked upon as ſo many prognoſtics of his death: nor was he miſtaken, though he lived long beyond his expected period. In October this year, 1724, he was ſtruck with a violent palſy, from which ſtroke, however, he ſo far recovered, as to ſpeak intelligibly, and walk with help: but the following year, he was attacked again by the ſame diſtemper, on the 10th of the ſame month, under which, after languiſhing ſix days, he departed this life, October 16, 1725, in the ſixty eighth year of his age. His corpſe was interred among his Anceſtors, in the chancel of St Peter's [the Pariſh] Church of Leedes. His character for learning is ſeen in the books he publiſhed, which ſhew him to have been a great Maſter of the Hiſtory and Antiquities of his own Country; to attain which, it became neceſſary for him to be thoroughly ſkilled, as he was, in Genealogy and Heraldry. He appears, from theſe books, to have been alſo an induſtrious Biographer. However, that which ſets his reputation the higheſt as a Scholar, was his judicious ſkill and knowledge in Coins and Medals. But Mr Thoreſby may be ſaid juſtly to have been a great man, becauſe he was truly a good man. How diligent ſoever he was in cultivating the laudable accompliſhments of the Gentleman and the ſcholar, yet he never ſuffered his beloved ſtudies to interfere with his religion (*n*); but managed all his affairs in ſubſerviency to it. In his principles, after his converſion, he was orthodox; in his affections catholic, comprehending therein all denominations of Chriſtians [*K*]. He read the Scriptures many times over, with the beſt Commentators; nor was he unacquainted with the intricate controverſies of Religion; but books of warm practical Divinity were the joy of his heart. He was modeſt and pure, temperate and abſtemious to an uncommon degree: though, being one of the Lords of the Manor, and a governing member of the Corporation (*o*), he could not always avoid public meetings and feſtivities, yet he was a ſparing partaker, even of innocent diverſions. He was conſtant and regular at his private devotions, which were invigorated with an unuſual degree of fervency. Exemplary in the government of his family, he called them together morning and evening to prayer, and reading the Scripture. Extremely careful of the religious inſtructions of his children, he was not unmindful of the moral behaviour of his ſervants. He was a kind relation, compromiſing the diſtreſſed affairs of ſome that were very near to him, by expenſive journeys, irkſome applications, and money almoſt beyond his abilities. He was charitable to the utmoſt of his power, not ſeldom ſollicited others, and was always a faithful diſpenſer of whatever was entruſted to his care. He was conſtitutionally ſlow to reſent, and, upon Chriſtian principles, ready to forgive, great injuries; and, being of a pacific temper himſelf, he often had the ſatisfaction of compoſing differences among contending friends. He left behind him a mournful widow, ſincerely pious, and remarkably humble. She was an affectionate wife, a tender parent, and diſcharged the ſeveral duties of her ſtation, with unblemiſhed fidelity and prudence. She ſurvived him near fifteen years, and was buried in the ſame grave with him, having brought him ten children, of whom three ſurvived him, two ſons, and a daughter named Grace, who was born in 1694, and was diſpoſed of by her parents in marriage to Mr John Wood of Leedes. His ſons were both bred to the Church; the elder, *Ralph*, was born March 24, 1697-8 (*p*), bred at Queen's College in Cambridge, where he took the degree of A. M. His father had the ſatisfaction to ſee him collated to the Vicarage of Rickmanſworth in Hertfordſhire, by Dr Gibſon, Biſhop of London; he is now, by the recommendation of the ſame Patron, Rector of Stoke-Newington in Middleſex. His Lordſhip likewiſe preferred the younger ſon, *Richard*, born in 1702, and a graduate of Catharine-Hall in Cambridge, to the Rectory of St Catharine Coleman, in Fenchurch-ſtreet, London; which he ſtill enjoys. They are both worthy Clergymen, and well reſpected in their ſeveral pariſhes.

(*m*) This was peculiar in his conſtitution, that he had not the uſual quantity of ſpittle; and though he could ſpit upon ſome very extraordinary occaſion, yet it was a force upon nature, and in his uſual courſe he did neither hawk nor ſpit in many years: but found no inconvenience from it, there being ſpittle enough to ſuffice for moiſtening the larynx, and aſſiſt digeſtion. Ducat. Leod. In the Appendix. p. 61.

(*n*) He often lamented the great conſumption of time, occaſioned by the numerous viſitants to ſee his Muſæum, but took care they ſhould not hinder him private, or public worſhip.

(*o*) Upon his conforming to the Church, he was choſen into the Common-Council. On the occaſion, he objected to the oaths always taken againſt the ſolemn League and Covenant, as an antiquated affair; and it was laid aſide from this time. He paid his fine, and reſigned this office ſome years before he died.

(*p*) He had a ſon born before Ralph, but he died of the ſmall-pox in Novemb. 1689. Ducat. Leod. p. 612. where is related an inſtance of an extraordinary memory in a young woman, who repeated her Minister's, Mr Sharp's, Sermons, though compoſed in long ſentences, and a lofty ſtile, once a fortnight, to a conſiderable number of her own ſex, more perfectly than moſt could take them in ſhort-hand; which, conſidering her ſex, is more remarkable than that of Dr Fuller (omitted in his article) who was able to make uſe of any man's Sermon that he had but once read, or heard. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 523.

(141) Creſſy's church hiſtory, b. xii. c. 7.

Britons, or Princes that lived in ſeveral Provinces, and reigned at the ſame time (141). Here ends the manuſcript.

[*I*] *Vicaria Leodienſis.*] This work was undertaken by him purely out of a hearty love to his native place; but the ſubject being narrow and confined, he has enriched it with obſervations on the original of parochial churches, and the ancient manner of building them, as alſo on the old way of paſſing eſtates by delivery of pledges, ſubſcription of golden croſſes, and pendant ſeals, &c. And beſides the memoirs of many worthy Divines, ſucceſſively Vicars of Leedes, he has added the lives of the Doctors Matthew Hutton, Edwin Sandys, Tobie Matthew, John Thoreſby, Archbiſhops of York, and of Henry, Earl of Huntington; to which he has likewiſe added a liſt of the Lords Preſidents of the King's council at York, from the firſt erection of that court to its diſſolution: with an appendix of original records and manuſcripts, concluding with an account of Trinity church, which was then building at Leedes (†).

(†) This church has been ſince finiſhed and endowed by the Benefactors mentioned in the concluſion.

[*K*] *His benevolence extended to all denominations of Chriſtians.*] For inſtance, when the pious Philip Lord Wharton begun his charity of diſtributing Bibles among the poor, on condition of repeating memoriter a few Pſalms, and the aſſembly's catechiſm, he deſired Mr Thoreſby's aſſiſtance at Leedes, which he chearfully embraced, and, for many years, painfully executed. In the ſame ſpirit, he was from his youth a promoter of private aſſemblies for prayer and holy conferences, and ſome good was done in that method. In the latter part of his life, a number of well-diſpoſed young men applied to him for his advice and countenance, and he attempted, with the approbation of the Vicar, to ſettle them upon Dr Woodward's plan of a religious ſociety. But this laudable deſign was defeated by the extravagant enthuſiaſm of one of them, who was too opinionated to be convinced, and not contented with his own ideal perfection, was continually impoſing it upon others, as a neceſſary article of ſalvation. In the like ſpirit, when a Charity-ſchool was firſt erected at Leedes, Mr Thoreſby was a zealous Advocate for it, and was named for Treaſurer, which, though he out of modeſty declined, yet he voluntarily offered to be one of their Collectors, and performed the office with fidelity and activity. Laſtly, the pious Robert Nelſon, Eſq; recommended him for a correſponding member of the Society in London for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge; and he took a great deal of pains to effectuate their deſign, by recommending ſubſcribers, and diſperſing many pious books among the poor; whereupon, at his death, Mr *Newman*, their Secretary, wrote a letter to the Reverend Mr *Robinſon*, lamenting the loſs of ſo ſerviceable a correſpondent.

TILLOTSON [JOHN], Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was deſcended from the Tilſons of Tilſon in Cheſhire [*A*]. The name of that branch of the family, to which we owe our Archbiſhop, being changed by his great grandfather, Thomas Wookliff, in the pariſh of Carlton, in that part of Yorkſhire called Craven, from whom it was derived to his ſon George, who by his wife Eleanor, daughter of Ellis Natter of Pendleforeſt, in Lancaſhire, had Robert, his heir, who became a conſiderable Clothier at Sowerby, in the pariſh of Halifax in Yorkſhire (*a*); where John, his eldeſt ſon, the ſubject of this Memoir, was born, at a houſe called Haugh-end, about Michaelmas-day, 1630, being baptized on the 3d of Octob. following (*b*). His father being a very rigid Puritan and Calviniſt (*c*), was particularly careful to breed up his ſon in the ſame principles, and finding that he made an extraordinary progreſs at ſchool, he kept him there till he was fit for the Univerſity, and then ſent him to Cambridge, where he was admitted Penſioner of Clare-Hall, under the tuition of Mr David Clarkſon [*B*], an eminent Preſbyterian Divine, April 28, 1647, being matriculated in the Univerſity on the firſt of July following. Here (*d*) he followed his ſtudies with a commendable diligence, but not ſo as to have the character of a hard or plodding ſtudent [*C*], and declined appearing in public exerciſes as much as he could, but performed them very well when required (*e*). Midſummer 1650, he took the degree of A. B. and on the 27th of November the following year, was admitted Fellow of the College (*f*), having about half a year before (*g*) begun to take pupils, of whoſe behaviour and manners he was very careful [*D*], being himſelf of a ſerious and religious turn: he had a very good gift of performing extempore prayers, then much in uſe, and was a great frequenter of ſermons [*E*]. In 1654, he proceeded A. M. and at the public commencement the following year, being appointed to keep the Philoſophy Act, he performed it with great applauſe, and beyond expectation (*h*). In the latter end of 1656, he left the College, where he had met with extraordinary reſpect from his firſt admiſſion, and after he became Fellow, the Seniors did nothing in public affairs of the Society without conſulting him (*i*). Some time before he quitted Cambridge, having met with Chillingworth's book, intitled *The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe way to Salvation*, the reaſoning of that excellent Author had opened his mind ſo far, as to releaſe him from the narrow notions of his education: in which he had always found ſomething not agreeable to the natural ſweetneſs of his temper (*k*) [*F*]. However, he ſtill

(*a*) His mother was Mary, daughter of Thomas Dobſon of the ſame place, Gentleman. Life of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, p. 4. Edit. 1717. 8vo. p. 11. She unhappily loſt her underſtanding many years before her death. Archbiſhop's Prayers before his Conſecration, printed in his Works, Vol. III. Edit. 1752. fol.

(*b*) Calamy's Account, Vol. II. p. 795. Edit. 1713.

(*c*) His prejudices were ſcarce to be moderated by all the reaſoning of his ſon, whom he lived to ſee Dean of Canterbury. Birch's Life of the Archbiſhop, p. 2. Dr Hickes ſays, he early turned Anabaptiſt. Some Diſcourſes, &c. p. 62. Edit. 1695. 4to.

(*d*) Le Neve's Lives of the Proteſtant Biſhops, p. 222, 223. from a MS. of Thomas Baker, S. T. B.

(*e*) Memoirs of the Archbiſhop by Beardmore, ſubjoined to his Life by Birch, p. 400.

(*f*) Le Neve, as before, from Baker's MS.

(*g*) When he was made Probationer Fellow. Beardmore, p. 381, who was his firſt pupil, was admitted Sizer and Pupil to Dominus Tillotſon, April 7, 1651. College-Regiſter.

(*h*) His Funeral Sermon, by Burnet, p. 10, 11. Edit. 1694. 4to.

(*b*) Beardmore, p. 402.

(*i*) Whiſton's Memoirs of his own Life, Vol. I. p. 29.

[*A*] *Deſcended from the Tilſons in Cheſhire.*] The firſt known anceſtor of this family was Nicholas de Tilſton, Lord of the manor of Tilſton, from whom deſcended Nicholas de Tilſton in the 9th year of Edward III, whoſe grandſon and heir, Roger Tilſton, Eſq; in the reign of Henry V, married Catharine, ſecond daughter of Sir John Leigh of Baguley in Cheſhire, Knt. His ſon and heir, Thomas Tilſton, married the daughter and heireſs of Hugh Heath of Huxley in the ſame county, whoſe ſecond ſon, Richard, marrying Maud, daughter of Richard Boſtock, had ſeveral ſons, of whom the third, Ralph of Newport in Shropſhire, had by his wife (daughter of William, ſecond ſon of Sir Thomas Leighton, Knt. of Wattleſborough in the ſame county) Thomas of Wookliff, his third ſon, in the pariſh of Carlton in Craven in Yorkſhire, who changed the name from Tilſton to Tillotſon, and was great grandfather to our Archbiſhop (1).

(1) Birch's Life of the Archbiſhop, p. 1. 2d Edit. 1753, from a manuſcript, communicated by Mr Joſh. Tillotſon, ſurmaſter of St Paul's ſchool, and great nephew of the Archbiſhop, being grandſon of his brother Iſrael.

[*B*] *Mr David Clarkſon.*] The Oxford Antiquary ſtiles him a learned Nonconformiſt, ſays he was one of thoſe who, with Dr John Owen and ſeveral others in 1682, undertook the continuation of Poole's Engliſh annotations on the Bible; but that he diſowned the piece againſt Dr Stillingfleet, aſcribed to him, entituled, *No evidence of Dioceſan Epiſcopacy, or any Biſhops, without the choice and conſent of the people, in the Primitive times*, publiſhed in 1681, 4to; though he was the author of another, entitled, *Primitive Epiſcopacy* (2). According to Mr Baxter, he was a man of moderate healing principles (3). Upon reſigning his fellowſhip, he put his pupils under the care of Mr Tillotſon.

(2) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 747 and 873.

(3) Reliq. Baxterianæ, Part 3. p. 97.

[*C*] *He was no plodding ſtudent.*] His method of ſtudy was not to note, or pick out by way of common place, or otherwiſe, paſſages out of the books he read; but only marked thoſe that he meant to familiarize with a black lead pencil (4). He read *Tully* well, and not improbably Twiſſe's *Vindiciæ Gratiæ*, an author in great vogue at that time (5); yet it was not his principles which pleaſed our ſtudent, but his acuteneſs in diſputation. This we have from Mr Beardmore, who obſerves, that he was a perſon of a very good wit, ſharp and acute, pleaſant in converſation, but with much decorum and gravity for his years (6).

(4) Sir Iſaac Newton uſed the ſame method.

(5) See an account of this Author in Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 80, 81, 82.

(6) Appendix to Tillotſon's Life by Birch, p. 384.

[*D*] *He was very careful of his pupils.*] He was at theſe years a very good ſcholar, an acute logician and philoſopher, a quick diſputant, of a ſolid judgment, and no way unqualified, though ſo young, for the truſt and charge of a tutor. He ſpoke Latin exceeding well, read lectures in Burgerdicius's (7) logic with great ſmartneſs and judgment; and, continues Mr Beardmore, when we went to take a new lecture, he examined us about the former, according to the author's and his own explanations. When he went to prayers in his chamber at night, he put us for ſome time at firſt upon conſtruing or reading into Latin a chapter in the Greek teſtament, in which he was a very great critic, and afterwards he uſed to put ſome one or other promiſcuouſly upon giving an account of the day's reading, and then required him to defend his author, which was always done in Latin. He ſometimes had them to diſpute or declaim before him in his chamber in the afternoons. We alſo, continues Mr Beardmore, went to him to prayers for the moſt part duly on Sunday nights, when he examined ſome or other of us about the ſermons heard that day; this was done in Engliſh; for that was the only day when he ſpoke to us, and we gave him our account, in Engliſh. His prayers were, according to the uſe of thoſe times, of that ſort which are called *conceived* prayers, in which he had a very great facility; but always performed them with gravity and fervour, as he did alſo when it was his courſe to perform prayer in the chapel. In the week days, when he had done his prayer, as we were going out of his chamber, he uſually recalled ſome one of us, and then would uſe thoſe he called with a fair freedom, diſcourſe them kindly, encourage them to ſtudiouſneſs, ſeriouſneſs, and diligence; or tell them of any fault he either obſerved or heard of in them, and thoſe that deſerved it, he would reprove very ſharply. The ſame Writer proceeds to obſerve as follows; he prayed much in ſecret in his bed-chamber, uſing his voice, but ſo as none could hear him, as I think, except myſelf, who kept juſt over him. He ſeemed to be much contrite in his devotions (8).

(7) An author ſtill read by tutors in that Univerſity.

(8) Beardmore, p. 382, 383.

[*E*] *A great frequenter of ſermons.*] He generally heard four ſermons every Sunday, beſides the weekly lecture at Trinity church on Wedneſdays, which was preached by a combination of the worthieſt and beſt preachers in the Univerſity, all of them fellows of colleges. At that time the prevailing men, being generally Contra-remonſtants [Calviniſts] uſed to preach much upon thoſe ſubjects, eſpecially Dr Hill (9). Him Mr Tillotſon heard conſtantly on Sunday *mornings* at St Michael's church, and in the afternoons often at Trinity (10).

(9) He was bred at Emanuel college, but then was Maſter of Trinity, in the room of Dr Comber, ejected by the parliament, before whom *Hill* was a frequent preacher. He died in 1653. Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 224.

(10) Beardmore, &c. p. 383, 384.

[*F*] *The natural ſweetneſs of his temper.*] We ſhould not have inſerted this in the text upon the authority of Biſhop Burnet's panegyric, had not we found it confirmed by Mr Beardmore. This more impartial and no leſs friendly writer to Tillotſon's memory, having informed

ſtill perſevered in aſſerting the Preſbyterian form of Church Government, as well as the Protector's Supremacy, continued ſteady in his allegiance to the *covenant* and the *engagement*, according to the oaths he had taken [*G*]; and being in great favour with that party, he was now called from the Univerſity to be Tutor to the ſon of *Edmund Prideaux*, Eſq; of Ford-Abbey in Devonſhire, Oliver's Attorney General, in whoſe family he likewiſe officiated as Chaplain, but without any ordination (*l*), agreeable to the principles of thoſe times. As this employment brought him to London, he was there at the death of his Patron's Maſter, the Protector, in 1658; and about a week after, was preſent at a ſcene in Whitehall, which gave him a diſguſt to ſome leading Divines of his own perſuaſion (*m*). At the ſame time, he likewiſe fell into the acquaintance of ſome worthy Clergymen of another character, by which he was much improved (*n*). And ſoon after the Reſtoration, in 1669, he took the opportunity that offered of being epiſcopally ordained, without any oaths or ſubſcriptions, by Dr Thomas Sidſerf, Biſhop of Galloway in Scotland [*H*], who was then in London, and where, by this practice, he gave great offence to the Engliſh Biſhops. Notwithſtanding this ordination, Mr Tillotſon ſtill adhered to the Preſbyterians, and the ſame year was removed from his Fellowſhip [*I*] at Clare-Hall, by the Fellows of the College, at the inſtance of Dr Peter Gunning, who had been ejected by the Parliament, in 1643, to make way for Mr *David Clarkſon*, Tutor and immediate Predeceſſor in that Fellowſhip to Mr Tillotſon, who had given the profits to the College during all the time he was poſſeſſed of it. About this time, he made a viſit to his friends in Yorkſhire, and there preached his firſt ſermon in the Church of Oſwaldkirk, near Helmſley, which living was then held by his fellow pupil in the College, Mr *John Denton* [*K*]. In July 1661, he attended the Preſbyterian

(*l*) This is plainly intimated by Dr Hicke's in Some Diſcourſes, &c. p. 52, and not controverted by Burnet.

(*m*) See Dr. John Owen's Article in remark [*D*].

(*n*) Particularly Biſhop Browning, who was then Preacher of the Temple; Dr Hacket, afterwards Biſhop of Litchfield, of the Church of England; and of the other perſuaſion, Dr Bates, for whom he profeſſed a great eſteem, both on account of his learning and good temper. Beardmore, p. 403.

formed us how fond his tutor was of Dr Hill's [the Preſbyterian's] preaching, intimates that he did not imbibe thoſe principles. Diverſe young preachers, ſays he, came up in thoſe times, who were of a freer temper and genius; ſuch were Mr Samuel Jacomb (11), Mr Bright of Emanuel-college (12), Mr Patrick, now Biſhop of Ely, and others who went not that way. Mr Tillotſon ſeemed to be an eclectic man, and not to bind himſelf by opinions. The ſame writer obſerves alſo, that his tutor did not appear to be hotly biaſſed to the preſbyterian government after he came under him. Dr Birch obſerves (13), that there was then a ſet of as extraordinary perſons in the Univerſity as perhaps any age has produced; Dr *Ralph Cudworth*, Maſter of Chriſt's college; Dr *Benjamin Whichcot*, Provoſt of King's; Dr *Henry More*, and Dr *George Ruſt* [14], Fellows of Chriſt's; Dr *J. Worthington*, Maſter of Jeſus's; and Mr *John Smith*, Fellow of Queen's (15).

(11) Then fellow of Queen's college, afterwards miniſter of St Mary Woolnoth in Lombard-ſtreet, where he died June 12, 1659. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 802.

(12) Afterwards Rector of Loughborough in Leiceſterſhire, and then Chaplain to the Princeſs of Orange before the Revolution, and after it Dean of St Aſaph. He publiſhed Vol. I. of Dr Lightfoot's works, 1684, fol.

(13) Life of Tillotſon, p. 6.

(14) afterwards Biſhop of Dromore in Ireland.

(15) Author of *The Select Diſcourſes*.

[*G*] *The oaths which he had taken.*] This is collected from the following obſervation of Mr Beardmore: 'There was a kind of feud, ſays he, in the college 'betwixt the old and the new fellows; for it is well 'known what differences in opinion and affection the 'civil wars created in the nation; which extended to 'the Univerſities, and the particular colleges and ſocie-'ties therein, as well as to other places. The old fel-'lows that then remained in the college had indeed ſo 'far diſpenſed with their judgments, as to have either 'taken the *covenant*, and after that the *engagement* as 'it was called, or otherwiſe to have complied ſo far 'with the prevalent powers of thoſe times, as to have 'kept their fellowſhips; but yet ſtill very likely in their 'inward thoughts and inclinations to lean to the ancient 'government both in church and ſtate. I believe Mr 'Tillotſon then, according to the prejudices of his 'education, might be ſomething biaſſed the other way, '(though not very hotly after I came under him) and 'ſo was one of thoſe who lay rather under the diſguſt 'of the ſenior fellows (16).'

(16) Memoirs, as before, p. 385.

[*H*] *He was ordained by the Biſhop of Galloway.*] This remarkable fact we owe to the ingenuity of Mr Beardmore, who aſſures us, that he had it from the Archbiſhop's own mouth (17); I mean that he was ordained by this Biſhop in 1660, and the ordination paſſed without any oaths or ſubſcriptions, as appears from the following remarks made by Dr Burnet upon the conduct of this Prelate at that time. 'Dr Thomas Sidſerf, 'ſays he, the only Scots Biſhop who was living at the 'Reſtoration, came up then to London, not doubt-'ing but that he ſhould be advanced to the primacy of 'Scotland; though he failed of his expectations, having 'given offence to the Engliſh Biſhops by his promiſcu-'ous ordinations when he firſt came to England. For, 'when the act of Uniformity required all men, who held 'any benefices there, to be epiſcopally ordained, he 'who, by obſerving the ill effects of the former vio-'lence of the Scots Biſhops, was become very moderate 'with others of the Scots clergy, who gathered about 'him, ordained all thoſe of the Engliſh clergy who 'came to him, without demanding either oaths or ſub-'ſcriptions of them (18).'

(17) Ibid. p. 387.

(18) Burnet's hiſt. of his own time, Vol. II. p. 132, 133, who ſays, he was ſuppoſed to do this merely for the fees for the Inſtrument of orders, for he was poor. Burnet elſewhere ſtiles him a very learned and good man, p. 26.

[*I*] *He was ejected from his fellowſhip.*] This whole affair, ſo much bandied on both ſides, ſeems to be cleared up by Mr Beardmore in the following account. He, Tillotſon, was a probationer to a fellowſhip in 1651, which I think was by mandamus from the higher powers; yet he was not actually admitted into a fellowſhip of ſome conſiderable time, but lived at his own charge. At length, two fellowſhips being declared void, he was received into one of them; and one Mr Newce, who had alſo lived as probationer, was taken into the other. I have heard him ſay, continues Mr Beardmore, the ſociety dealt not fairly with him about that matter. For when, after the Reſtoration in the year 1660, thoſe fellows, who had been turned out upon account of their not taking the Covenant, came to be admitted into their fellowſhips, and, among the reſt, the famous Dr Peter Gunning, he being then a man of intereſt and power, would needs have it, that the fellowſhip, into which Mr Tillotſon had been admitted, was formerly his, though the latter told me he was ſure it was not, but one that was fairly and legally void upon a fellow's leaving it by ceſſion. But the aforeſaid Dr Gunning, having ſome perſonal pique againſt Mr Tillotſon (though at the ſame time he ſaid he could ſcarcely tell wherein he had diſobliged him); yet, I ſay, Dr Gunning ſo wrought with the ſociety, as that they complied with his pretences, and ſo put Mr Tillotſon out of his fellowſhip. This, I have heard him ſay, he had reaſon to take amiſs from the ſociety, as not having done him right, but dealing unkindly with him, who, if there had been nothing elſe in it, deſerved to be eſteemed a benefactor to the College. For inſtance, while he was Tutor to Prideaux's ſons, he obtained, by the Attorney's means, 1000l. to be paid out of the Exchequer to the College for wood and ſtone prepared for carrying on its building (19). Moreover, while he reſided at London, he fell into the acquaintance of an old gentleman, one Mr Diggons, who had formerly been fellow commoner of Clare-hall, and, being a very humourſome perſon, had taken diſguſt againſt ſome of his own relations. In this temper he was prevailed upon to leave 300l. per annum to the College by Mr Tillotſon, who alſo let the profits of his fellowſhip go to the College. As for Dr Gunning, he was very hot and earneſt to put this diſreſpect upon him; for though he knew that he was to be choſen Maſter of Bennet college the very next day (20), and though Mr Tillotſon's merits to the College were inſiſted on and pleaded by ſome at leaſt of the ſociety, yet he was ſo vehement in the buſineſs as to ſay, *Let Juſtice be done firſt; and then, if they were minded to do Mr Tillotſon a favour, they might do that afterwards* (21).

(19) This however was ſeized by the parliament party towards fortifying the caſtle at Cambridge.

(20) Upon the vacancy, by the death of Dr Love, of whom ſee ſome account in Archbiſhop Tenniſon's article.

(21) Beardmore's memorials, p. 386, 387.

[*K*] *Mr Denton.*] This gentleman contracted a moſt intimate friendſhip at the College with Mr Tillotſon, to whom he was then particularly ſerviceable during a dangerous ſickneſs, attended for ſome time after with a very uncommon kind of intermittent delirium, and a conſtant

terian Commiſſioners as an Auditor, in the conference at the Savoy for the review of the Liturgy (o); and in September following, he ſupplied the turn of Dr *Bates* in preaching at the morning exerciſe at Cripplegate Church, London, undertaken by ſeveral eminent Preſbyterian Divines in the city [L]. The ſame year he complied with the Act of Uniformity, and was appointed Curate to Dr *Thomas Hacket*, Vicar of Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his perſuaſive eloquence (p), and as the ſhort diſtance of that place from London allowed him opportunities of viſiting his friends in the city, he was frequently invited into the pulpits there (q), and being preſently taken notice of for his excellent talent at preaching, he was elected Miniſter of St Mary Aldermanbury by the Pariſhioners on the 10th of December, 1662; but declined it, becauſe the vacancy had been made by the refuſal of Mr *Edmund Calamy* [M] to comply with the Act (r). However, being preſented in June the following year to the Rectory of *Ketton*, or *Kedington* in Suffolk, worth 200l. per ann.; he accepted it, though vacated by the ejection of another nonconforming Miniſter (s), in purſuance of the ſame Act of Uniformity. He had been poſſeſſed of this living but a ſhort time, when happening to be in London, he performed the duty of the ſtated Tueſday's Lecture at St Laurence Jury (t). That Sermon procured him the place of Preacher to the Society of Lincoln's-Inn [N], into which he was elected on the 20th of November, 1663, having the appointment of a chamber, and a ſalary of 100 l. per ann. payable by equal portions at the end of every term, with commons for himſelf and a ſervant in term-time, beſides 24 l. allowed him for vacation commons (u). This remove bringing him back among his friends, he made no heſitation in preferring it to his Living in Suffolk, where he was not at all liked [O]. He therefore now willingly reſigned it, having engaged himſelf to reſide conſtantly at Lincoln's-Inn. Soon after his ſettlement in this conſpicuous ſtation, he was deſired to appear in the pulpit before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, at St Paul's, where, in March 1663-4, he preached his famous Sermon againſt atheiſm and infidelity, which at their requeſt was afterwards publiſhed with great additions (w), under the title of *The Wiſdom of being religious* [P]. A little before this, viz. on the 23d of February preceding, he had married Mrs *Elizabeth French*, Oliver Cromwell's niece, and now daughter-in-law to Dr *John Wilkins*, Rector of St Laurence Jewry (x), where Mr Tillotſon was elected Tueſday-Lecturer the following year. About this time, the

(o) Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, Part I. p. 337. It was at this time that he adviſed Mr Beardmore, in his preaching, not to cry up the Liturgy and Ceremonies of the Church. Beardmore's memoirs, p. 399.

(p) He prevailed with an old Oliverian ſoldier, who preached among the Anabaptiſts in that town in a red coat, and was much followed, to deſiſt from that, and betake himſelf to ſome other employment. His Life by Anon. p. 7, 9.

(q) His Sermon of the Advantages of an early piety on Eccleſ. xii. 1. was preached at St Laurence Jewry 1662, as appears by the title-page.

(r) Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, p. 843.

(s) Mr Samuel Fairclough, of whom there is ſome account in Clarke's Lives of eminent men, p. 153.

(t) Le Neve, p. 223.

(u) From the books of that Society.

(w) In the firſt edition, of 1664, it makes ſixty-four pages in 4to. and he afterwards enlarged it to the ſize we now ſee it in the front of his Works, in 1752. fol.

(x) They were married by Dr Wilkins. See Regiſt. of that Church.

conſtant correſpondence was kept up between them (22). Mr Denton was ejected from this living in 1662; but he afterwards conformed, and, being reordained, was collated to Stonegrave, within two miles of Oſwaldkirk, and alſo to a Prebend in the church of York, which he held till his death (23),

(22) Tillotſon's life, by Anon. and Dr Birch.

(23) The inſcription upon his tomb-ſtone in the church of Stonegrave.

[L] *The exerciſe at Cripplegate by ſeveral preſbyterian Divines.*] The chief promoter of this exerciſe was *Samuel Aneley* or *Aneſley*, then Paſtor of that church, and LL. D. which degree he took on account of his then holding the rich living of *Cliffe* in Kent (a peculiar, with a juriſdiction belonging to the Incumbent). His contemporaries looked upon the conferring of this degree upon him as a ſcandalous thing. Nay, ſays Mr Wood, ſome of the grave fellows there, particularly Dr Barlow, have ſaid it diverſe times in my hearing, that, if the ſaid *Samuel Aneley* could have told the meaning or definition of the word *Pandectæ*, he ſhould have freely had their votes for that degree. On the 26th of July the ſame year, 1648, he preached before the Houſe of Commons, perſuading them to do juſtice upon the King, and not to treat with him any more, yet highly extolled and affirmed the obligation of the Covenant. He afterwards took the Engagement, and was appointed one of the commiſſioners for the approbation and admiſſion of miniſters by the act of March 14, 1659: and after the Reſtoration he refuſed to conform. Among other things he publiſhed, *The Morning Exerciſe at Cripplegate, or ſeveral Caſes of Conſcience practically reſolved by ſundry Miniſters, Lond.* 1661, 4to. The firſt ſermon is his; and the tenth, entitled, *Wherein lies that exact righteouſneſs that is required between man and man*, was preached by Mr Tillotſon (24), then a Nonconformiſt (25).

(24) The preachers names were omitted in the firſt edition, but were inſerted in the ſubſequent ones.

(25) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 966-968. This ſermon is reprinted in the edition of Tillotſon's works, Lond. 1752, in 3 vols folio.

[M] *On the refuſal of Mr Edmund Calamy to comply with the act.*] Mr Beardmore gives us the following curious anecdote relating to Mr Calamy's refuſal. Mr Tillotſon, ſays he, in the year 1661, told me, that the good old man [Mr Calamy] deliberated about it ſome conſiderable time, profeſſing to ſee the great inconvenience of the preſbyterian parity of miniſters. And ſaid, if Mr Calamy had accepted of the Biſhoprick of Litchfield, which was offered him, Dr Bates had been Dean, and Mr Miles and himſelf were deſigned for two of the Canons. But, as he added alſo, though Mr Calamy was in a manner induced to a willingneſs to have embraced the King's offer, yet Mrs Calamy, being againſt it, over-ruled her huſband, and ſo the matter went off (26).

(26) Beardmore's memorials, p. 388. See what is ſaid of this matter in Mr Calamy's article, rem. [L].

[N] *This ſermon procured him the preacher's place at Lincoln's-Inn.*] Mr *Atkyns*, afterwards Lord chief Baron of the Exchequer, then Bencher of that Inn, being preſent at this ſermon, was ſo pleaſed with it, that, going to him in the veſtry, he offered him his intereſt for the place at Lincoln's-Inn, which would be ſoon vacant. The offer being accepted by the preacher, he was accordingly elected upon the ſalary above mentioned, which had been allowed to his predeceſſor (27). Five Maſters of the Bench were appointed to acquaint him with his election, and to inform him of the duty expected from him, that he ſhould preach twice every Lord's day in term-time, and next before and after term, and in reading time, and in every Lord's day in the vacation, and as other occaſions ſhould require, and adminiſter the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper together with the Chaplain of the houſe every term and vacation, and reſide conſtantly in the Society, not abſenting himſelf thence without the leave of the Maſters of the Bench in Council (28).

(27) Mr Thomas Greenfield, a remarkable Loyaliſt. See his ſermon on Wedneſday, June 12, 1661, before the Houſe of Commons.

(28) Birch, p. 26. from the books of that ſociety.

[O] *Where he was not at all liked.*] It ſeems the people there, being generally infected with the Soliſidian and Antinomial doctrines, prevalent in that age, had been deliciouſly fed by their former Paſtor with thoſe ſavoury expreſſions of *recumbing and reſting and rolling upon Chriſt*. Thus pampered, they took great offence at his ſucceſſor's more rational diſcourſes from the pulpit. This being ſoon diſcovered by the preacher, he communicated to his patron his deſign of quitting them upon that account. Sir Thomas, with great civility, endeavoured to perſuade him that he was miſtaken in his ſuſpicion: but his lady, more open, being deſired to ſpeak her mind, acknowledged ingenuouſly, that neither herſelf nor even Sir Thomas, however he might affect to diſguiſe his ſentiments, were at all of a different opinion from the reſt of the pariſh, who univerſally complained, that Jeſus Chriſt had not been preached amongſt them (29) ſince Mr Tillotſon had been ſettled there (30).

(29) He ſeems to allude to this in his ſermon againſt *Evil-ſpeaking*. I foreſee, ſays he, what will be, becauſe I have heard it ſo often ſaid in the like caſe, that *there is not one word of Jeſus Chriſt in all this.*

(30) Batteley's edition of Somner's antiquities of Canterbury, Part III. p. 124.

[P] *The wiſdom of being religious.*] Upon this occaſion he incurred the juſt reproach of having more zeal than knowledge. In the dedication he calls Mr Hobbes a dabbler in mathematics, a cenſure which was neither juſt in itſelf, nor at all becoming the character of the cenſurer, who was no competent judge of what he here aſſerted, and it was very imprudent in him as a Divine, ſince it might be eaſily foreſeen, that this ſingle ſlip might be ſufficient to defeat, if any thing could defeat, all the good intentions of this diſcourſe, excellent as it is, in the front of which it appeared. Mr Hobbes, as was well known, had been the King's Preceptor in Mathematics, and was confeſſedly an able Mathematician, as well as Dr Wilkins: though both fell into notorious paralogiſms in ſome parts of that ſcience.

ſincerity of his affection for the legal eſtabliſhment of the Church began to be ſuſpected by ſome of his old friends and admirers [*Q*]. However, this Lecture ſuited ſo particularly with his talents, and was ſo agreeable to his humour, that he preſently became the moſt popular Preacher of that time, and his manner was obſerved to be ſo uncommonly prevalent and perſuaſive, that we are told his Lectures were attended by a great concourſe of perſons of quality and diſtinction, and likewiſe of the Clergy, who came thither to form their minds (*y*). But Mr Tillotſon's labours were not confined to the pulpit alone; his early zeal againſt Popery engaged him in a controverſy with the Author of *Sure Footing*, &c. againſt which he wrote his *Rule of Faith*, and publiſhed it in 1668, 8vo. [*R*]. At the ſame time, he was one of the firſt encouragers of that laborious Work, the *Synopſis Criticorum*, &c. (*z*), undertaken this year by Mr *Matthew Pool*, an ejected nonconformiſt Miniſter, who joined in the controverſy againſt the Papiſts (*aa*). This year, 1666, likewiſe Mr Tillotſon proceeded D. D. (*bb*): and in January the next year, entered into the deſign of forming a comprehenſion with the Diſſenters, then propoſed by Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and countenanced by Judge *Hales* (*cc*), Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; and though the ſcheme then plainly appeared to be againſt the general bent of the nation [*S*], yet our Doctor kept it ſtill upon his mind, and even continued to puſh it till his death, whenever he thought the times were favourable (*dd*). On the 15th of November, 1668, he preached the Sermon at the Conſecration of his father-in-law, Dr Wilkins, to the Biſhopric of Cheſter (*ee*). This diſcourſe gave general ſatisfaction, and the Preacher's merit began now to be taken notice of at Court. So that in the following year, the King made him one of his Chaplains, and gave him a Prebend in the Cathedral of Canterbury, into which he was admitted March 14, 1669 (*ff*); but quitted it in Octob. 1672, when he was advanced to the Deanery of that Church by his Majeſty (*gg*), notwithſtanding he had a little before this intimated his apprehenſions of the King's tendency to the Romiſh Religion [*T*], and preached that noted Sermon at Whitehall in the beginning of the year, upon *the hazard of being ſaved in that Church* [*U*]. In 1674, he joined in a ſecond attempt to bring about his much deſired accommodation with the Nonconformiſts; but having yielded to many articles that were diſapproved by the Biſhops, he was again diſappointed therein [*W*]: However, this year, by the intereſt of Dr John Sharp, with Lord Chancellor Finch,

(*y*) Le Neve, p. 224. and Funeral Sermon by Burnet, p. 20.

(*z*) His name is ſubſcribed to the Propoſals for that Work. See alſo the Præfatio, p. vi, vii.

(*aa*) See his article.

(*bb*) Le Neve, as before.

(*cc*) See his article.

(*dd*) This will appear in the courſe of the preſent Memoir.

(*ee*) In the room of Dr Gunning. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 10, 14.

(*ff*) In the room of Dr Turner, deceaſed. His friends on this occaſion were Archbiſhop Sheldon, the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Berkeley. Beardmore, p. 393. In the interim, he was choſen a Fellow of the Royal Society, Jan. 25, 1671, having been by his own requeſt propoſed as a candidate by Dr Ward, Biſhop of Sal-ſbury, whoſe ſucceſſor at St Laurence Jewry was Dr Wilkins, one of the chief ornaments of the R. S.

(*gg*) See his article.

[*Q*] *He began to be ſuſpected by ſome of his old friends.*] Mr Beardmore, having given Dr Wilkins his juſt character, proceeds thus (31); 'I remember that, about 'May, 1665, being at Coventry, I went to wait upon 'Biſhop Hacket, as he was returning from London to 'Litchfield, who ſpoke much to the commendation of 'Mr Tillotſon as to his learning and preaching, and 'particularly praiſed his ſermon, then newly printed, 'called, *The wiſdom of being religious*, as the beſt thing 'that ever he ſaw againſt Atheiſm in the compaſs of a 'ſermon. *But*, ſays he, *he is now fallen in with Dr 'Wilkins, and is become a preſbyterian, and an enemy of the 'church of England*, or to that purpoſe; and, ſays he, 'he never came to ſee me all this time I have been at 'London; whereas formerly I have converſed with him 'with great familiarity. I did, continues Mr Beardmore, by letter acquaint him of the importance of the 'Biſhop's complaint of him, who returned to me, that 'the opinion which I myſelf had expreſſed of Dr Wilkins's worth was true and juſt; that the Biſhop's fears 'of himſelf being become a preſbyterian were cauſeleſs 'and groundleſs; for that he had long before fixed his 'principles about church-government, and was in no 'likelihood of altering them; and that it was by reaſon 'of his much buſineſs that he had not waited on his 'Lordſhip when in town.'

(31) In his memorials, p. 392.

[*R*] *His rule of faith.*] In return to this, Mr Serjeant (whoſe true name was Smith) publiſhed *A letter of thanks from the author of ſure footing to his anſwerer, Mr J. T.* (32), and this was ſeconded the following year by *Faith vindicated from the poſſibility of falſehood*; or *The immoveable certainty and firmneſs of the motives to the Chriſtian religion aſſerted againſt that tenet, which, denying infallibility of authority, ſubverts its foundation, and renders it uncertain* (33). In this piece he attacked a paſſage in p. 31 of Dr Tillotſon's ſermon on *the wiſdom of being religious*. The Doctor replied to his exceptions to that, and to his *Rule of Faith*, in the preface to the firſt volume of his ſermons, printed in 1671, 8vo. To this there came out a Rejoinder the following year, entitled Reaſon againſt Raillery, or a full anſwer to Dr Tillotſon's preface againſt J. Serjeant.

(32) According to the title printed at Paris, but really at London.

(33) This too was printed at London, though ſaid, in the title-page, at Louvain.

[*S*] *Plainly appeared to be againſt the general bent of the nation.*] Dr Stillingfleet and Mr Hezekiah Burton alſo joined in this project, which was to bring in as many as they could to the communion of the church, and procure a toleration for the reſt; Dr *Bates*, Dr *Manton*, and Mr *Baxter*, being called on the ſide of the preſbyterians. The ſcheme conſiſted chiefly of thoſe things which the King had promiſed in his *declaration from Breda* in 1660. But the great point of reordination being given up, it was propoſed, that thoſe who had preſbyterian ordination ſhould be received to ſerve in the church by an impoſition of hands, accompanied with words importing, that the perſon ſo ordained ſhould be received to ſerve as a miniſter in the church of England (34). When this treaty came to be publickly known, it was univerſally condemned, inſomuch that when a bill, drawn up by Lord chief Baron Hale, was to be preſented to the parliament, a reſolution paſſed againſt admitting any bill of that nature (35). This is the plain fact, ſtript of the colouring given to it by Biſhop Burnet from his zealous attachment to this ſcheme, and under that caution the following remark of his upon it in another place is to be read. "But this treaty, ſays he, becoming the ſubject of common diſcourſe, a clamour was raiſed, eſpecially by the friends of the Earl of Clarendon, diſgraced in Auguſt, 1667, and now in baniſhment, that the church was undermined and betrayed (36)."

(34) Calamy's abridgment of Mr Baxter's hiſt. of his life and times, p. 317-322, 2d edition.

(35) Burnet's life of Sir Matthew Hale, p. 42, 43.

(36) Burnet's hiſtory of his own time, Vol. I. p. 259.

[*T*] *His apprehenſions of the King's inclination to popery.*] Upon his Majeſty's proclamation for liberty of conſcience, March 15, 1671, the Biſhops in general, and my Lord of London in particular, charged the clergy to preach againſt popery. The King complaining to Archbiſhop Sheldon of this, as done on purpoſe to inflame the people, and alienate them from himſelf and his government, that prelate called together ſome of the clergy to conſider what he ſhould ſay to his Majeſty, if he preſſed him any further on that head; when Dr Tillotſon, who was one of theſe, ſuggeſted this anſwer, that, ſince his Majeſty profeſſed the proteſtant religion, it would be a thing without precedent that he ſhould forbid his clergy to preach in defence of a religion which they believed, while he declared himſelf of it. But there was no occaſion for this or any other anſwer, his Majeſty never renewing the motion (37).

(37) Id. p. 309. N. B. The King, on the addreſs of the Houſe of Commons, recalled that declaration.

[*U*] *A ſermon on the hazard of ſalvation in the church of Rome.*] This, they ſay, ſays Mr Beardmore, ſo nettled the duke of York, who was preſent, having to this time concealed himſelf, and, being a Papiſt in maſquerade, frequented the King's chapel, that he forſook it afterwards, and never more appeared there (38).

(38) Beardmore's memorials, p. 392.

[*W*] *He was again diſappointed.*] This attempt was in conjunction with the ſame perſons as the former, Tillotſon and Stillingfleet declaring they had encouragement of ſeveral Lords both ſpiritual and temporal. They were at firſt met by Mr Baxter alone, with whom having conſidered and canvaſſed various draughts, one was at length fixed on in which they agreed, and, being communicated to the other Nonconformiſts, was

Finch, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, the Dean was preſented, December 18, 1675, to the Prebend of Ealdland, in the Church of St Paul's (*bb*); and the ſame year, he publiſhed Dr Wilkins's *Principles of Natural Religion* (*ii*), with a recommendatory Preface. The year 1617 was lucky to him, in preſenting the opportunity he had of ſhewing a particular regard for the Prince and Princeſs of Orange at Canterbury, in their way to Holland, after their marriage [*X*]. On the 14th of February the ſame year, 1667-8, reſigning his Prebend of Ealdland, aforementioned, he obtained that of Oxgate, together with a Reſidentiaryſhip of the ſame Church (*kk*). In 1678, the Dean publiſhed Dr Barrow's Treatiſe *of the Pope's Supremacy*, in purſuance of the Author's dying requeſt to him (*ll*). The ſame year he loſt his brother, Joſhua Tillotſon, who died on the 16th of September, of a vomiting of blood [*Y*]. But this month was more remarkably diſtinguiſhed by the diſcovery of the problematical Popiſh Plot, and the Parliament meeting on the 21ſt of October, a few days after the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the Dean was appointed to preach before the Commons on the 5th of November following. As from the whole tenor of his Sermons and other writings, his thoughts appear to be continually agitated with the apprehenſions of Popery, ſo this appointment furniſhed him with the fitteſt occaſion that could be of opening all his mind upon that ſubject, and he even excelled himſelf therein [*Z*]. Yet this excellence was preſently tarniſhed, by his Sermon preached on the 3d of December following, at the Yorkſhire feaſt, when the high tide of his zeal for a comprehenſion, drove him foul againſt that rock upon which he had ſo often run before, to the no ſmall damage of his reputation [*AA*]. This damage ſeems however to be ſufficiently repaired, by the great ſhare he had in bringing the Earl of Shrewſbury to the Church of England (*mm*), in 1679 (*n*). But the heat of his zeal againſt Popery, betrayed him into ſuch an exceſs, as laid him open to the cenſures of all parties [*BB*]; and upon the death of Wilmot,

(*bb*) Newcourt, Vol. I. p. 147, 192.

(*ii*) See Dr Wilkins's article.

(*kk*) Le Neve, p. 224. He ſucceeded Dr Sancroft, then advanced to the See of Canterbury.

(*ll*) To this he annexed the Doctor's treatiſe concerning the unity of the Church.

(*mm*) See Lord Chancellor Talbot's article.

(*n*) This year Dr Burnet ſubmitted the MS. of his Hiſtory of the Reformation to the Dean's peruſal and correction, whoſe reputation was judged by the Author would be of great ſervice in recommending his Work to the public. Preface to that Hiſtory.

ſatisfactory to them; but, the Biſhops refuſing their conſent to many particulars in it, the treaty was ſoon at an end. Mr Baxter ſent to Dr Tillotſon to know whether he might have leave to ſpeak of it, in order to the promoting concord, and to ſignify how far they were agreed, that their names might be ſome advantage to the work. Upon which the Doctor returned him an anſwer, April 11, 1675, informing him, that he had taken the firſt opportunity to ſpeak to the Biſhop of Sarum [Dr Seth Ward] who promiſed to keep the matter private, and only to acquaint the Biſhop of Cheſter [Dr Pearſon] with it, in order to a meeting. But, upon ſome general diſcourſe, he plainly perceived ſeveral things could not be obtained. That however the Biſhop of Sarum had promiſed to appoint a time of meeting; and that he had not heard from his Lordſhip ſince. For his own part he was unwilling that his name ſhould be uſed in this matter; not but that he did moſt heartily deſire an accommodation, and ſhould always endeavour it; but that he was ſure it would be a prejudice to him, and ſignify nothing to the effecting of the thing, which, as circumſtances were, could not paſs in either houſe without the concurrence of a conſiderable part of the Biſhops, and the countenance of his Majeſty, which, for the preſent, he ſaw little reaſon to expect (39).

(39) Calamy's abridgment, &c. p. 343.

[*X*] *He made his court to the Prince and Princeſs of Orange.*] Notwithſtanding Mr Eachard's account (40) of this incident has been ſhewn, by Dr Birch, liable, in ſome circumſtances, to exception; yet that writer does not controvert the fact of their Highneſſes calling at Canterbury, where the Dean ſupplied them with ſome neceſſaries, and invited them to lodge at the Deanery; which is ſufficient to ſupport our aſſertion.

(40) In the Appendix, p. 11, of his Hiſtory of England.

[*Y*] *He loſt his brother Joſhua.*] This brother was an oilman in London [41], and, being frequently viſited by the Dean, happened to be there, when Mr Sharp, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, coming in upon buſineſs with the brother, that incident gave riſe to the acquaintance and friendſhip that ever after ſubſiſted between the two Archbiſhops (42). Mr Joſhua Tillotſon (43) left a ſmall proviſion for his ſon, who was taken care of by the Archbiſhop during his life, and afterwards Mrs Tillotſon ſent him to Clare-hall, where he ſupported him till he became Fellow; and, during the courſe of his education, was honoured with the favour of Lord Somers, out of regard to his uncle's memory, which was acknowledged by him in a Latin letter ſtill extant. Upon entering into orders he was preſented to the Sinecure of Elme, of conſiderable value, in the iſle of Ely, by the Executors of the Archbiſhop, to whoſe diſpoſal that option was left (44). Upon this preferment he reſigned his Fellowſhip; but, continuing unmarried, lived in lodgings at Cambridge, where I knew him ſometime between the years 1722 and 1728.

(41) Life of Tillotſon, p. 52, 52.

(42) See Archbiſhop Sharp's article.

(43) The Dean was much affected with his death, and wrote, on the occaſion, a conſolatory letter to his Father, who was ſtill living at Sowerby in Yorkſhire.

(44) Archbiſhop Sharp's article, p. 348.

[*Z*] *He excelled himſelf therein.*] The following paſſage is ſo extremely beautiful, and beſides ſo perfectly characteriſtic of him, that I cannot forbear laying it before the Reader. 'I can truly ſay, as the Roman Orator 'did of himſelf upon another occaſion, *me natura miſericordem, patria tenerum, crudelem nec patria nec natura eſſe voluit*; my nature inclines me to be tender and 'compaſſionate: a hearty zeal for our religion, and 'concernment for the public welfare of my country, 'may perhaps have made me a little ſevere; but neither 'my natural diſpoſition, nor the genius of the proteſtant, that is, the true Chriſtian, religion, will allow 'me to be cruel.'

[*AA*] *His ſermon at the Yorkſhire feaſt hurt his reputation.*] The obnoxious paſſage is as follows: 'It is not 'for private perſons to undertake in matters of public 'concernment: but I think we have no cauſe to doubt 'but the governors of our church, notwithſtanding all 'the advantages of authority, and we think of reaſon 'too, on our ſide, are perſons of that piety and prudence, 'that, for peace ſake, and in order to a firm union 'among Proteſtants, they would be content, if that 'would do the buſineſs, not to inſiſt upon little things, 'but to yield them up, whether to the infirmity or 'importunity, or perhaps, in ſome things, to the 'plauſible exceptions of thoſe who differ from us.' Mr Beardmore, having cited this paſſage, tells us, a Doctor that he was in company with expreſſed himſelf very much diſſatisfied with it, ſaying, what had he to do, being but a private Doctor, to undertake this without the conſent of his ſuperiors; a cenſure which is left without any particular anſwer by this friend (45).

(45) In his memorials, p. 402, 403.

[*BB*] *A ſermon which laid him open to the cenſures of all parties.*] It was intitled, *The Proteſtant religion vindicated from the charge of ſingularity and novelty*; where he has theſe words: 'I cannot think, till I be better informed, 'which I am always ready to be, that any pretence of 'conſcience warrants any man, that is not extraordinarily commiſſioned, as the Apoſtles and firſt Publiſhers 'of the Goſpel were, and cannot juſtify that commiſſion 'by miracles as they did, to affront the eſtabliſhed religion of a nation, though it be falſe, and openly to 'draw men off from the profeſſion of it, in contempt 'of the magiſtrate and the law. All that perſons of a 'different religion can in ſuch a caſe reaſonably pretend 'to, is to enjoy the private liberty and exerciſe of their 'own conſcience and religion, for which they ought 'to be very thankful, and to forbear the open making 'of proſelytes to their own religion (though they be never 'ſo ſure that they are in the right) till they have either 'an extraordinary commiſſion from God to that purpoſe, 'or the providence of God make way for it by the permiſſion of the magiſtrate.' Dr *Hickes* obſerves (46), that a witty Lord, ſtanding at the King's elbow when this was delivered, ſaid, *Sir, Sir, do you hear Mr Hobbes in the pulpit?* which is confirmed by Dr Calamy, who tells a long ſtory of the Dean's being catechized by Mr Howe ſo ſeverely as to draw tears from him, and a confeſſion of his miſtake (47). Dr *Hickes* further ſays, that not only Dr *Gunning*, then Biſhop of Ely, complained of this ſermon in the Houſe of Lords, as containining a doctrine that would ſerve the cauſe of Popery, but

(46) In ſome diſcourſes, &c. p. 48. and Mr Leſlie tells us this witty Lord was the Earl of D— Charge of Socinianiſm againſt Tillotſon conſidered, p. 13.

(47) Memoirs of the Life of John Howe, p. 75 who had been Chaplain to Cromwell, when Protector.

Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, attended with a signal repentance the following year, the Dean made a remark in favour of the opinion, espoused afterwards by Mr Bayle, that idolatry is worse than atheism [*CC*]. In the mean time, he appeared warmly this year on the side of the Bill of Exclusion against the Duke of York, and employed his interest with Lord Hallifax to divert him from opposing it (*mm*). He likewise refused to sign the address of the Clergy of London to his Majesty, upon his declaration that he could not consent to such a bill (*); before the end of the year, he censured the Bishops for opposing the two bills, then in agitation, for an indulgence and union with the Dissenters [*DD*]. In the summer of 1681, he lost the younger of his two daughters (*nn*); and in 1682, he wrote an admirable letter to the Lady *Henrietta*, daughter to the Lord *Berkeley*, on her yielding to a criminal conversation with *Ford* Lord Grey of Werke, who had married her sister (*oo*). This year he also published Dr Wilkins's Sermons, with a Preface, which shews how capable he was of being carried to excesses upon some occasions [*EE*]. In 1683, he published Dr Barrow's Sermons, in three volumes folio, with a criticism upon them, under the title of an Advertisement (*pp*) [*FF*]; and the same year he preached the Funeral Sermon of Dr Benjamin Whichecot, successor to Dr Wilkins in the Vicarage of St Laurence Jewry, in which church the Dean still held the Tuesday's Lecture. This proved a melancholy year for the Dean, by the discovery of the Rye-house and Fanatic Plot, wherein some of his intimate friends were engaged, especially the Lord John Russel, for whom he appeared as a witness at his trial, and attended him after his condemnation. During this attendance, he was greatly abused by a misrepresentation of that Lord, given to him by Dr Burnet, which occasioned the writing of his much canvassed letter in vindication of the principle of non-

(*) The declaration was made Jan. 4, 1680-1, in answer to the address of the House of Commons. Life of the Archbishop by Anon. p. 17. Edit. 1717. fol.

(*pp*) This task had employed the Dean for several years, and cost him as much pains as would have produced many more of his own. The Sermons chiefly commended by him, are those upon the vices of the tongue, and the two against pragmaticalness.

(*mm*) Burnet's Hist. of his own time, Vol. I. p. 199.

(*nn*) Her name was Elizabeth; she had not been married. Birch's Life of the Archbishop, p. 88. Edit. 1752.

(*oo*) See the trial of Lord Grey in State Trials. The incident gave birth to a spurious Collection of Letters pretended to have passed between her and her gallant.

but cites an extract of a letter from Dr *Patrick* to Dr *Samuel Parker*, then Archdeacon of Canterbury, full of the sharpest animadversions upon it. But Dr *Calamy*'s story does not agree with what the Dean wrote to Mr *Nelson* on this occasion on the 27th of July the same year, that these animadversions did not seem to him very considerable: 'However, I am sorry, continues 'he, that any thing of mine should occasion so much 'talk and noise.' Accordingly he republished the sermon the same year, without taking notice of a new edition in the title-page, in which, after the word *permission*, he added, *or connivance of the Magistrate* (48). All the subsequent separate editions passed without any more alterations: but in the third volume of his sermons (49), in 1686, 8vo, he added a paragraph of near a page, after the words permission or connivance of the magistrate, beginning thus; not but that every man hath a right, &c. and ending with the word sufferings.

(48) There was also this passage in the sermon: Religion is the band of human society, and God so necessary to the welfare and happiness of mankind, as he could not have been more, &c. which he altered thus: Religion is the band &c. and so necessary &c. that it could could not have been more, &c.

(49) It is in the 9th Sermon, and in that Volume.

[*CC*] *Idolatry is worse than Atheism.*] Among some other reflections entered into his common-place book on this occasion, Dr Birch has given (50) us the following: 'Atheism and Infidelity do not bind up the senses 'of men strongly enough, but they may be awakened 'by the apprehensions of death, or some great calamity 'coming upon them. A false religion, if a man be 'sincere in it, will bear up a man's spirits against tor-'ments and death, because every man's conscience is a 'kind of God to him. And the strongest opiates in 'this world are Enthusiasm and Popery. These may 'lock up men's senses against the power of truth to 'awaken them, as we see in the murderers of our late 'Sovereign, and in our present Romish conspirators.' These remarks are dated October 1: and in a letter to Mr Nelson, wrote August 1st preceding, the Dean expresses himself on the same occasion thus: 'I am sorry 'that an example, which might have been of so much 'use and advantage to the world, is soon taken from us. 'But God had pity on him, and would not venture him 'again in such circumstances of temptation as were 'perhaps too hard for human frailty (51).' This diving into the secrets of God's moral government (so far as is signified in these last words) above what he has given us to know, is not peculiar to Dr Tillotson. It is a faculty which we see too frequently assumed by God's spiritual ministers. Though it would be hard to prove any except a prescriptive right, obtained by immemorial custom, that they have to it.

(50) Tillotson's Life, P. 71.

(51) The same remark, in almost the same words, is inserted into the account of Lord Rochester's death by Burnet, p. 117. edit. 1724.

[*DD*] *He censures the Bishops.*] It is in a letter to Mr Nelson, then at Paris, dated March 7, 1680-1, where he acquaints that friend, that 'there was little 'progress made the last parliament towards a reconcilia-'tion of Dissenters. Two bills were brought into the 'House of Commons for that purpose: the one called 'a bill of Indulgence, to mitigate the severity of the 'laws towards those who would not come into the 'national constitution; the other of Union, by which 'the new subscriptions were to be taken away, and the 'ceremonies left indifferent. I never saw the bills, 'but this was the substance of them, which, so far as 'I can learn, pleased neither side. The Bishops thought 'this too much, and the Dissenters too little. I have 'no great hopes of any good issue of this matter, till 'the minds of men become more calm (52).'

(52) Birch, p. 81, 82. See Bishop Burnet's Hist. of his own time, Vol. I.

[*EE*] *A preface which shews him capable of being carried to excesses.*] In defending the Bishop against a character given of him in the *Historia & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* he avoids mentioning any author. 'This, he says, *he was* 'not curious to know.' And indeed Mr Wood was as obnoxious to him as Bishop Fell, or any others concerned in that book, being hearty against his comprehension project, and besides under the displeasure of Dr Burnet, who had dignified him with the title of a Scribbler, and one that had no reputation to lose (53). However, Dr Birch has ventured to fix the drawing of this character of Dr Wilkins upon Bishop Fell (54), proper notice of which has been already taken in the course of this work (55). But we have an undeniable authority, that this was not any of the insertions complained of by Mr Wood, from his remark under Dr Wilkins's article in the *Athen. Oxon.* where, having given that Bishop a very high character, he concludes thus: 'To pass by 'the character given of him in discourse by the great 'men of the church, Archbishop Sheldon, Bishop Fell, 'and Archbishop Dolben, who did malign him for his 'wavering and unconstant mind in religion, which I 'know will be displeasing to many (56), &c.' This being wrote after Dean Tillotson's censure, now in question, it is much more than probable, that the Historian would in this place have taken notice of any alteration in the article mentioned in his former book, had he entertained the least suspicion of it. On the contrary, we find he was not without some suspicion of Tillotson's having altered the *Athen. Oxon.* and expressly charges him with revising his manuscript without his privity or consent (57). After all, great allowances ought to be made for an Author's life, written to be prefixed to his works, which is therefore very excusable in this now before us, and the more so on account of the relation between them. But this made it more necessary, upon the plan of our work, impartially to set the fact as far as might be in its true light. Neither does Archbishop Tillotson's character stand in need of being set off by a foil made at the expence of Bishop Fell, which will unluckily prompt a remark in his favour, that, not long before the publication of this preface, he had preached his celebrated sermon before the House of Commons (58), wherein he warmly and smartly exposes Tillotson's comprehension scheme, and where, at the same time, he shewed himself such a perfect master in the gift of rebuking with authority, as naturally leads to a reflection upon Tillotson's remarkable defect in that most useful talent of a Preacher.

(53) Burnet's letter to the Lord Bishop of Coventry, &c. p. 9.

(54) His life of Tillotson, p. 95.

(55) In Mr Locke's article.

(56) Athen Oxon. Vol. II. col. 516.

(57) See his plea, put into the Chancellor's court at Oxford, in 1695.

(58) On the Fast, Dec. 22, 1680, and printed immediately by order of that house.

[*FF*] *He published Dr Barrow's sermons.*] It was suggested, that great part of the Dean's excellence as a preacher was owing to his use of the works of this friend. But this reflection is inconsistent with the chronology of their lives. Dr Tillotson was eminent in his profession in the year 1663, and had given the public the first volume of his sermons in 1671. In which year appeared the first and only sermon published by Dr Barrow.

reſiſtance and paſſive obedience *(qq)*. All ſucceſsleſs plots are obſerved to ſtrengthen the hands of the Crown, and invigorate thoſe meaſures in the Adminiſtration, which it is their aim to overſet; ſo after the defeat of this plot, that was conducted by the proteſtant party, the Papiſts, as was natural, triumphed more boldly, and grew more daring than before. By this means our Dean being ill at eaſe in town, purchaſed a houſe at Edmonton *(rr)*, whither he retired about this time; and as the Papiſts became the prevaling power in the ſucceeding reign, he kept his reſidence ſtill in this country-houſe till the Revolution. However, all the time he continued his preaching, both at Lincoln's-Inn, and St Laurence, with his uſual freedom, or rather with more zeal and fervency againſt Popery. His *Diſcourſe on Tranſubſtantiation* *(ss)*, printed towards the end of King Charles the Second's Life, begun the debate with that doctrine, and led the way into the controverſy with the Papiſts, which was kept up as long as King James II. kept his ſeat on the Throne; and in 1685, the Dean ſhewed himſelf warmly in the cauſe of the French Refugees [*GG*], who had fled into England on the repeal of the Edict of Nantes. In the latter end of this year, he gave great offence to the famous *William Penn*, the Quaker, by confirming the reflection that was then thrown upon him, of being a Jeſuit; but being afterwards convinced that his ſuſpicions were groundleſs, he aſked that Gentleman's pardon, and at his requeſt gave him all the ſatisfaction that he required, in juſtice to his character *(tt)*. In 1687, the Dean loſt his eldeſt daughter, and laſt ſurviving of his children *(uu)*, and not long after, was himſelf ſeized with an apoplectic fit, which, however, went off at this time without any fatal conſequences *(ww)*. Under theſe impreſſions, he wrote a conſolatory letter to a friend, then ill of an incurable cancer *(x)*. In the ſeaſon next year, 1688, he went to Tunbridge wells for the re-eſtabliſhment of his health, where he had the honour of converſing frequently with the Princeſs Ann of Denmark, and having preached before her againſt Popery *(y)*, on the 2d of September, he went immediately to Canterbury, whence he wrote two letters to Lady Ruſſel, declaring his opinion, that the nation was more inclined to his darling ſcheme of a comprehenſion, than it had been. Upon the Revolution, his ſhare was one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed in the national good fortune. As ſoon as the Prince of Orange had ſettled himſelf at St James's, the Dean was deſired to preach before him, on Sunday January the 6th, being Twelfth Day, and upon the thankſgiving day on the 31ſt of that month, in a Sermon at Lincoln's-Inn, he laboured to prove *that* deliverance to be wrought by an immediate divine agency. His ſituation, with reſpect to the Court, was ſo much improved, that he became a ſucceſsful Interceſſor on this change for others *(zz)*, who had occaſion for his kindneſs, and he was ſo zealous a friend to King William, that he prevailed with the Princeſs Ann, much againſt her inclination, to reſign her eventual claim to the Crown upon her ſiſter's death *(aaa)*; though he muſt needs be ſenſible, that it was likely in the iſſue to prove, as it actually did, more than a ſingle injury to that Princeſs. On the 27th of March, 1689, he was appointed Clerk of the Cloſet to his Majeſty *(bbb)*, and eaſily obtained the Deanery of St Paul's from the King; who then communicated to him his intention to promote him to the See of Canterbury, if Dr Sancroft, as he ſeemed determined, ſhould incur a ſentence of deprivation *(ccc)*. This the Dean took pains to avoid, as being very diſagreeable to his temper. Notwithſtanding the Act of Toleration paſſed this year *(ddd)*, yet *that* not ſatisfying the Diſſenters, their friends made another attempt for a comprehenſion, which was laid before the Parliament, under the title of *A bill for uniting all Proteſtant Diſſenters*. But the Dean obſerving the unlikelihood of ſucceeding in the deſign that way *(eee)*, perſuaded the King to take another method, which was to lay it before the Convocation, to be paſſed there *(fff)*. In purſuance of this advice, a Commiſſion was iſſued out by the King, on the 13th of September, to ten Biſhops, and twenty Divines, among whom was our Dean. They opened their Commiſſion at the Jeruſalem-chamber, on the 10th of October following; but ſo greatly was this affair diſliked, that ſome of theſe Commiſſioners declined to aſſiſt at their meetings, and upon the aſſembling of the Convocation on the 21ſt of the next month, when thoſe members of the lower houſe who were friends to the Dean's deſign, put him up for the place of Prolocutor, he was rejected by a majority of two to one in favour of Dr Jane, Regius Profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford, who, upon his preſentation to the upper houſe, in order to ſhew their fixt reſolution to oppoſe it, concluded his ſpeech by way of triumph with thoſe famous words, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*; and to make this ſcheme for carrying that deſign the more odious, it was branded with the title of a *new Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion* *(ggg)*. Notwithſtanding this ſpirit againſt any alteration at all, yet on the miſcarriage of his new deſign, the Dean formed another, of a new book of homilies, to be added to that already eſtabliſhed. About the ſame time their Majeſties having publiſhed proclamations againſt profane ſwearing, ſabbath-breaking, lewdneſs and drunkenneſs; the Dean deſired Biſhop Burnet to draw, for an eſſay, homilies on thoſe ſubjects, promiſing to take a large ſhare of the reſt of the work on himſelf *(hhh)*. On the 7th of March this year, he preached before the Queen at Whitehall his remarkable Sermon againſt *the abſolute eternity of hell torments*, which being publiſhed ſoon after, helped to render him more unpopular to the Clergy than before *(iii)*. In 1690, being appointed to preach on ſeveral public occaſions

(qq) See the article of Lord Ruſſel, and the General Hiſt. of England, and Samuel Johnſon's article.

(rr) Beardmore's Memoirs, p. 412. In this retirement he publiſhed the Sermons of Dr Hezekiah Burton, in 1684.

(ss) He publiſhed alſo a Diſcourſe upon the ſame ſubject, written by Mr Henry Pendlebury. The Dean had publiſhed in 1666, *The Nullity of the Romiſh Faith*, in 8vo. and *A Dialogue between a Popiſh Prieſt and an Engliſh Proteſtant*, in 1667. 8vo.

(tt) See Penn's article, remark [7].

(uu) She was wife to James Chadwick, Eſqr. a Nottinghamſhire gentleman, in which county he had an eſtate of about 300 l. per ann. She left him two ſons and a daughter. Birch, p. 225.

(ww) His Life, in 1717, p. 9.

(xx) The Letter is too long to be inſerted, but is well worth reading in Birch, p. 126—129.

(yy) In this Sermon he applied to that criſis of the public affairs this line of Virgil, *Nunc animis opus, Æneæ, nunc pectore firmo.*

(zz) Particularly the Earl of Mulgrave, afterwards Duke of Bucks, and Dr Crew, Biſhop of Durham, who had both incurred the law by acting in the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion of King James II. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own time, p. 288. Vol. I. fol. Edit.

(aaa) Dutcheſs of Marlborough's Conduct, p. 22, 23, 24.

(bbb) Birch, p. 139.

(ccc) In Auguſt this year, the Dean had been appointed by the Chapter of his Cathedral to exerciſe the archiepiſcopal juriſdiction of that province, upon the ſuſpenſion of Dr Sancroft. Id. p. 143.

(ddd) On the 24th of May. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under this year.

(eee) It was rejected in the Houſe of Lords, where the votes were equal. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own time, Vol. II. p. 10, 11.

(fff) The thought of laying it firſt before the convocation was probably taken from Archbiſhop Sancroft, who in his ſcheme for a comprehenſion, had propoſed that method. Wake's Speech at Dr Sacheverel's trial, March 17, 1709-10.

(ggg) Nichols's Apparatus ad Defenſionem Eccleſiæ Anglic. p. 93.

(hhh) Burnet's Preface to his Eſſay toward a new book of homilies printed with his ſermons on ſeveral occaſions, in 1713. 8vo.

(iii) He eſpouſed the opinion of Epiſcopius, in his Inſtitutiones Theolog. p. 674. Edit. Amſterd. 1650. folio. The point is thoroughly diſcuſſed by Dr Edmund Law, in the notes upon his tranſlation of Archbiſhop King's Latin Diſcourſe concerning the origin of evil.

[*GG*] *He promoted the charity to the French refugees.*] King James having granted briefs for collecting this charity, Dr Beveridge, then a Prebendary of Canterbury, objected to the reading of one of them, as contrary to the Rubric. For which he was rebuked by the Dean in this ſhort reprimand; *Doctor, Doctor, Charity is above Rubrics* (59).

(59) Birch, p. 121, 122.

caſions before the Houſe of Commons, the Lord Mayor, and the Queen, he performed each in a ſtrain intirely devoted to the Court, and the See of Canterbury becoming vacant, by the deprivation of Archbiſhop Sancroft on the firſt of February *(kkk)* the laſt year, though he ſtill endeavoured to avoid that dignity, notwithſtanding the King's repeated importunities for his acceptance of it then, and for ſeveral months after *(lll)*; yet he yielded at length, about the month of October, having obtained a promiſe from his Majeſty to provide for his wife if ſhe ſhould happen to ſurvive him, which promiſe in a few days was likewiſe confirmed to him by the Queen *(mmm)*: who having received a MS. tract from Dr *Frederic Spanheim*, Profeſſor of Divinity at Leyden, tending to promote the comprehenſion, put it into the Dean's hands, to whom the Profeſſor had likewiſe ſent a Latin letter on the ſame ſubject; in his anſwer to which, the Dean diſſuades this foreigner from intermeddling with the diſputes in England, and charges the Diſſenters, as well as the Churchmen, with too much ſtiffneſs upon that point. This letter is dated February 6, 1690-1 *(nnn)*; and upon the King's return from Flanders in April following, the Dean was nominated to the Archbiſhopric on the 23d of that month. The Conge d'elire was made out on the 1ſt of May, and he was elected on the 10th, confirmed on the 28th, and conſecrated at Bow-Church on the 31ſt. He was ſworn of the Privy-Council on the 4th of June, and on the 11th of July had a reſtitution of the temporalities belonging to his See. The Queen likewiſe granted him all the profits of it from the Michaelmas preceding, amounting to upwards of 2500l. *(ooo)*. However, he continued at the Deanery-houſe of St Paul's, till he had built a large apartment for his wife at Lambeth; he alſo repaired the whole palace, altered the windows and lights of the Archbiſhop's lodgings, wainſcotted ſeveral rooms, and made other improvements, which being finiſhed, he removed thither on the 26th of November, 1691 *(ppp)*. Upon this promotion, he experienced the truth of what he conſtantly apprehended, and indeed might eaſily be foreſeen in the then preſent temper of the nation, ſome very ſevere cenſures that were thrown out againſt him *(qqq)* in print. But, when the King, who was much intereſted in his reputation, ordered ſome of the publiſhers and diſperſers of the papers to be apprehended, he uſed all his power to ſtop the proſecution *(rrr)* [*HH*]: and the year was not expired, when he began to write down for his own uſe, ſuch reflections as the ſeveral occurrences of his new ſtation ſuggeſted to him. In the beginning of the next year, 1692, the Archbiſhop having drawn up a circular letter for his Province, in the proſecution of his project for a comprehenſion, communicated it on the 11th of April to eight Biſhops, who unanimouſly approved the deſign *(sss)*. The ſame month, he was found to be excluded the offer of pardon in King James the Second's declaration *(ttt)*, ſent over to England previouſly to his ſucceſsleſs attempt to recover the throne. The ſame year he had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing how highly pleaſing his favourite ſcheme of an union with the Diſſenters at home was to the Proteſtants abroad *(uuu)*. October 27 this year, he preached a thankſgiving Sermon before their Majeſties, in which the ardor of his devotion for the King, laid the Preacher open to the ſevere laſhes of his enemies [*II*]; whoſe heat, on the other hand, betrayed them into ſome unwarranted aſperſions upon his conduct, with regard to the Epiſcopal Church of Scotland [*KK*]. In 1693, he reviſed and publiſhed four Sermons

(*kkk*) Le Neve, Vol. I. p. 212.

(*lll*) Several Letters of his to Lady Ruſſel, with her anſwers, printed in Birch's account of his life, from p. 205 to p. 211. and from p. 222 to p. 229; and a remarkable one of this Lady to the Dean is inſerted in Lord Ruſſel's article, in this work.

(*mmm*) His Letter to Lady Ruſſel, dated Octob. 25, 1690, in Birch's account, p. 225 & ſeq. The widow of an Archbiſhop of Canterbury would now, as the Dean obſerves, be an odd figure in England, there being only two inſtances of it, and thoſe ſo long ago as the time of his predeceſſors, Cranmer and Parker.

(*nnn*) Firſt printed in Birch's account, &c. p. 234 to 236.

(*ooo*) Beardmore ſays, he diſcharged a conſiderable debt of his predeceſſor's. Memoirs, p. 396.

(*ppp*) Birch, p. 240, 241, 242.

(*qqq*) Mr Beardmore obſerves, that he heard ſome ſay, upon the firſt talk of the Dean's advancement to Canterbury, *Actum eſt de Eccleſia Anglicana.* Mem. p. 403.

(*rrr*) Before the expiration of the year, he joined with the Queen in engaging Biſhop Burnet to write his paſtoral care, and at the ſame time concurred with that Prelate in a deſign of bringing a bill into Parliament for reſtraining pluralities. See Humphrey Prideaux's article.

(*sss*) His Letter to Biſhop Burnet printed by Birch, p. 266, 267.

(*uuu*) Limborch's Dedication to his Grace of his Hiſtory of the Inquiſition, publiſhed in the latter end of this year, 1692.

(*ttt*) This declaration is ſaid to be drawn up by Sir James Montgomery, Author of a very ſevere pamphlet againſt the Government, intitled, *Great Britain's juſt Complaint*, printed in 1692.

[*HH*] *He endeavoured to ſtop the proſecution.*] viz. on his own account: but this having given ſome uneaſineſs to the Lady Ruſſel, at whoſe inſtance this proſecution was begun in defence of her Lord's memory, his Grace wrote to her Ladyſhip as follows: 'I intreat you to give 'my very humble ſervice to my Lord of Bedford, and 'to let his Lordſhip know how far I have been concerned 'in this affair. I had notice firſt from Mr Attorney-'General and Mr Sollicitor, and then from my Lord —, 'that ſeveral perſons, upon the account of publiſhing 'and diſperſing ſeveral libels againſt me, were ſecured 'in order for proſecution: upon which I went to wait 'upon them ſeverally, and earneſtly deſired of them 'that no body might be puniſhed on my account; that 'this was not the firſt time I had experience of this kind 'of malice, which, how unpleaſant ſoever to me, I 'thought it the wiſeſt way to neglect, and the beſt to 'forgive it. None of them ſaid any thing to me of my 'Lord Ruſſel, nor did it ever enter into my thoughts 'to hinder any proſecution on his account, &c. (60).' One of theſe pamphlets was a letter, firſt ſent to the Archbiſhop's Lady for him, and alſo a copy to the Counteſs of Derby for the Queen, and then publiſhed in print. In this his Grace's letter to Lord John Ruſſel was reprinted, with ſeveral animadverſions, ſuggeſting his inſincerity, or his apoſtacy, as it is there called, from what he had formerly preached and written (61); and to the ſame purpoſe, ſoon after his promotion, while a gentleman was with him who came to pay his compliments upon it, a packet was brought in, ſealed, and directed to his Grace, upon opening of which there appeared a maſk incloſed, but nothing written. The Archbiſhop, without any ſigns of emotion, threw it careleſsly among his papers on the table; and, on the gentleman's expreſſing great ſurprize and indignation at the affront, his Grace only ſmiled, and ſaid, that this was a gentle rebuke, if compared with ſome others that lay there in black and white, pointing to the papers on the table (62). We have another ſtory to the ſame effect, told by Dr Sherlock, that, after the Archbiſhop's death, there was found in his ſtudy a bundle of papers, on which was written by his Grace; *Theſe are libels; pray God forgive them*; *I do* (63). We muſt not however from hence infer, that he ſat ſo tamely under theſe abuſes as to make no kind of repriſals. On the contrary we are aſſured, that, in a ſermon which is loſt, he took occaſion to complain of the uſage he had received from the Nonjuring party, and to expoſe in return the inconſiſtency of their own conduct, remarking particularly, that, upon a juſt compariſon of their principle of non-reſiſtance with their actual non-aſſiſtance to King James II, they had little reaſon to boaſt of their loyalty to him (64).

(60) See the whole letter in Birch, p. 248, 250.

(61) It was reprinted in Kettlewel's life, p. 233, et ſeqq. the Editor of which adjudges it to one of his friends; and the Editor of Lord Somers's pamphlets has prefixed to it the name of Charlewood Lawton, Eſq;

(62) Communicated by the late Dr Johnſon, Chancellor of Ely.

(63) Sherlock's ſermon at the Temple, Dec. 30, 1694.

(64) Birch, p. 350, 351.

[*II*] *A ſermon which laid him open to the laſh of his enemies.*] In this ſermon, taking notice of Lewis XIV's unprincely manner of inſulting over King William, when he believed him to have been ſlain at the *Boyne*, he adds, that no mortal man ever had his ſhoulder ſo *kindly kiſſed* by a cannon bullet. A piece of falſe eloquence, which, though not uſual in his Grace's writing, was ſeverely handled by Dr Hickes (65), and rallied by Dr South as a peculiar ſtrain of rhetoric (66).

(65) Some diſcourſes, p. 58.

(66) South's ſermons, Vol. III. p. 570, edit. 1698.

[*KK*] *His conduct with regard to the epiſcopal church of Scotland.*] In a letter from Mr Robert Pearſe, Vice-principal of Edmund-hall in Oxford, dated January 11, 1715, and printed in the life of our Archbiſhop in 1717 (67). We are told, that there was found in the ſtudy of Mr Creech of All-Souls College, when his books were ſold by auction at Oxford, the following memorandum: That whatever ſteps were taken, and all that was done for the aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy and ſubverſion of the Church of Scotland, was done by the contrivance, advice, and approbation of Dr Tillotſon.

(67) in p. 52, 53.

This

mons preached many years before, on the *Divinity and Incarnation of Chriſt* [*LL*], with a view of clearing himſelf from the charge of Socinianiſm, which he managed ſo impolitickly, as ſerved to aggravate the charge [*MM*]. This undeſerved malice of his oppoſers, joined to the defection of his friends, who now began to look more cooly upon him than before, made ſo deep an impreſſion upon the ſenſibility of his temper, as ſunk him into a degree of melancholy [*NN*]. In 1694, he publiſhed ſix Sermons *upon the advantage of an early piety*; and towards the end of June this year, he drew up a prayer of interceſſion for Lady Ruſſel, then afflicted with the loſs of her eye-ſight, wherein the execution of Lord Ruſſel is ſignified to be unjuſt (*wwww*). After this, he aſſembled another meeting of ſeveral of the Biſhops at Lambeth, who concurred with him in many regulations concerning the Church. Theſe he at firſt deſigned to inforce by his own authority in conjunction with thoſe Biſhops; but upon more mature conſideration, he thought it better, upon the ſuggeſtion of Dr Burnet, they ſhould appear under that of their Majeſties in the form of *royal injunctions*, to which purpoſe he made a draught then in a letter intended to be ſigned by their Majeſties, and communicated them to the Biſhops Stillingfleet and Burnet for their correction and approbation (*xxx*). This being done in the King's abſence, he laid them before the Queen, by whom the execution was deferred to the King's return from Flanders (*yyy*). In the interim, he reviſed and altered in ſeveral places, Biſhop Burnet's *Expoſition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*, which had been undertaken by that Prelate, at the requeſt of the Queen, with the concurrence of the Archbiſhop (*zzz*), who in a letter, dated October 23, to the Author on this occaſion, declared himſelf unſatisfied with the account given therein of Athanaſius's Creed, and wiſhed it might be expunged out of the Liturgy (*aaaa*). He did not long ſurvive the writing of this letter, for on Sunday the 18th of November following, he was ſeized the ſecond time with an apoplectic diſorder, in the Chapel at Whitehall. The fit coming on ſlowly, he bore it ſo well as not to interrupt the ſervice; but it ſeemed to be fatal, and ſoon turned to a dead palſy, which deprived him, in a great meaſure, of the uſe of his ſpeech; but his underſtanding was ſtill clear (*bbbb*): he continued ſerene and calm, and in broken words ſaid to this effect, that *he thanked God he was quiet within, and had nothing then to do but to wait the will of Heaven* (*cccc*). The two laſt nights of his illneſs, he was attended by his friend, Mr Robert Nelſon, in whoſe arms he

(*wwww*) The words are, whom thy holy and righteous Providence permitted under a colour of law and juſtice, to be unjuſtly cut off the land of the living. Birch found a copy in ſhort-hand in the Archbiſhop's common-place book.

(*xxx*) See the Preface to that book.

(*xxx*) Gen. Hiſt. of England.

(*yyy*) Which not being till the 9th of Novemb. a total ſtop was put to them by the death of the Archbiſhop not many days after.

(*aaaa*) His words are, The account given of Athanaſius's Creed ſeems to me in no wiſe ſatisfactory; I wiſh we were well rid of it. Birch, p. 325.

(*bbbb*) Burnet in his Funeral Sermon, p. 331.

(*cccc*) Idem, in Hiſt. of his own time, Vol. II. p. 134. folio Edition.

This I had from *Johnſon*, who was certain of it, and knew the whole matter when I was in the North. In anſwer to this Dr Birch obſerves, that, as the Epiſcopal party, after the Revolution, ſtill continued to adhere to King James, it was not poſſible for King William to preſerve Epiſcopacy, which was aboliſhed by an act of the Scots parliament on July 22, 1689 (68), but ſo as that the Epiſcopalians ſhould ſubmit to the Preſbyterian form of church-government then [in 1693] eſtabliſhed, viz. by Preſbyteries, Provincial Synods, and a General Aſſembly: and after this, though it appears that his Grace was ſometimes conſulted with regard to the terms of a comprehenſion between the Epiſcopal and Preſbyterian miniſters, yet he endeavoured to moderate the terms inſiſted on by the latter (69). In reality there ſeems to be no more in this charge, but that he uſed no means either to preſerve or reſtore Epiſcopacy, to which the King in this affair ſhewed no inclination. And this is all that ought to be underſtood by the *memorandum* here cited. For it has been already obſerved (70), that the Author of this cenſure, Mr Johnſon, was a moſt inveterate enemy to the Archbiſhop, whoſe friendſhip to him was at the ſame time equally inextinguiſhable.

(68) Kennet's hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 555, 572, 575; and Burnet's hiſtory of his own time, Vol. II. p. 23.

(69) Birch, p. 280 to 286, from an original letter and other papers of his Grace in ſhort-hand.

(70) In Samuel Johnſon's article

(71) A noted Socinian. But Biſhop Burnet tells us, that his principles were really thoſe of Arius. Hiſt. of his own time, Vol. II. p. 211.

(72) It is entitled, Conſiderations on the explications of the doctrine of the Trinity, 1694.

(73) Entitled, A Vindication of Archbiſhop Tillotſon's four ſermons, and the Biſhop of Worceſter's ſermon on the myſteries of the Chriſtian Faith, 4to, 1695, according to the Printer's æra.

(74) in note (33).

[*LL*] *His ſermons on the Incarnation and Divinity of Chriſt.*] He ſent a copy (one of the firſt) from the preſs to Mr Firmin (71), who publiſhed an anſwer to them, and gave it himſelf to his Grace (72), who, having read it over, ſaid to him, *My Lord of Sarum ſhall humble you.* Mr John Williams wrote a rejoinder (73) to Mr Firmin's piece, and to it is ſubjoined a letter to the Author from Dr Burnet, Biſhop of Sarum, in which he ſpeaks with great contempt and ſeverity of the late pieces publiſhed in England in defence of the Unitarian principles.

[*MM*] *He increaſed the load of that charge.*] This may be ſeen in a piece already cited (74), entitled, *The charge of Socinianiſm againſt Dr Tillotſon conſidered*, &c. Edinburgh, 1695, 4to, which the Author declares to be written before the Archbiſhop's death. But it is worth while to ſee what Mr *Jortin* ſays of this and other aſperſions of the Archbiſhop on this account. 'Tillotſon, 'ſays that ſmart Writer, publiſhed theſe ſermons on the 'Divinity of Chriſt, to vindicate himſelf from the 'charge of Socinianiſm, that is, from an accuſation 'entirely groundleſs. I have been told that Crellius, 'a Socinian, (and a deſcendant from the more celebrated 'Crellius) who uſed, when he came over hither, to viſit 'the Archbiſhop and converſe with him, juſtified him 'on this head, and declared, that Tillotſon had often 'diſputed with him in a friendly way upon the ſubject 'of the Trinity, and that he was the beſt reaſoner, 'and had the moſt to ſay for himſelf, of any adverſary 'he had ever encountered.

'But then Tillotſon had made ſome conceſſions concerning the Socinians, which never were nor ever will 'be forgiven him (75), and hath broken an ancient and 'fundamental rule of theological controverſy, *allow not 'an adverſary to have either common ſenſe or common ho-'neſty* (76).'

[*NN*] *He grew melancholy.*] In a letter to Lady Ruſſel, dated October 19, 1693, he writes thus: 'The King's 'return is now only hindered by contrary winds; pray 'God to ſend him ſafe to us, and to direct him what 'to do when he is come. I was never ſo much at my 'wit's end concerning the public. God only can 'bring us out of the labyrinth we are in, and I truſt 'he will. Never, ſince I knew the world, had I ſo 'much reaſon to value my friends. In the condition 'I now am, I can have no new ones; or, if I could, 'I can have no aſſurance that they are ſo. I could not 'at a diſtance believe the upper end of the world was 'ſo hollow as I find it. I except a very few, of whom 'I can believe no ill, till I plainly ſee it (77).' Agreeably to this Biſhop Burnet tells us, that, as his Grace did not enter into any cloſe correſpondence, or the concerting meaſures with the miniſtry, but lived much abſtracted from them, they likewiſe (as well as the clergy) endeavoured to depreſs him all they could. This made a conſiderable impreſſion upon him, and he grew very uneaſy in his great poſt (78). We find this dejection ſtill encreaſed; for, in the preface to his ſermons *upon the advantage of an early piety*, publiſhed the next year, 1694, he expreſſes his hope that he ſhould be releaſed for the remainder of his life from the irkſome and unpleaſant taſk of controverſy and wrangling about religion, and his reſolution of turning his thoughts to ſomething more agreeable to his temper, being ſenſible how faſt the infirmities of age were coming upon him. *I knew very well*, continues he, *before I entered upon this great and weighty charge, my own manifold defects, and how unequal my beſt abilities were to the due diſcharge of it. But I did not feel this ſo ſenſibly as I now do every day more and more.*

(75) viz. in this paſſage, beginning, And yet to do right to the writers on that ſide—and ending, they want a good cauſe, which if they had, they have reaſon, and wit, and temper enough to defend it.

(76) Birch, in Appendix, No. III. p. 426, 427.

(77) Id. p. 289.

(78) Burnet's hiſt. of his own time, Vol. II. p. 218.

expired on the fifth day of it, Thurſday November 22, 1694 *(dddd)*, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age *(eeee)*. His death was univerſally lamented, and his funeral was attended by a numerous train of coaches, filled with perſons of rank and condition, who aſſiſted at that ſolemnity from Lambeth to the Church of St Laurence Jewry, where his corpſe was interred on the 30th of that month, and a neat monument, with his buſt, afterwards erected to his memory by his widow [*OO*]. His Funeral Sermon was preached by Biſhop Burnet, in the courſe whereof he was interrupted by a ſhort flow of ſighs and tears, which, we are told, forced their way, as was viſible to the audience, who accompanied it with a general groan. The Sermon, however, being publiſhed ſoon after, was animadverted on by Dr Hickes, which being anſwered by the Biſhop, a rejoinder was ſoon after wrote by the Doctor, but never printed. In reality, Archbiſhop Tillotſon's character may be truſted to poſterity upon the facts related of him, and the teſtimony of his own writings, both private and public. His charity and generoſity, with the expence of coming into the See, and the repairs and improvements of his palace, had ſo exhauſted his fortune, that if his firſt fruits had not been forgiven, his debts could not have been paid. He left nothing to his family but the copy of his Poſthumous Sermons, which was afterwards ſold for twenty-five hundred guineas. The King therefore, according to his promiſe, granted to his widow on the 2d of May, 1695, an annuity of 400 l. for her life, which, upon ſome unforeſeen loſſes ſuffered by her afterwards, he augmented with another annuity on the 8th of Auguſt, 1698, of 200 l. more (‡). They were both continued till her death, on the 20th of January, 1301-2; and his Majeſty was ſo ſollicitous for the regular payment of her penſion, without any deduction, that he always called for the money quarterly, and ſent it to her himſelf *(fffff)*. Such are the teſtimonies given of his reſpect to the memory of our Archbiſhop by that Prince, who attributed his ſafety on the throne, in a great meaſure, to this moſt loyal ſubject; and he has been thought of ſuch importance to the nation, and ſo great an honour to it, that his character is become deſervedly the ſubject of General Hiſtory, to which, added to the diſplay of it in his Funeral Sermon by Biſhop Burnet, we refer the reader. But we muſt not conclude without giving him a ſketch of the Archbiſhop's perſon, as follows: His countenance was fair and very amiable, his face round, his eyes vivid, and his air and aſpect quick and ingenuous, his hair brown and buſhy: he was moderately tall; very ſlender and thin in his youth; his conſtitution tender and frail to outward appearance. He became corpulent, when grown in age, which encreaſed more and more as long as he lived, but yet was neither a burden to himſelf, nor in the leaſt unſeemly to others. This is the picture of his perſon, as drawn by his Pupil Mr Beardmore *(gggg)*, who very appoſitely to that connexion, has ſet his Tutor's character in the moſt affecting light, by propoſing the pattern of his temper and life to his own imitation, as that which, next to that of his Saviour and his bleſſed Apoſtles, he hoped would moſt ſenſibly affect him. 'Let me, ſays he, 'imitate his great wiſdom, his blameleſs and unſpotted life; his humility, his meekneſs, 'his ſweetneſs of temper, his obligingneſs, and readineſs to do good, his excellent preach-'ing ſo far as I am able; his conſtancy to good principles, his moderation and candour; 'his looſeneſs from the love of the world and earthly riches; his unwearied diligence in 'preaching, and that from ſuch principles, by ſuch rules, and to ſuch ends, as he did *(hhhh)*.' At the ſame time, this moſt affectionately grateful Pupil did not believe his Tutor to be abſolutely perfect; on the contrary, he expreſsly intimates, that he had his faults and blemiſhes. The Readers therefore may juſtly expect our mentioning ſome, at leaſt, of theſe. The blemiſh which ſtands foremoſt in the Archbiſhop's frame, was his obſtinate attachment to the comprehenſion. In labouring which, though others were equally, and perhaps Biſhop Burnet more concerned, yet the odium of that exploded project, is generally thrown upon him. Indeed the exceſs of his complaiſance for the Preſbyterians *(iiii)*, apparently had its root in his education among them, whence his natural tenderneſs ſucked in an inbred fellow-feeling of all their complaints. Add to this what has been before obſerved, that he had a very extraordinary talent at *conceived*, or extempore prayers, which muſt needs ſtrengthen his inclination to their way of worſhip; however it had this good effect, that after his own converſion, he converted more Diſſenters, whether Preſbyterians, Independents, or Anabaptiſts, to the eſtabliſhed Church, than any other Divine of his time, beſides his preſerving others, eſpecially non-conforming Miniſters, from being troubleſome to the Church, bringing them to ſome temper and moderation: for the reſt, he was ſenſible of their perverſeneſs, and has frequently rebuked their hypocriſy, and confuted their peculiar tenets. The ſame prejudice of education gave him an antipathy to Popery, which coming upon the tenderneſs of his nature, rendered him too apt to be affrighted with any ſhadow of that Doctrine; whence he was ſometimes betrayed even into ridiculous cenſures that way [*PP*]. This ſeems to be the greateſt blemiſh in his Sermons (*kkkk*); the ſtile of which has been

(*dddd*) At five in the afternoon. Birch, p. 315. from Wharton's MS. Collections.

(*eeee*) He was born in the latter end of Sept. or beginning of Octob. 1630, and conſequently was near two months above ſixty-four at his death. This muſt be obſerved in reading the words *Ætatis ſuæ* LXIIII. upon his monument, which are not to be underſtood in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, but aged ſixty-four, a ſenſe that we ſee frequently (tho' certainly very inaccurately) uſed, in monumental inſcriptions.

(‡) See Mr Nelſon's Article, Rem. [H], and Dr Will. Sherlock's Article, Rem. [P].

(*fffff*) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 345, 346. Edit. 1753.

(*gggg*) Memoirs, as before, p. 412.

(*hhhh*) It is far from our intention to diſpute the ſeaſonableneſs in thoſe times of preaching againſt Popery, or to detract from the real merit of the many excellently uſeful Animadverſions upon it in theſe Sermons. One of which deſerves particular notice; it is in that diſcourſe on the 5th of Nov. 1678, where he obſerves, that thoſe remarkable letters of ſir Everard Digby (mentioned in Remark [E] of that Conſpirator's Article) were then in his hands. And they were ſubjoined to a new edition of the hiſtory of that Plot, publiſhed by Biſhop Barlow in 1697, 8vo. with a Preface to them, aſcribed to his Grace in his Life by Dr Birch, p. 379.

(*bbbb*) Ibid. 414.

(*iiii*) Mr Beardmore ſuggeſts it as his opinion, that the Archbiſhop had ſtrained a little with the fartheſt toward gaining them into the Church. Mem. p. 408.

[*OO*] *A monument in the church of St Laurence, Jewry.*] The town of Halifax likewiſe, out of regard to a man, who did ſo much honour to their pariſh, put up this inſcription in letters of gold in the church there: JOHANNES TILLOTSON, *Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis, natus Sowerbiæ, renatus Hallifaxiæ tertio Octobris*, 1630, *denatus Lambethiæ* 22 *Novembris A. D.* 1694, *ætatis* 65 (79).

(79) We ſee here this word *ætatis* taken in the true gramma tical ſenſe, viz. the 65th year of his age.

[*PP*] *Betrayed into ridiculous cenſures that way.*] One of theſe is mentioned by Mr Jortin. It is a paſſage in the 140th ſermon, Vol. III. of his works, where he has theſe words: 'I know not what ſome men may 'find in themſelves; but I muſt freely acknowledge, 'that I could never yet attain to that bold and hardy 'degree of faith, as to believe any thing for this reaſon, 'becauſe it was impoſſible.—So that I am very far from 'being

(*mmmm*) It was this meekneſs of his temper that threw him into the hands of Biſhop Burnet, a connexion which ſerved to encreaſe the number and animoſity of his enemies.

been ſelected as a pattern to our politeſt Writers (*llll*.) And as a Preacher, he is univerſally allowed to carry the firſt prize. In which character it has been well obſerved, that his moſt diſtinguiſhing excellence lay in teaching ſo, as at once both to enable and incline men to teach themſelves. And in this he followed the natural complexion of his temper, which was ſweetly gentle and tender; but on that very account, not ſo well adapted for public buſineſs (*mmmm*), as the more hardy conſtitution, the *Socratiſm* [*QQ*] and *Stoiciſm*, of his Succeſſors (*nnnn*), who for this reaſon, is ſaid to have been more agreeable to King William (*oooo*).

(*llll*) A Critic upon them is collected from ſeveral Authors by Dr Birch, p. 335 to p. 343.

(*oooo*) Gen. Hiſt. of England compared with Tillotſon's Life by Birch, p. 345.

(*nnnn*) Dr Teniſon.

'being of his mind, that wanted not only difficulties, 'but even impoſſibilities, in the Chriſtian religion, to 'exerciſe his faith upon.' The perſon, ſays Mr Jortin, whom Tillotſon had in view, was the Author of *Religio Medici*. But by impoſſibilities Sir Thomas Brown, as well as Tertullian, meant *ſeeming* not *real* impoſſibilities (80), and what he ſays ſhould be looked on as a *verbum ardens*, a rhetorical flouriſh, and a trial of ſkill with *Tertullian*. Our Critic proceeds to cite Sir Thomas Brown's words, and then makes this candid and jeſt remark: 'Tillot-'ſon, judging that the Papiſts would make an ill uſe 'of this, and ſuch paſſages as this in Proteſtant writers, 'was willing to paſs a gentle animadverſion upon it.' Afterwards, to evince the propriety of that animadverſion, it is obſerved, that Sir *Kenelm Digby*, a Roman catholic, who criticiſes ſeveral things in the *Religio Medici*, yet gives his loud approbation to theſe pious ſallies: *I am extremely pleaſed with him when he ſaith, there are not impoſſibilities enough in religion for an active faith*, &c. Extremely pleaſed, continues our Critic, without queſtion, and full of hopes, that this young Author might at laſt *unreaſon* himſelf into implicit belief, and go over to a church which would feed his hungry faith with a ſufficient quantity of impoſſibilities.

(80) Sir Thomas's words are, Methinks there be not impoſſibilities enough in religion for an active faith. I can anſwer, all the objections of Satan and my rebellious reaſon with that odd reſolution of Tertullian, *Certum eſt quia impoſſibile eſt.*

Tendimus in Latium.

Among many things which may be mentioned in favour of Tillotſon this ſhould not be forgotten, that, of thoſe who have paſſed their judgments upon him, there never was a *ſon of abſurdity* that did not *diſlike*, or a *ſenſible Reader* who did not *approve*, his writings (81).

(81) Birch, in Appendix, No. III. p. 432.

[*QQ*] *Socratiſm he wanted.*] If a perſon, ſays the laſt mentioned writer, were to offer himſelf a candidate for honeſt reputation, what could he wiſh and hope more than to ſhare Tillotſon's fate, and to find the ſame Cenſurers and the ſame Defenders? Yet it has been ſaid of this great and good man, that his ſpirits were in ſome degree broken, and his health impaired, by the inſolence and calumnies of petulant adverſaries. If it be true, it is a melancholy inſtance of human infirmity, and a proof that a little Stoiciſm and Socratiſm is a deſirable poſſeſſion. To forgive enemies, though difficult to many, was eaſy to him, aſſiſted as he was by good-nature and by religion; but to deſpiſe their attacks, was a taſk rather too hard for his gentle temper and ſenſibility; ſo that in this reſpect, and under theſe diſadvantages, he was not a match for men who could neither bluſh nor feel. 'A man's good name, ſays 'he (82), is a tender thing, and a wound there ſinks 'deep into the ſpirit even of a wiſe and good man; 'and the more innocent any one is in this kind, the 'more ſenſible he is of this hard uſage; becauſe he 'never treats others ſo, nor is he conſcious to himſelf 'that he hath deſerved it.' Every thing, continues this ingenious author, they ſay, hath two handles. When *Socrates* was under ſentence of death, *Xantippe* took on bitterly, and, refuſing comfort, cried, 'O my 'huſband, what grieves me moſt is, that theſe wicked 'Judges ſhould treat an Innocent man thus, and con-'demn thee unjuſtly and for nothing at all.' 'Wife, 'ſaid he, why ſhould that grieve thee? Hadſt thou 'rather then that they had condemned me juſtly (83)?'

(82) In Vol. II. Sermon XLII.

(83) Birch, p. 433.

P

TINDALE, or TYNDALE [WILLIAM], otherwiſe ſurnamed *Hitchins*, the firſt Publiſher of the Holy Scriptures in Engliſh, was born about the borders of Wales (*a*); in what county is not mentioned; but the family ſeems to have ſprung from Robert Tindall, of Tanſover in the county of Northampton, who was living the 16th of Edward I. and deſcended from Adam de Tindale, Baron of Langley in South-Tindale in Northumberland (*b*). He was brought up from a child in grammar, logic, and philoſophy in Oxford, particularly for the moſt part in St Mary Magdalen's-Hall [*A*]; where having imbibed the doctrine of Luther, he privately inſtructed in it ſome of the junior Fellows of Magdalen-College, and other Scholars. His behaviour, at the ſame time, was ſuch, as made him be looked upon as a man of a moſt virtuous diſpoſition, and unſpotted life (*c*). So that, on account of his merit (*d*), he was admitted a Canon of the College newly founded by Cardinal Wolſey (*e*), now better known by the name of Chriſt's-Church. But, for eſpouſing too openly Luther's opinions, being obliged to quit it [*B*], he retired to Cambridge, where he diligently applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Holy Scriptures, and Divinity, and took a degree (*f*): having taken his degrees before at Oxford [*C*]. After a convenient ſtay at Cambridge, he went and lived, at Little Sodbury in Glouceſterſhire, with Sir John Welch, Knt. who had a good reſpect and eſteem for him; and was Tutor to Sir John's children (*g*). Moreover, to be as uſeful as poſſible, and to plant true Chriſtianity in that neighbourhood, he frequently preached in and about Briſtol. And, in order to give the Knight and his Lady good impreſſions of Religion, and to confirm them in the truth, he put into their hands Eraſmus's Manual of a Chriſtian Soldier (*h*), tranſlated by him into Engliſh. The reſort of many Abbots, and dignified Clergymen, at Sir John's plentiful table, gave our Author an opportunity to

(*a*) J. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, Edit. 1610, Vol. II. p. 981. and Edward Halle, in Henry VIII. fol. 227.

(*b*) Mr Jekyll's Genealogies MS.

(*c*) J. Foxe, as above, and Edw. Halle.

(*d*) Ob egregias ingenii dotes. Cl. Tanneri Bibliotheca, ſub voce *Hitchins.*

(*e*) Canonicus Secundæ Claſſis. Vide Wood. Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. II. p. 249. & Ath. Vol. I. col. 42. where he queſtions this fact.

(*f*) Tanner, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Ibid. and Foxe, as above.

(*h*) Enchiridion Militis Chriſtiani.

converſe,

[*A*] *For the moſt part in St Mary Magdalen's-Hall.*] His picture is preſerved in the Library of this Hall, with the following inſcription, ——— 'Refert 'hæc Tabella (quod ſolum potuit ars) Gulielmi Tindal 'effigiem, hujus olim Aulæ alumni ſimul & ornamenti, 'qui poſt felices purioris Theologiæ primitias hic depoſitas, Antwerpiæ in Novo Teſtamento, nec non Pentateucho in vernaculam transferendo operam navavit, 'Anglis ſuis eo uſque ſalutiferam, ut inde non immerito 'Angliæ Apoſtolus audierat. Wilfordiæ prope Bruxellas 'martyrio coronatus an. 1536. Vir, ſi vel adverſario (Procuratori nempe Imperatoris generali) credamus, 'perdoctus, pius, & bonus.' Mr Lewis tells us, that the Picture is but ill done (1).

(1) Hiſt. of the Engliſh Tranſlations of the Bible, 8vo, p. 73.

[*B*] *But for eſpouſing too openly Luther's opinions, being obliged to quit it.*] So Biſhop Tanner informs us, in theſe words: 'Poſtquam autem compertum fuiſſet Gu-'lielmum Lutherani dogmatis fautorem eſſe ſtrenuum, 'collegio ejectus eſt.' i. e: But when it came to be known that he was a ſtrenuous favorer and encourager of Luther's doctrine, he was expelled the college.— And to the ſame purpoſe ſays A. Wood:—'Verum Lutheri dogmata ſequutus, inde amotus eſt (2).'

(2) Tanner, ubi ſupra. A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Lib. II. p. 249.

[*C*] *Having taken his degrees before at Oxford.*] So I infer from theſe words of J. Foxe (3). 'Thus he in 'the Univerſitie of Oxford increaſing more and more in 'learning, and proceeding in *Degrees of the Schooles*'——But A. Wood ſays, 'Whether he took a Degree, 'either by the name of *Tyndale* or *Hitchins*, it doth 'not appear in the Regiſters' (4) of the Univerſity. .... However this is no evidence to the contrary: For his name might have been omitted through negligence, or deſign.

(3) p. 981.

(4) Ath. as above.

converſe, and often to diſpute, with them upon the moſt important points of Religion; and he appealed to the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and eſtabliſh his opinions [D]; a method not much then practiſed among the rigid Catholics. His frequent victories over them [E], cauſed them to look upon him with an evil eye, revile him, count him no better than a heretic [F], and endeavour to have him puniſhed as ſuch. Accordingly, they preferred articles againſt him to the Chancellor of the Dioceſe, before whom he appeared, and was ſeverely reprimanded and threatened, but no further proceeded againſt, at preſent. However, obſerving that he could no longer ſtay in the country with any quiet and comfort, and that his Patron, Sir John Welch, could not protect him without bringing himſelf into great dangers and difficulties, they mutually parted by common conſent (i). Mr Tindale thereupon came to London, and preached for ſome time in the Church of St Dunſtan's in the Weſt. At length, having conceived a great opinion of Dr Cuthbert Tonſtall, promoted to the Biſhopric of London in 1522; on account of the great commendations given him by the much admired Eraſmus, he imagined that he would be a happy man, if he could but be admitted into his ſervice, as one of his Chaplains. For that purpoſe, he applied to Sir Henry Guildeford [G], Maſter of the Horſe, and Controller to King Henry VIII. who was a great Patron of learned men, a particular friend to Eraſmus, and an acquaintance of Sir John Welch's: And he preſented to him an Oration of Iſocrates, which he had tranſlated from the Greek; an undoubted proof of our Author's being uncommonly learned, ſince Greek at that time was a language underſtood by very few here in England. Sir Henry readily complying with Mr Tindale's requeſt, not only recommended him to the Biſhop of London, but adviſed him to write an Epiſtle to his Lordſhip, and carry it himſelf. This he did, and delivered the Epiſtle to an old acquaintance of his, a ſervant of the Biſhop. But the Biſhop's anſwer was, 'That his houſe was full; he had 'more than he could well provide for; and therefore adviſed our Author to ſeek out in 'London, where, he ſaid, he could not well miſs of employment (k).' Not being able to obtain any, he was ſupported by Mr Humfrey Monmouth, Alderman of London [H], a favourer of Luther's opinions; who took him into his houſe for half a year, where he behaved in the moſt ſober and temperate manner (l), ſtudying night and day. His thoughts were then bent upon tranſlating the New Teſtament into Engliſh, as the only means to root out Popery, and eſtabliſh the true Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt [I]. But being ſenſible

(i) J. Foxe, as above, p. 981, 982.

(k) Foxe, p. 982.

(l) Eating only boiled meat, drinking ſmall-beer, and wearing no linnen. J. Foxe, p. 909.

[D] *And he appealed to the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and eſtabliſh his opinions.*] As he was learned, and well acquainted with the Old and New Teſtament, he ſcrupled not to ſhew unto them ſimply and plainly his judgment in moſt points, as he thought: and when they at any time varied from him in opinion and judgment, he would lay plainly before them the open and manifeſt places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his ſayings. And thus they continued for a while, reaſoning and contending together, till at length his opponents grew weary, and not being able to anſwer or convince him, bore a ſecret grudge in their hearts againſt him (5). He complains, in his Prologue to the firſt book of Moſes, of their ill uſage towards him; teſtifying that he ſuffered much in that country by a ſort of unlearned Prieſts: being full rude and ignorant (ſayth he) God knoweth; which have ſeen no more Latin than that only which they read in their Porteſſes and Miſſals, which yet many of them can ſcarcely read.

(5) See J. Foxe, p. 981.

[E] *His frequent victories over them.*] In one of his Diſputes, he preſſed his antagoniſt ſo hard, that the latter burſt out in theſe words: 'We were better to be 'without God's Laws than the Pope's.' But Tindale zealouſly and warmly replied, 'I defy the Pope and all 'his Laws: adding, that if God ſpared him life, e'er 'many years, he would cauſe a boy that driveth the 'plough to know more of the Scripture, than he [his 'antagoniſt] did (6).'

(6) J. Foxe, p. 982.

[F] *Count him no better than a heretic.*] He was ſo much ſuperior, and too ſtrong for them in all Diſputes, that they called him a heretic in Sophiſtry, a heretic in Logic, a heretic in Divinity. And told him, that he mightily depended upon the Gentlemen in that country; but, notwithſtanding, he ſhould ſhortly be otherwiſe dealt withal. He replied, that he was contented they ſhould bring him to any country in all England, giving him Ten pounds a year to live with, and binding him to no more than to teach children and preach (7).

(7) Ibid.

[G] *Sir Henry Guildeford.*] This noble perſon was an acquaintance of the celebrated Eraſmus, and his great favorite, as appears from ſeveral letters of Eraſmus to him. He was deſcended from a very ancient family, famous for conſiderable ſervices to the public. In his younger years he went into Spain, and engaged himſelf in the ſervice of Ferdinand and Iſabella in their wars againſt the Moors, where he behaved with that exemplary reſolution, that upon the reduction of Granada, the abovementioned Prince added to his paternal coat, an augmentation of a pomegranate ſlipped upon a canton, which were the arms of that regained Province, and likewiſe dignified him with the order of Knighthood. Upon the reputation of his martial abilities, he was ſent with the fleet againſt the French, under the command of Sir Charles Brandon. He carried the royal ſtandard at the ſiege of Terouenne; and at Tournay was created a Banneret. In the 7th of Henry VIII. he was conſtituted Maſter of the Horſe for life, and had an annuity of 50l. during the like term for executing the office of Eſquire of the King's body. In the 14th he was appointed to attend on the Emperor at his coming hither. He was one of the Knights who in parliament ſubſcribed the letter to the Pope. The 24th of April, 1526, he was elected a Knight of the Garter, and inſtalled on St George's feaſt following. He died in June 1531, being about forty years old: Though he was twice married, he left no iſſue (8).

(8) Regiſter of the Garter, publiſhed by John Anſtis, Eſq;

[H] *Mr Humfrey Monmouth, Alderman of London.*] He was a Draper; a man of good wealth, and great charity. In 1535, he was knighted, being one of the Sheriffs of London: and dying about the year 1537 was buried in the church-yard of All-hallows, Barking (9).

(9) Stow's Survey, with Strype's Additions, book II. p. 33. and book V. p. 131.

[I] *And eſtabliſh the true Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt.*] He thought no way more conducive thereto, than if the Scriptures were tranſlated into the Vulgar Tongue, that the poor people might alſo read and ſee the pure and plain word of God. For, firſt, reflecting with himſelf, he perceived by experience, that it was not poſſible to eſtabliſh the laity in any truth, except the Scripture were ſo plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might ſee the proceſs, order, and meaning of the text. For elſe whatſoever truth ſhould be taught them, theſe enemies of the Truth would quench it again; either with apparent reaſons of ſophiſtry, and Traditions of their own making, no way founded in Scripture; or elſe, juggling with the text, expound it in ſuch a ſenſe, that it would be impoſſible to perceive the right proceſs, order, and meaning of any particular paſſage. Again, he well perceived and conſidered, that the only or chief cauſe of all Miſchief in the Church, was, 'That 'the Scriptures of God were hidden from the people's 'eyes. For, ſo long the abominable doings and idola'tries maintained by the Phariſaical [Popiſh] clergy, 'could not be eſpied; and therefore all their labour was, 'with might and main to keep it down: ſo that either 'it ſhould not be read at all, or if it were, they would 'darken the right ſenſe with the miſt of their ſophiſtry, 'and

ſenſible he could not ſafely do it in England, he reſolved to go abroad into Germany, as a place of greater ſecurity, and more liberty. This he was enabled to do by the aſſiſtance of Mr Monmouth, and other well-diſpoſed perſons; who gave him an annuity of ten pounds a year (*m*), then a ſufficient maintenance for a ſingle man, and which would go as far as a hundred pounds a year now. At his firſt leaving England, he went as far as Saxony, where he conferred with Luther, and other learned men in thoſe parts. Then he came back into the Netherlands, and ſettled at Antwerp, where was then a very conſiderable Factory of Engliſh Merchants, many of which were zealous profeſſors of Luther's doctrine. Here he immediately ſet himſelf about his favorite work, the Engliſh Tranſlation of the New Teſtament, in which he had the aſſiſtance of the learned John Fry, and a Frier named William Roye (*n*), who wrote for him, and helped him to compare the texts together (*o*). It was printed in 1526, in octavo, without a name [*K*]: and Mr Tindale added at the end

(*m*) J. Foxe, p. 909, 982, 983. J. Lewis.

(*n*) This poor man was afterwards burned in Portugal. Sir Thomas More's Engliſh Works, p. 451.

(*o*) Preface to the Parable of the wicked Mammon.

' and ſo entangle thoſe who rebuked or deſpiſed their ' abominations, with arguments of Philoſophy, and ' with worldly ſimilitudes, and apparent reaſons of na- ' tural wiſdom: Alſo, by wreſting the Scripture to their ' own purpoſe, contrarie to the proceſs, order, and ' meaning of the text, would ſo delude them in deſcant- ' ing upon it with allegories, and amaze them, ex- ' pounding it in many ſenſes laid before the unlearned ' laie people, that though thou felt in thy heart, and ' wert ſure that all were falſe that they ſaid, yet couldſt ' not thou ſolve their ſubtile riddles (10).'——Ed. Halle, our Author's contemporary, gives much the ſame account of his deſign——' Luther, ſays he, ſettyng foorth cer- ' taine workes againſt the Byſhop of Rome, Tyndale ' occaſioned by them to ſearche the Scriptures whether ' Luther ſayd the trueth or no, did therby not onely ' himſelfe attaine the knowlege of the uſurped autho- ' ritie of the Byſhop of Rome, and his ſuperſticious and ' damnable doctrynes that he had taught and publiſhed ' through all Chriſtendome, but alſo lamentyng the ' ignoraunt ſtate that his native country of England was ' in, who altogether were wrapped in errours, thought ' it his dutie, for that God had reveled the light of his ' Goſpell to him, to beſtowe his talent to the honour of ' God and proffite of his countrey, and thought no waye ' ſo good to reduce the people from their errour as fyrſt ' to make them acquainted with Goddes woorde, that ' they might know what Goddes will was that we ſhould ' do, and what the Byſhop of Rome ſaid that we muſt ' do: and therefore fyrſt, as is aforeſayd, he tranſlated into ' Engliſhe the Newe Teſtament, a woorke no doubt ' very notable, and to him verye paynefull, for that ' he was forced to flye his owne native countrey, and ' to lyve in a ſtraunge lande among people that as well ' varyed from his manners as the perſones to him were ' unknowen (11)'.—So that it was pure Love for Truth, and an earneſt deſire of Benefiting his Country, that ſet Mr Tindale upon this arduous undertaking, amidſt a thouſand difficulties and dangers, and for which he was at laſt crowned with Martyrdom.

(10) J. Foxe, a little altered in the ſtyle, p. 982.

(11) Edward Halle's Chronicle, under King Henry VIII. fol. 227.

[*K*] *It was printed in* 1526, *in octavo.*] Some have placed the firſt publication of it under the year 1527 (12), and ſome later. But, that it was publiſhed as early as the year 1526, is demonſtrable from Biſhop Tonſtal's Commiſſion in the next note, which was dated Oct. 23, 1526. As there were only 1500 printed, and that all the Copies which could poſſibly be got in England, were committed to the flames, this firſt edition is therefore very difficult to be met with. The late induſtrious Mr Wanley hath ſet down the following memorandum, in the margin of his Wood's Athenæ, now in our poſſeſſion: ' I never yet, notwithſtanding all my ſearches, ' ſaw any one copie of this edition, which ought to ' anſwer to Sir Thomas More's Remarks.' But there was one in the ingenious Mr Joſ. Ames's collection (13). W. Tindale acknowledged, in the Preface to his ſubſequent Edition, that there were in *this* ' many fautes ' whyche lacke of helpe at the beginnyng and overfyght ' dyd ſow therein.' Therefore he ſet himſelf about looking over and correcting it again, though his own ſecond Edition did not come out till 1534.——But the Dutch Printers, finding it was a book in great requeſt, publiſhed a new edition of it in 1527, 12mo, and, about a year after, another, in a larger letter and volume, with figures in the apocalypſe; in all about 5000 copies: ſo that theſe Teſtaments became plentier and cheaper than ever they were, or than they could be afforded by W. Tindale. The price of theſe was ſeven or eight groats a-piece; but the Dutchmen ſold them at the rate of thirteen pence each, or three hundred for 16l. 5s. But the Printers not underſtanding Engliſh, committed a great many faults. However they printed a third edition in 1529, which went off ſo well, that this; as well as the two former, were all ſold before 1530. In which year, they proceeded to a fourth edition, of about 2000, in a ſmall volume and letter; more incorrect than even the former: which however were ſoon all diſpoſed of. And in 1534, the Dutch printed a fifth edition, which they got *George Joye* to correct. [He was a Bedfordſhire man, educated at Peterhouſe in Cambridge, where he took the degree of Batchelor of Arts 1512-13, that of Maſter 1517, and April 27, the ſame year, was admitted Fellow. But being accuſed of hereſy, he was forced to fly beyond ſea, and retire to Straſburg in Germany.] Not contented with correcting the typographical errors, he ventured to alter, and amend as he thought, the former tranſlation of W. Tindale. But Tindale reſented that Joye ſhould take that liberty, and likewiſe foreſtall his Second Edition of the New Teſtament which was juſt ready to come out; therefore, at the end of his Epiſtle to the Chriſtian reader, he added another Epiſtle, which begins thus: ' W. Tindale yet once more to the Chriſten reader:' wherein he has theſe words: ' Wherfore if he [Joye] ' wold have altered the Text, he ſhould have put it ' forth for his own tranſlation and not for myne.' And expreſſes otherwiſe a great deal too much paſſion and reſentment. This occaſioned Joye to publiſh ' An ' Apology . . . to ſatisfy, if it may be, W. Tyndale, ' to pourge and defende himſelf agaynſt ſo manye ' ſlaunderouſe Lies fained upon him in Tyndale's un- ' charitable and unſober Piſtle, ſo well worthye to be ' præfixed for the Reader to induce him into the under- ' ſtandyng of his New Teſtament, diligently corrected ' and printed in the yeare of oure Lorde MCCCCC ' and XXXIII, in November.'

W. Tindale's own Second Edition of his New Teſtament was ' Imprinted at Antwerp by Martin Emperour, ' Anno M. D. XXXIV.' 8vo.——In 1536, there came out another edition, with this title, ' The Newe Teſta- ' ment yet once agayne corrected by William Tyndale. ' Printed in the yere of oure Lorde God, M. D. and ' XXXVI. in a broad 4to.'—And, the ſame year, another edition, printed very probably in Scotland, in a large 4to. Likewiſe one in a leſſer 4to, and a ſmall 8vo, and ſome others in 8vo, 12mo, and 16mo (14).

(12) Fuller's Abel redivivus, p. 128. A. Wood ſays, it was finiſhed in 1527. Ath. Vol. I. col. 42.

(13) See Catalogue of his Books, No. 1252. and his Hiſtory of Printing, p. 490.

(14) Lewis's Hiſtory of the Tranſlations of the Bible, 8vo, p. 75——92.

For a ſpecimen of this tranſlation, we ſhall give here a few paſſages in it, out of the Epiſtle to the Romans.—Ch. i. ver. 16, 17. ' For I am not aſhamed of the ' goſpel of Chriſt, becauſe it is the power of God unto ' Salvacion to all that beleve, namely to the Jewe and ' alſo to the gentyle. For by it the ryghteweſnes which ' cometh of God is opened *from fayth to fayth.*'—— Upon which he hath this marginal note . . . ' *from fayth* ' *to fayth*, that is, from a weke fayth to a ſtronger, or ' from one bataile of fayth to another; for as we have ' eſcaped one jeopardy thorowe fayth, another invadeth ' us, through whiche we muſt wade by the helpe of ' fayth alſo.'

Ch. v. ver. 15, 16. ' But the gyfte is not lyke as ' the ſynne. For yf thorow ſynne of one many be deed: ' moche more plenteous upon many was the grace of ' God and gyfte by grace: Whiche grace was geven by ' one man Jeſus Chriſt. And the gyfte *is* not over one ' ſynne, as deeth cam thorow one ſynne of one that ' ſynned. For damnacion came of one ſynne unto ' condemnacion: but the gyft came to juſtifye from ' many ſynnes.'

Ch. viii. ver. 28, 29. ' For we knowe that all ' thynges worke for the beſt unto them that love ' God, which alſo are called * of purpoſe. For thoſe ' which he knew before, he alſo ordeyned before, that ' they ſhulde be lyke faſhyoned unto the ſhape of his

* The marginal note here, *is*, ' God teacheth of his own gode ' nes and mercy thorough the Goſpell: juſtifyeth thorough fayth, ' and glorifieth thorough good works.'

' Sonne,

end an Epiſtle, wherein he 'deſyred them that were learned to amende, if ought were founde 'amyſſe.' There were but fifteen hundred copies printed of this firſt impreſſion (*p*), and moſt of them being imported into England, were very induſtriouſly diſperſed, and as greedily bought up and read. At this, the great ſupporters of Popery were extremely diſturbed and alarmed. Conſcious that Ignorance was the mother of their ſpurious Devotion; they well ſaw, that a fair tranſlation of the Scripture would make men wiſer than they wiſhed them to be, and enable them to diſcern the groundleſſneſs and abſurdity of their moſt gainful and favourite Tenets. They cried out therefore, that there were a thouſand hereſies in this tranſlation; that it was not to be corrected, but utterly to be ſuppreſſed. Some ſaid, it was not poſſible to tranſlate the Scripture into Engliſh; ſome, that it was not lawful for the laity to have it in their mother tongue; ſome, that it would make them all Heretics. And, in order to draw the temporal rulers into the quarrel, they ſurmiſed and affirmed, that it would make the people rebel and riſe againſt the King (*q*). William Warham, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Cuthbert Tonſtall, Biſhop of London, both great and learned men, except where ſuperſtition had diſtorted their minds, iſſued out immediately their ſeveral orders and monitions, to bring in all the New Teſtaments tranſlated into the vulgar tongue, that they might be burnt, and to prohibit the reading of them (*r*). Biſhop Tonſtall's Commiſſion was dated October 23, 1526 [*L*]. Not ſatisfied with that, he preached publickly againſt theſe books at St Paul's, and told the people, there were no fewer than 2000 texts in the tranſlation wrong tranſlated. To deſtroy the books more effectually, the Biſhop being at Antwerp in 1526 or 1527, procured Auguſtin Packington, an Engliſh Merchant (*s*), to buy up all the copies of the Engliſh Teſtament which remained unſold, and they being brought to England, were publickly burnt at Paul's croſs. But this ill-judged policy only took off many copies which lay dead upon Tindale's hands, and put a good ſum of money into his pocket. So that he was enabled to prepare another Edition, more correct than the former; which however was not printed till 1534. But of the firſt Edition, about 5000 copies were reprinted in 1527, and 1528: This made the books plentier and cheaper than ever they were. At which Biſhop Tonſtall being amazed, he ſent for Packington, and aſked him, how there came to be ſo many Teſtaments about, when he had promiſed him he would buy them all? Packington anſwered, ſurely he had bought all that were to be had, but he perceived they had printed more ſince: and he could not ſee how they could be kept from doing that, unleſs his Lordſhip would likewiſe buy the types and preſſes. About the ſame time, George Conſtantine, who was ſuſpected of hereſy, being examined by Sir Thomas More, and aſked, by whom Tindale, Joye, and others beyond ſea, were furniſhed with money from hence; he ſaid, it was the Biſhop of London who had helped them, for he had beſtowed among them a great deal of money upon New Teſtaments to burn them; and that had been, and yet was, their only ſuccour and comfort (*t*). The above order for bringing the Teſtaments in, being but imperfectly and ſlowly complied with, ſtrict ſearch was made among thoſe who were ſuſpected of importing and concealing them; of whom John Tindale, our Author's brother, was proſecuted, and condemned to do penance (*u*). Humfrey Monmouth, his great Patron and Be-

(*p*) J. Foxe.

(*q*) Our Author's Prologue to Geneſis.

(*r*) Concilia, &c. Edit. Dr Wilkins, Vol. III. p. 706. and J. Foxe, p. 928.

(*s*) He was a ſecret friend to W. Tindale. J. Foxe, p. 929.

(*t*) J. Foxe, p. 929. and Sir Thomas More's article in remark [*RR*].

'Sonne, that he myght be the fyrſt begotten Sonne 'amonge many brethren. Moreover which he ap'pointed before, them alſo he called. And which he 'called, them alſo he juſtifyed; which he juſtifyed, 'them he alſo glorifyed *.'

And the controverted paſſage in 1 Ep. of St John, ch. v. ver. 7, 8, is thus: 'And it is the Sprete that 'beares witnes, becauſe the Sprete is truth. (For there 'are thre which beare recorde in heaven, the Father, 'the Word, and the Wholy Gooſt. And theſe thre 'are one) For there are thre which beare recorde in 'earth, the Sprete, and water, and bloud, and theſe 'thre are one.' The Epiſtle to the Hebrews is placed after the Three of St John, and before that of St James, which immediately precedes the Revelation.——Beſides marginal notes, and texts of reference, there are Prologues to moſt of the books; ſome of a conſiderable length; and abounding with excellent obſervations.—His Prologue to the Epiſtle of St Paul to the Romans concludes thus——'Now go to reader, and according 'to the order of Paul's writyng, even ſo do thou. 'Fyrſt beholde thyſelfe diligently in the lawe of God, 'and ſe there the juſte damnacion. Secondarely turne 'thyne eyes to Chriſt, and ſe there the excedinge mercy 'of thy mooſt kynd and lovinge father. Thyrdly re'member, that Chriſt made not this attonement that 'thou ſhuldeſt anger God agayne: nether dyed he for 'thy ſynnes, that thou ſhuldeſt lyve ſtyll in them: ne'ther clenſeth he the, that thou ſhuldeſt retourne (as a 'ſwyne) unto thyne olde podel agayne: but that thou 'ſhuldeſt be a newe creature, and lyve a new lyfe 'after the wyll of God, and not of the fleſhe. And be 'diligent leaſt thorowe thyne own negligence and un'thankfulnes thou loſe this favoure and mercye agayne.'

[*L*] *Biſhop Tonſtall's Commiſſion was dated October* 23, 1526.] The main of it was in theſe words . . . 'Wee 'having underſtanding . . . that many children of ini'quitie, maintainers of Luther's ſect, blinded through 'extreme wickedneſſe, wandring from the way of truth 'and the catholicke faith, craftily have tranſlated the 'New Teſtament into our Engliſh tongue, intermedling 'therewith many hereticall articles, and erroneous opi'nions, pernitious and offenſive, ſeducing the ſimple 'people, attempting by their wicked and perverſe in'terpretations, to prophanate the majeſtie of the Scrip'ture, which hitherto hath remained undefiled, and 'craftily to abuſe the moſt holy word of God, and the 'true ſenſe of the ſame: of the which tranſlation, 'there are many books imprinted, ſome with gloſſes, 'and ſome without, containing in the Engliſh tongue 'that peſtiferous and moſt pernitious poiſon diſperſed 'throughout all our dioceſſe of London in great number: 'which truly without it be ſpeedily foreſeene, without 'doubt will contaminate and infect the flocke committed 'unto us, with moſt deadly poiſon and hereſie, to the 'grievous perill and danger of the Soules committed to 'our charge, and the offence of God's divine majeſtie. 'Wherefore we . . . grievouſlie ſorrowing for the pre'miſſes, willing to withſtand the craft and ſubtelty of the 'ancient enemie and his miniſters, which ſeeke the de'ſtruction of my flocke . . . . . deſiring to provide ſpee'die remedies for the premiſſes, doe charge you . . . 'and by vertue of your obedience, ſtraitly injoyne and 'command you, that by our authoritie you warne or 'cauſe to bee warned all and ſinguler, as well exempt 'as not exempt, dwelling within your archdeaconries, 'that within thirty daies ſpace . . . . under paine of ex'communication, and incurring the ſuſpition of hereſie, 'they do bring in, and really deliver unto our Vicar 'general, al and ſinguler ſuch books as containe the 'tranſlation of the New Teſtament in the Engliſh tongue '&c.' (15).—Archbiſhop Warham's Commiſſion, much to the ſame purpoſe, to the Biſhop of Exeter, is dated Nov. 3, 1526 (16).

(15) J. Foxe, p. 928. See Stryte's Eccleſ. Memor. Vol. I. Appendix, p. 44.

(16) Concilia &c. edit. D. Wilkins, V. III. p. 706.

* The marginal note here, is, 'God teacheth of his owne gode'nes and mercy thorough the Goſpell; juſtifyeth thorough fayth, 'and glorifieth thorough good workes.'

nefactor, was imprisoned in the Tower, and almost ruined (*w*). But all these rigorous measures not having the intended effect, and burning the Word of God being looked upon among the people as a shocking profanation; the great Patrons of Popery endeavoured to ridicule what they could not suppress. They employed for that purpose the noted Sir Thomas More (*x*), who, like all other witty men, suffered his wit to out-run his judgment, and had so devoted himself to the blindest corruptions of the Church of Rome, that he was then ready to swallow and defend them without examination, and was as severe a persecutor as any ignorant Monk. He published in 1529, a Dyaloge, wherein he treated of the pestilent sect of Luther and Tyndale, &c. [*M*], and in which, among other things, he says, 'That whoso called these books which were burnt, New Testaments, gave them a 'wrong name, since they were rather Tyndal's or Luther's Testament, it being so cor-'rupted and changed from the good and wholesome doctrine of Christ to their own deviliſh 'heresies, as to be quite another thing.' Mr Tindale, in 1530, published An Answer to this Dialogue of Sir Thomas More (*y*). But all the methods used for destroying William Tindale's Translation having continued hitherto ineffectual and unsuccessful, the secular arm was called in. For at the instance of some zealots, on the 24th of May, 1531, King Henry VIII. came into the Star-Chamber, and there, by one whole advice and assent of the Prelates and Clerks, as well of the Universities as all other there assembled together, ordered all the books containing several great errors and pestilent heresies, contagious and damnable, then set down; and all the books containing the same, with the Translation also of Scripture corrupted by William Tyndall, as well in the *Old Testament* as in the New, and all other books in English containing such errors; to be utterly expelled, rejected, and put away out of the hands of his people, and not to be suffered to go abroad among his subjects (*z*). And a Proclamation was issued out to the same purpose (*aa*) [*N*]. The Old Testament here mentioned to have been translated by William Tindale, was the Five Books of Moses, which he translated from the Hebrew into English, as soon as he had finished his New Testament. But going by sea to Hamburgh, to have it printed there, the vessel in which he went was wrecked on the coast of Holland, so that he lost all his money, books, writings, and copies; and was forced to begin anew. However, he came in another ship to Hamburgh, where, by his appointment, Miles Coverdale waited for him, and assisted him in translating the Pentateuch, from Easter to December, 1529, in the house of Mrs Margaret Van Emmerson, widow: It was printed in 1530 [*O*]. And he afterwards made an English version of the Prophecy of Jonas, with a large Prologue, which was published in 1531 (*bb*); but he translated no more books of the Scripture, as some have asserted [*P*]. From

(*w*) J. Foxe, p. 909. See Strype's Life of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 81. and his Memorials, Vol. I. p. 316.

(*x*) Vide Wilkins's Concil. Vol. III. p. 711.

(*y*) Lewis, Hist. of the Translations of the Bible, p. 71.

(*z*) Regist. Warham. fol. 188. a. printed from thence in Spelman's Councils, Vol. II. p. 732, &c. and in Dr Wilkins's Concil. Vol. III. p. 728, &c.

(*aa*) Cott. Cleop. E. V. fol. 321. and Wilkins's Concil. Vol. III. p. 740.

(*bb*) J. Foxe, p. 983.

[*M*] *A Dyaloge*, &c.] We shall give the whole title, which may perhaps divert the reader with the manner of Spelling in those days. 'A Dyaloge of Syr Thomas 'More knyghte: one of the counsayll of oure Soverayne 'lorde the Kyng and Chauncellour of hys duchy of 'Lancaster: wherin be treatyd dyvers matters, as of 'the veneration and worshyp of ymagys and relyques, 'prayng to Sayntys and going on Pylgrymage, with 'many othere thyngys touchyng the Pestylent Sect of 'Luther and Tyndale, by the tone bygone in Saxony, 'and by the tother laboryd to be brought into England. 'Emprynted at London at the Sygne of the Meremayd 'at Powlys gate next to Chepe-syde in the moneth of 'June the yere of our Lord 1529.'——W. Tindale, in 1530, published, *An Aunswere unto Syr Thomas More's dyaloge.*——And Sir Thomas replied, in his 'Confuta-'tion of Tyndale's Aunswere to his Dyaloge, in nine 'books.' 1532.

[*N*] *And a Proclamation was issued out to the same purpose.*] In that proclamation, are these very weak reasons given why the Scriptures should not be in English .... 'Forasmuch as it is come to the hering of our 'said Soveraigne lord the king, that report is made by 'divers and many of his Subjects, that it were to all 'men not only expedient, but also necessary, to have in 'the English tonge both the New Testament and the 'Old, and that his highness, his noblemen, and pre-'lates were bounden to suffer them so to have it; his 'highness hath therefore semblably thereupon consulted 'with the said primates, and vertuous, discrete, and 'well learned personages in divinity forsaid; and by 'them all it is thought, that it is not necessary the said 'Scripture to be in the English tonge, and in the hands 'of the common people; but that the distribution of 'the said Scripture, and the permitting or denieing 'thereof, dependeth only upon the discretion of the 'Superiours, as they shall think it convenient. And 'that having respect to the malignity of this present 'tyme, with the inclination of people to erroneous 'opinions; the translation of the New Testament and 'the Old into the vulgar tonge of English should rather 'be the occasion of continuance or increase of errours 'amonge the said people, than any benefyce or com-'modity towards the weale of their soules. And that 'it shall now be more convenient, that the same 'people have the holy Scripture expounded to them by 'preachers in their sermons, according as it hath ben 'of old time accustomed before this time. Albeit yf it 'shall hereafter appeare to the king's highness, that his 'said people do utterly abandon and forsake all perverse, 'erroneous, and seditious opinions, with the New Testa-'ment and the Old corruptly translated into the English 'tonge nowe being in printe; and that the same bokes 'and all other bokes of heresie, as well in the French 'tonge, as in the Dutch tonge, be clearly exterminate, 'and exiled out of this realme of England for ever; 'his highness intendeth to provide, that the holy Scrip-'ture shall be by great, learned, and catholique persons 'translated into the English tonge, yf it shall then seeme 'to his grace convenient to be.' ..... (17).——The whole tenor of this proclamation does but too well justify the Character given by W. Tindale of his oppofers and persecutors; whom he calls 'fleshly minded Hypocrites, 'as making the Scripture theire own possession and 'merchandise, and so shutting up the Kingdom of hea-'ven, which is God's word, neither entring themselves, 'nor suffering them that would (18).'

(17) Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. V. fol. 321. and Wilkins's Concil. Vol. III. p. 741.

(18) Prologue to Jonas.

[*O*] *It was printed in* 1530.] And in a small octavo volume, which seems to have been printed at several presses, as we may suppose the times would permit. Genesis and Numbers are in the Dutch letter, and contain the one 76 leaves, and the other 67. Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, are printed in the Roman letter, with now and then a capital of the black letter intermixed, as was done in books printed about this time at Zurich. Exodus contains 76 leaves, Leviticus 52, and Deuteronomy 63. To every one of these five books is prefixed a Prologue; and at the end of Genesis, Exodus, and Deuteronomy, and at the beginning of Numbers, are Tables expounding certain words. In the margin are some notes: and it is adorned with ten wooden cuts (19).

(19) Lewis, as above, p. 70.

[*P*] *But he translated no more Books of the Scripture, as some have asserted.*] *Edward Halle*, who was his contemporary, says, that, 'besides the New Testament, 'he translated the Five Bookes of Moses, Josua, Judicum, 'Ruth, the bookes of the Kynges, and the bookes of 'Paralipomenon, Nehemias, or the fyrst of Esdras, the 'Prophet Jonas, and no more of the holy Scripture (20).' ——And Bishop Bale (21), and Bishop Tanner speak to the same purpose (22).

(20) In Henry the VIIIth, fol. 227.

(21) Bale, cent. VIII. p. 658

(22) Bibliotheca, sub voce Hitchins.

We

From Hamburgh he returned to Antwerp, and lodged, in 1534, in the houſe of Mr Thomas Pointz, an Engliſh Merchant. We might think in our days, that the life of ſo innocent a man as Mr Tindale, could be in no danger. But in the hight of Popery, that envehomed ſet of people, one of whoſe properties is never to forgive, could not reſt as long as ſo dangerous a Heretic, as they counted him, was ſuffered to live. To take him off therefore, King Henry VIII. and his Counſel ſuborned and employed one Henry Philips (*cc*), who inſinuating himſelf both into Tindale's and Pointz's acquaintance, was treated by both as a friend. At length, when Philips found his opportunity, he got the Procurator General of the Emperor's Court at Bruſſels, and other Officers, to come and ſeize poor unhappy Tindale, though they could not but pity and admire at the time his plain honeſt ſimplicity; and to convey him priſoner to the Caſtle of Vilvorden, eighteen Engliſh miles from Antwerp, where he remained a priſoner about a year and a half. His friend Pointz, and the body of the Engliſh Merchants, procured Letters from Secretary Cromwell to the Court at Bruſſels, for the releaſe of Tindale. But treacherous Philips invented a falſe accuſation againſt Pointz, in order to render all his applications ineffectual; ſo that he was proſecuted and impriſoned, but eſcaped in the night (*dd*). Tindale's deſtruction being now reſolved, he was brought to his trial, and offered an Advocate and a Proctor: but he refuſed to have any, ſaying, he would anſwer for himſelf; and ſo he did. But none of his reaſons being admitted, he was condemned by virtue of the Emperor's Decree made in the aſſembly at Augſburg. And being brought to execution, in 1536, he was by the hangman firſt ſtrangled, calling out in his laſt moments, 'Lord, open the King of England's 'eyes:' after which, his body was reduced to aſhes (*ee*). Such was the tragical end of one of the learneſt men in his time: a man of the moſt unblemiſhed character; whoſe only crime was, Tranſlating into Engliſh, for the Benefit of his Countrymen, the Holy Scriptures [*Q*], which all Chriſtians do and ought to look upon, as the only Rule of their Faith and Practice; and which conſequently they cannot be too well acquainted with. Time it was therefore, that ſuch a Tyranny as he fell a ſacrifice to, ſhould be aboliſhed; as it was very ſoon: The meaſure of their Iniquities was then fulfilled. Beſides his Tranſlations of part of the Bible, and other pieces already mentioned, William Tindale was Author of other things [*R*], of which ſome account is given below.

(*cc*) Whoſe father was a Cuſtom-houſe Officer at Pool. See J. Foxe. See A. Wood, Vol. I. col. 47. This Philips was then a Scholar at Lovain. Edw. Halle, as above, fol. 227. b.

(*dd*) J. Foxe, p. 983, 984, 985.

(*ee*) Idem, p 984, 985, invictus Chriſti martyr, as J. Bate ſtiles him, Cent. p. 659.

We have ſeen, that he publiſhed no more than the Pentateuch, or Five Books of Moſes; the prophecy of Jonas; and the New Teſtament. He might poſſibly have tranſlated afterwards the other Books above mentioned. But as, upon his apprehenſion, his lodgings were ſearched by the officers that had apprehended him (23); if any of his manuſcript tranſlations of Scripture were there, and fell into ſuch hands, we may be ſure they would not be permitted to ſee any other light than that of the flames. The tranſlation of the Old Teſtament, from Joſhua to Nehemiah, in the firſt Edition of the Engliſh Bible printed in 1535, was done by Myles Coverdale.

(23) J. Foxe, as above, p. 984.

[*Q*] *Tranſlating into Engliſh, for the benefit of his countrymen, the Holy Scriptures.*] How honeſtly he had acted in that work, he ſolemnly declares in a letter to John Fryth, part of which is as follows . . . 'I call God 'to record, againſt the day wee ſhall appeare before our 'Lord Jeſus to give a reckoning of our doings, that 'I never altered one Syllable of God's word againſt 'my conſcience, nor would doe this daie if all that is 'in earth, whether it be honour, pleaſure, or riches, 'might be given me. Moreover I take God to witneſs 'to my conſcience, that I deſire of God to myſelfe in 'this world, no more than that, without which I can'not keepe his laws.'——

[*R*] *Beſides his Tranſlations of part of the Bible . . . . he was Author of other things.*] Theſe ſeveral pieces of his were collected together, and printed by John Day in one volume folio, 1572, together with John Fryth's, and Barnes's works. 1. 'A proteſtation touchyng the 'reſurrection of the bodyes, and the ſtate of the ſoules 'after this life. 2. Preface to the Pentateuch, dated 'Jan. 17, 1530. 3. Prologue ſhewing the uſe of 'the Scripture. 4. Prologues to the five Books of 'Moſes. 5. Certaine hard words expounded in the firſt, 'ſecond, and fourth book of Moſes. 6. Prologue upon 'the Prophet Jonas; 7. and upon the four Evangeliſts, 'the Epiſtles of St Paul, the Epiſtles of St Peter, and 'St John. 8. The parable of the wycked Mammon, dated May 8, 1527. 9. Of the obedience of a 'Chriſten man, and how Chriſten rulers ought to 'governe, dated Oct. 2, 1528. Printed at Malborow in 'Heſſe 1535, and at London 12mo, and again in 1561. 'In the preface we find the name of William Tyndall, al. 'Hitchins. 10. An expoſition on the Vth, VIth, and 'VIIth chapters of St Matthew. Printed firſt about '1531, and again in 1548, 12mo. 11. Aunſwer unto 'Syr Thomas More's Dyaloge, as above. 12. The practyſe of the Praelates, whether the kinges grace maye 'be ſeparated from hys quene, becauſe ſhe was hys 'brother's wife: written in 1530. Printed at Marpurg 'in 1530, and Lond. 1548, 8vo. [This was enough 'to procure his violent death from King Henry VIII.] '13. A Pathway into the holy Scripture. 14. Expoſition of the firſt Epiſtle of St John. Printed in September, 1531, and in Southwark, 1538, 12mo. In 'this edition are included his Commentaries upon the 'three Epiſtles of St John. 15. The teſtament of 'M. William Tracie expounded, 1535, 12mo, and at 'Norimberg 1546. 16. A treatiſe upon ſignes and 'ſacramentes. Lond. 12mo. 17. Three Letters to 'John Fryth, priſoner in the Tower. The laſt of which 'contains an Expoſition of the 6th chapter of St. John, 'and 1 Cor. xi. againſt Sir Thomas More.'

He alſo tranſlated ſome of Luther's works into Engliſh . . . And put a Preface to, The prayer and complaint of a Plowman:—And to the Examinations of William Thorpe, and Sir John Oldcaſtle, which he publiſhed.

There are likewiſe aſcribed to him—An Expoſition on 1 Corinth. vii. with a Prologue, wherein all Chriſtians are exhorted to read the Scriptures. Printed at Malborow in Heſſe 1529, 12mo.—A boke concerning the church.—A Godly diſputation between a Chriſtian ſhomaker and a popiſh perſone.—The diſcloſyng of the man of ſin.—The matrimonye of Tindall, 1529 (24).

(24) J. Bale, Cent. p. 659. A. Wood, col 42, and Tanner Biblioth.

Some of our Author's poſitions about Oaths, are reflected upon by Dr Richard Coſin, in his Apologie of certaine proceedings in Courts Eccleſiaſticall (25) . . . And ſome of his notions are alſo cenſured by J. Collier (26), as he takes them from Sir Thomas More's works. But, upon the whole, he well deſerved the Character given of him by the Emperor's procurator, employed in his condemnation; That he was *Homo doctus, pius, & bonus*, a learned, pious, and good man (27).

(25) Part III. p. 174—176. edit. 1593. 4to.

(26) Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 72.

(27) Ed. Halle, as above, fol. 227. b.

TINDAL [MATTHEW], was born about the year 1657, at Beer-Ferres in Devonshire, where his father, Mr John Tindal, was Minister (*a*). His son was first put to school in the Country (*b*), and after he had made a sufficient progress in grammar learning, was sent to Oxford, where he was first admitted of Lincoln-College, under the tuition of Dr Hickes, in 1672; but removed thence to that of Exeter (*c*). Having taken the degree of Batchelor of Arts, October 17, 1676 (*d*), he was from thence chosen into a Law Fellowship at All-Souls College (*e*). In 1679, he proceeded Batchelor of Laws (*f*), and was created Doctor in the same faculty in 1685 (*gg*). Not long afterwards, our Author became a Proselyte to the Popish Emissaries employed in the University by King James II, publickly declared himself a Roman Catholic, and openly frequented the Mass-houses during the greatest part of that King's reign. In this interval he went to London (*h*), and was admitted an advocate in Doctors Commons (*i*). While he was in town, he fell into the acquaintance of some persons, whose conversation led him into a dislike of Popery. He therefore renounced that Religion in the latter end of the year 1687, and returned to Oxford; he received the Sacrament publickly in his College Chapel from the hands of the Warden on Easter-day, April 15, 1688 (*k*) [*A*]. From this time, he grew a warm opposer of some of the powers and authority claimed by the Church of England, and falling in with the Revolution, it was not long before he became a zealous Writer in defence of it. In November, 1693, he published *An Essay concerning Obedience to the Supreme Powers, and the Duty of Subjects in all Revolutions, with some Considerations concerning the present Juncture of Affairs.* The same year Count Palëoti, an Italian, having killed one of his own domesticks, who was a native likewise of Italy, protested against the power of any English Court of Law to bring him to trial for that fact (*l*). The case was referred by his Majesty to the consideration of proper Delegates, consisting of some of the most eminent persons both in Church and State, as well as Common Lawyers as Civilians. Dr Tindal was put into this Commission, where he gave some distinguishing proofs of his abilities in his profession. After this, he sat frequently as Judge in the Court of Delegates (though he rarely, if ever, practised as an Advocate in the Courts of Civil or Ecclesiastical Law) and had a pension of 200 l. per annum granted to him by the Crown (*m*). In the beginning of March, 1693, he published an *Essay concerning the Law of Nations, and the Rights of Sovereigns* [*B*]. As there had been a design on foot from the time of Dr

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1011. 2d Edit. He was presented to that living (worth 300 l. per ann.) by the university of Cambridge, in the Civil Wars. Mr Smith's account, in Memoirs of the Life, &c. of Matt. Tindal, p. 9. Edit. 1733. 8vo.

(*b*) The Second Defence of the Rights of the Christian Church, by our Author, p. 79. Lond. 1708. 8vo.

(*c*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*d*) Ibid. Fasti, Vol. II. col. 201.

(*e*) Ibid. Athen. Vol. II. ubi supra. He was qualified for this preferment according to the Founder's design of admitting only sons of Gentlemen, by both his parents. His mother, Ann Hulse, being daughter of Matthew Hulse of Efford in Devonshire, possessed of an estate of 1000 l. per ann. Small, as before.

(*f*) Ibid. Fasti, col. 211.

(*g*) Ibid. col. 227.

(*h*) Second Defence of the Rights, ubi supra.

(*i*) Communicated by the late Sir Nathaniel Lloyd, who was Fellow of the same College, and an Advocate in the Commons.

(*k*) See his Defence, &c. ubi supra. Mr Wood tells us, he returned to the Protestant religion after King James left the nation. Athen. Oxon. ubi supra.

(*l*) History of King William III, p. 171.

(*m*) Communicated by the abovementioned Gentleman.

[*A*] *Easter-day, April* 15, 1688.] Our Author alledges this renunciation of Popery at this juncture as a certain proof of his sincerity upon the point of religion. He could not, he says, but apprehend it would be his certain ruin, since the Papists had not only an army here, which the King was modelling for their purpose, but they were sure of the assistance of the great Champion of Popery, who, the Empire being engaged in a war with the Turks, might assist his dear ally with as many troops as he pleased for the extirpation of the Northern Heresy; and all things were like to go here according to their wishes; the Queen, as might be foreseen without the gift of Prophecy, was to be brought to-bed of a son; so that there was nothing to screen a Relapsed Heretic from their utmost fury. Yet this did not so much trouble him, as he was pleased with the opportunity of satisfying the world that he acted out of principles, and that, as he would not scruple to sacrifice his reputation in joining with the Papists when he thought they were in the right, so he was willing to run any hazard in quitting them as soon as he was made sensible of his error (1). This account of our Author's lapse and recovery from the Popish religion by himself, is inserted here in justice to his memory; nor indeed can the truth of it be candidly or fairly controverted. However, the same regard to truth obliges us not to suppress some instances relating to the moral part of his conduct, which shew him to have been no credit to any religion. We are assured, that his debaucheries with women became so notorious, that he was publickly reprimanded by his College as an *Egregious Fornicator*. To this purpose, the following fact is related upon the credit of a Canon Residentiary, who was one of the ejected Demys of Magdalen-College in King James the Second's time. The Doctor, it is said, got a wench to swear one of his children to a Gentleman of that College, altogether as infamous at that time as himself. The Gentleman was obliged to submit, and maintain the child: nevertheless, after some time, he got into the company of the mother, and asked her how she came to use him so, since she could not be ignorant, that he was never concerned with her in the manner that she had sworn. Her answer was, that Dr *Tindal* had got her with child, and prevailed on her to swear as she had done: Well then, my dear, replies the pious Reprover, I desire you to be so just to me, as to let me get another, and that you would swear it to him, which was immediately a bargain, and strictly executed in all its branches (2).

(1) See his Second Defence of the Rights of the Christian Church, p. 80,

(2) The Religious, Rational, and Moral Conduct of Matthew Tindal, LL. D. &c. p. 61. Edit. 1735. 8vo.

[*B*] *An Essay concerning the Law of Nations, and the Rights of Sovereigns, &c.*] A Second Edition of this Treatise was published in the same year, to which he added, 'An Account of what was said at the Council board 'by the Civilians, upon the Question, whether their Ma'jesties subjects taken at sea acting by the late King's 'Commission, might not be looked upon as Pirates? 'With Reflections on the Arguments of Sir T. P. [Thomas 'Pinfold], and Dr Ol. [Oldys].' These Civilians were both of opinion they could not, and Dr Oldys, in support of his opinion, cited the case of *Antonio*, King of Portugal, who after he had lost his Kingdom, commissioned privateers to seize upon all Spanish vessels, whom, as the Spaniards met with, they hanged indeed like Pirates. But his Author gave it as an acknowledged opinion, that if *Antonio* had ever been a rightful King (as King James had been) then the Spaniards ought not to have treated those acting under his Commission, as they might such as acted by none (3). On the other hand, Dr Littleton said, that King James now was a private person; we had no war with him, nor he with us; or if he designed to have any, *Æratium non habet*, he is not in a capacity of making war; he can neither send nor receive Ambassadors, and those who adhere to him are not enemies, but rogues, and consequently these persons are not Privateers, but Pirates. Dr Tindal was of the same opinion with Dr Littleton, and among other arguments to confirm it, observes, that this was a foreign Kingdom in respect to King James, now deposed and deprived of it, and was properly indeed of no nation. 'Why may he not (asks 'our Civilian) be punished without violation of the laws 'of nations, or injury to any nation whatever, since 'no nation owns him so much as to be of their body? 'Therefore the King, in whose dominions he is, may, 'if his crimes deserve it, punish him with loss of life, 'as Queen Elizabeth, of blessed memory, did Mary 'Queen of Scotland.' It is true, the justice of this last case has been so much controverted, as may be thought to exclude it from the place, either of a governing, or even a persuasive precedent. But our Author will be strongly defended in making use of it as a just precedent, by some new light which is thrown upon the conduct of *Mary Queen of Scots*, in a Collection of Papers containing the Examinations and Confessions of *Thomas Duke of Norfolk, John Leslie Bishop of Ross*, and their dependants; as also by the correspondencies between her and *Thomas Morgan*, her Agent in France, laying open, from a series of intercepted letters, the various schemes and designs which were carried on, both at home and abroad, in her favour, and for the destruction of the government, and even the person of Queen Elizabeth (4).

(3) Hereupon Dr Oldys was removed from his post of King's Advocate, and Dr Littleton succeeded him, who tried the persons imprisoned as Pirates, and condemned them; and some, if not all, were executed. Hist. of Trials for Capital Crimes, Vol. II. p. 513, & seq. Essay concerning the Laws of Nations, and Rights of Sovereigns, p. 17, 18.

(4) A Collection of State Papers relating to affairs in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, from 1571 to 1596, publish'd from MSS. in the library at Hatfield house, by William Morden, B. D. 1759. fol.

Tillotson's

Tillotſon's promotion to the See of Canterbury, to make ſome alterations in the Liturgy, particularly with regard to the Trinity and Athanaſian Creed (*n*), our Author, following the humour of the times, addreſſed *A Letter to the Clergy of both Univerſities concerning theſe two Articles*, which was publiſhed in the year 1694, and the following year he printed a Defence of it under this title: *The Reflections on the Twenty-eight Propoſitions, &c. in the Letter maintained againſt the Third Defence of the ſaid Propoſitions.* In 1706, he made himſelf remarkable, by publiſhing a treatiſe in 8vo, intitled, *The Rights of the Chriſtian Church aſſerted againſt the Romiſh, and all other Prieſts who claim an independent power over it: With a Preface concerning the Government of the Church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed.* The Clergy in general being alarmed at this book, ſeveral Anſwers appeared to it, the foremoſt of which were written by Mr Wotton, Chaplain to the Earl of Nottingham, and by the celebrated Dr Hickes [*C*]. A Bookſeller and his ſervant were likewiſe both indicted for ſelling it. Theſe proceedings engaged our Author to enter into the defence of his Doctrine [*D*], and the diſpute was kept up with great warmth on each ſide, till the year 1709, when Mr Oldiſworth publiſhed, in three volumes 8vo, his ingenious Piece, intitled, Timothy and Philatheus, *in which the Principles and Projects of a late whimſical Book, intitled*, The Rights of the Chriſtian Church, *are fairly ſtated and anſwered in their kinds. Written by a Layman.* From this time, the noiſe about the *Rights* was intirely drowned in the much greater cry of High-Church, occaſioned by Dr Sacheverel's Sermons. Accordingly our Author at that time publiſhed a pamphlet under the title of *New High-Church turned old Preſbyterian.* But having likewiſe publiſhed the ſame year, a ſecond edition of his Defence, both this and the *Rights* &c. were ordered by a vote of the Houſe of Commons to be burnt in the ſame flames with that famous Doctor's Sermons, upon March 25, 1710 (*o*). This occaſioned our Author to put out a pamphlet that year, intitled, *A High-Church Catechiſm*; as alſo another called, *The Jacobitiſm, Perjury, and Popery of the High-Church Prieſts*, and a third, which he named, *The Merciful Judgments of High-Church Triumphant on offending Clergymen and Others in the Reign of King* Charles I. The next year, the Lower Houſe of Convocation (where Dr Atterbury was choſen Prolocutor) having, in purſuance to a letter to that aſſembly from the Queen, drawn up a Repreſentation of the preſent State of Religion, with regard to the late exceſſive growth of Infidelity, Hereſy, and Profaneneſs, wherein it was obſerved, that the aſſerting the neceſſity of human actions, overturns the foundation of all Religion, both Natural and Revealed, and renders all notions of good or evil, of rewards and puniſhments, vain and groundleſs; Dr Tindal, in anſwer to this, publiſhed a Pamphlet [*E*], wherein he

(*n*) See article TILLOTSON [JOHN].

(*o*) See Journals of the Houſe of Commons for that year. The vote for burning the Doctor's Sermons paſſed the day before.

[*C*] *Mr William Wotton and Dr Hickes.*] The firſt of theſe wrote the following pieces: I. *The Rights of the Clergy in the Chriſtian* Church *aſſerted, in a Sermon preached at* Newport Pagnel in Buckinghamſhire, September 2, 1706, *at the Primary Viſitation of* Willian *Lord Biſhop of Lincoln.* II. *The Second Part of the Wolf ſtripped of his Shepherd's Cloathing, in anſwer to a late Book intitled, The Rights of the Chriſtian Church aſſerted,* publiſhed at Lond. in March, 1707. By the latter Gentleman, there appeared two treatiſes, '*one of the Chriſtian Prieſthood*; *the* '*other of the Dignity of the Epiſcopal Order, formerly* '*written, and now publiſhed, to obviate the erroneous* '*Opinions, fallacious Reaſonings, and bold and falſe Aſ-*'*ſertions, in a late Book, intitled,* The Rights of the Chri-'ſtian Church, *with a large Prefatory Diſcourſe, wherein* '*is contained an Anſwer to the ſaid Book. All written by* 'George Hickes, *D. D. Lond. May,* 1707.' There came out likewiſe by the ſame hand, in 1709, in 8vo. '*Three* '*ſhort Treatiſes:* viz. 1. *A Modeſt Plea for the Clergy,* '*&c.* 2. *A Sermon of the Sacerdotal Benediction.* 3. *A* '*Diſcourſe publiſhed to undeceive the People in point of* '*Tythes, formerly printed, and now again publiſhed by* '*Dr George Hickes, in Defence of the Prieſthood, and true* '*Rights of the Church, againſt the ſlanderous and reproach-*'*ful Treatment of the Rights of the Chriſtian Church.*' Beſides theſe was publiſhed, '1. *A Thorough Examination* '*of the falſe Principles and fallacious Arguments advanced* '*againſt the Chriſtian Church, Prieſthood, and Religion,* '*in a late pernicious Book, ironically intitled,* The Rights 'of the Chriſtian Church aſſerted, *&c. In a Dialogue* '*between Demas and Hierarcha. Humbly offered to the* '*Conſideration of the Nobility and Gentry of England*; *by* 'Samuel Hill, Rector of Kilmington, and Archdeacon '*of Wells,* in 8vo. in November, 1707.' '2. *Adver-*'*ſaria, or Truths oppoſed to ſome of the Falſhoods contained* '*in a Book called,* The Rights of the Chriſtian Church '*aſſerted, &c.*; *by* Conyers Place, M. A. London, '1709. 8vo.'

[*D*] *Our Author to enter into the defence of his doctrine.*] He wrote, firſt, *A Defence of the Rights of the Chriſtian Church, againſt a late Viſitation Sermon, intitled, The Rights of the Clergy in the Chriſtian Church aſſerted, preached at Newport Pagnel in the County of Bucks*; *by William Wotton, B. D. and made public at the command and deſire of the Biſhop of Lincoln, and the Clergy of the Deaneries of Buckingham, and Newport*: London, 1707, in 8vo. 2. *A Second Defence of the Rights of the Chriſtian Church, occaſioned by two late Indictments againſt a Bookſeller and his ſervant for ſelling one of the ſaid Books*; *in a letter from a Gentleman in London to a Clergyman in the Country. To which are added, two Tracts of* Hugo Grotius *on theſe Queſtions*; I. *Whether the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper may be adminiſtered where there are no Paſtors?* II. *Whether it be neceſſary at all times to communicate with the ſymbols? As alſo ſome Tracts of Mr* John Hales *of Eton*; *viz. Of the Lord's Supper*; *The Power of the Keys*; *Of Schiſm, &c. Lond.* 1707, *in* 8vo. In 1709, our Author likewiſe wrote, *A Diſcourſe for the Liberty of the Preſs, and an Eſſay concerning the Rights of Mankind in Matters of Religion*, which, together with his two Eſſays concerning Obedience, and the Laws of Nations, were printed that year in 8vo. He alſo the ſame year printed a Second Edition of his *Defence*, in which he put both Parts into one Volume, with this title, *A Defence of the Rights of the Chriſtian Church, in two Parts: Part the firſt againſt* Mr Wotton's Viſitation Sermon, preached at Newport Pagnel: *Part the ſecond, occaſioned by two late Indictments againſt a Bookſeller and his ſervant, for ſelling one of the ſaid Books*; *with ſome Tracts of* Hugo Grotius *and* Mr John Hales of Eton. The Second Edition, corrected. To which is added, *A Letter from a Country Attorney to a Country Parſon, concerning the Rights of the Church, never publiſhed before: And likewiſe* Monſ. Le Clerc's *Extract and Judgment of the ſaid Book*; *tranſlated from his* Bibliotheque Choiſie: London, printed in the year MDCCIX. It was this Edition that was burnt, as is mentioned in the text (5).

(5) Boyer's Hiſt. of the Reign of Queen Ann, fol. 1735. p. 446.

[*E*] *He publiſhed a pamphlet.*] The title runs thus: *The Nation vindicated from the Aſperſions caſt on it in a late Pamphlet*, intitled, 'A Repreſentation of the pre-'ſent State of Religion, with regard to the late exceſ-'ſive growth of Infidelity, Hereſy, and Profaneneſs, 'as it paſſed the Lower Houſe of Convocation; in two 'Parts.' In the Second Part of this Treatiſe, our Author lays it down for an undoubted maxim, that men are neceſſarily determined to love themſelves: 'Whence,' ſays he, the deſire of getting pleaſure and avoiding 'pain muſt as neceſſarily govern their actions; that 'the difference between men and angels is not that 'both alike do not neceſſarily love their own good; 'but that the latter, by having their judgments ſo much

he maintained, on the contrary, the neceſſity of human actions to be the true foundation of all Religion, without which, rewards and puniſhments would be vain and groundleſs. —In 1713, our Author turned his thoughts from Religious to Civil Concerns, and begun to try the force of his pen upon the ſubjects of State Politicks. He obſerved many people poſſeſſed with Jealouſies about the Pretender; his firſt eſſay therefore of this kind, was intitled, *A Diſſuaſive from Jacobitiſm; ſhewing, in general, what the Nation is to expect from a Popiſh King, and in particular from the Pretender.* This was preſently followed by a *Second Diſſuaſive from Jacobitiſm, wherein the Intereſt of the Clergy and the Univerſities is conſidered* (p); and the next year he wrote an anſwer to Mr Bedford's Hereditary Right of the Crown of England (q) aſſerted. In the ſame ſpirit, after the death of Queen Ann, when her Miniſtry came under examination, in 1715, the Doctor publiſhed a pamphlet, intitled, *Juſtice done to the late Miniſtry, or the Charge of their deſigning to make the Pretender King of Great Britain proved from their Conduct to be groundleſs, and the Reaſons for a Parliamentary Enquiry conſidered.* In 1716, he wrote a vindication of the Septennial Act, in defence of the Miniſtry then in being. We muſt not omit to obſerve, that our Author, as well as Mr Toland, had, from the time of King George the Firſt's acceſſion to the throne, occaſionally entertained his thoughts with the view of getting the Univerſities reformed by a Royal Viſitation. In the proſecution of this ſcheme, at the requeſt of Mr Walpole, who was now in the Adminiſtration, he drew up an account in writing, which he gave to that Gentleman, of the methods that were taken in the ſeveral Viſitations of the Univerſities in the Reign of King James II: and the Miniſtry happening to run into diviſions at the ſame time, our Author being deſired by the ſame Patron, gave him a rough draught of the Characters of the leading men in it (r). However, affairs took ſuch a turn, that preſently after he publiſhed a pamphlet in 1717, with this title: *Defection conſidered* [F], *and the deſigns of thoſe who divided the friends of the Government ſet in a true light*, wherein, among others, the Character of Mr Walpole (who, contrary to our Author's expectation, had reſigned all his poſts) was moſt rudely handled. To this, an anſwer, in 1718, was returned, in which that Gentleman declared it was plain by a manuſcript in his cuſtody, that the laſt mentioned pamphlet was written againſt another perſon; but that upon the change of the Miniſtry, that name was ſtruck out, and his put in, and that through a deteſtation of the calumny, he gave the Author a ſum of money not to publiſh it. This provoked Dr Tindal to publiſh in 8vo, the ſame year, an account of a manuſcript [G], intitled, *Deſtruction the certain conſequence of Diviſion; or the Neceſſity of a ſtrict*

(p) Mr Toland alſo publiſhed his famous pamphlet, intitled, *The Art of Reſtoring*, at the ſame time. See his article.

(q) The Hereditary Right was publiſhed in October, 1715, in the Gazette: One Harbin was the real Author; but Mr Hilkiah Bedford took it upon himſelf, and was ſentenced May the 4th, following, to ſuffer a ſevere puniſhment. See the article SMITH [GEORGE], Remark [B].

(r) An account of a manuſcript, p. 4. See Remark [G].

'the better informed, cannot commit ſuch miſtakes as 'men do. Nay, God himſelf, by the excellency of 'his nature, is neceſſarily determined to will the beſt; 'and that does not hinder, but that he is abſolutely 'free; becauſe nothing can prevent his acting as he 'pleaſes. And man is a free agent, when he is not 'hindered from putting his will in execution, though 'his will is the neceſſary reſult of his judgment (6).' It may not be amiſs to take notice here, that Anthony Collins, Eſq; in the year 1717, publiſhed *A Philoſophical Enquiry concerning Human Liberty*, where he had reaſoned in much the ſame manner as our Author does in this above mentioned paſſage; that Mr Collins's book was anſwered by Dr Samuel Clarke, in ſome Remarks ſubjoined to a Collection of Papers, which paſſed between the late learned Mr Leibnitz and Dr Clarke, relating to the Principles of Natural Philoſophy and Religion, 1717, in 8vo. to which the former found it not proper to make any reply (7).

(6) P. 6, 7. of the Nation vindicated &c.

(7) See Mr Des Maizeaux, Preface to *Recueil de diverſes pieces ſur la philoſophie, la Religion Naturelle, l'Hiſtoire, les Mathematiques, &c. par Meſſieurs* Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, *& autres auteurs celebres.* Amſterdam, 1722, two Vols. in 12mo.

[F] *Defection conſidered.*] It was anſwered in two pamphlets: 1. *The Reſigners vindicated, or the Defection reconſidered; in which the deſigns of all Parties are ſet in a true light:* by a Gentleman. London, 1718, in 8vo. 2. *The Reſigners vindicated:* Part II, and laſt: *Containing,* 1. *An Account of the Authors of the Defection*; 2. *Their falſification of Facts*; 3. *Reaſons againſt aboliſhing the 30th of January, and the 29th of May*; 4. *Characters of the Reſigners.* The Author, in the entrance of this laſt piece, obſerves, that 'it is now no ſecret 'from what hands the *Defection conſidered, &c.* came, 'though it was of the firſt conſequence to thoſe, for 'whoſe intereſt thoſe papers were publiſhed, to have 'let the Authors continue in darkneſs. Infamy ought 'to be ſurrounded with a thick cloud, when it attacks 'reputations of a ſtanding, and experienced merit. 'The arrow ſhould fly by night, when the diſcovery of 'the archer will blunt the edge of the weapon; or at 'leaſt bring a cure after the wounds it makes. Deſpe'rate indeed muſt be the cauſe that employs ſuch foul 'hands for a halter. The taſte muſt be vitiated to the 'laſt degree, that weeds a wilderneſs of poiſons for a 'noſegay, and ſends to the Fens of Ireland for per'fumers. When a man has made it the employment 'of his life, and all the ſtudy that a mean capacity, ill 'furniſhed with the helps of languages, can attain to, 'to pick up all the little objections againſt Chriſtianity 'itſelf, to ſtrike boldly at the Religion of his Country, 'deſpiſe its Worſhip, and ridicule its Worſhippers, 'what a grimace is it to ſee ſuch a one turn Champion 'for the Rights and Privileges of a Chriſtian Commu'nity, and pretend to defend that, in which he never 'believed? *Serpens niſi ſerpentem comederit non erit Draco.* 'How many venomous Writers has this wretch ſwal'lowed, to qualify him to become the formidable 'Enemy of Religion, and the Protector of a ſet of 'men, whoſe cauſe he now ſo ſtrongly ſupports? Is it 'not enough to prejudice truth itſelf, when it comes 'from ſuch a quarter? Or, what is worſe, does it not 'give ſtrong ſuſpicions, that no truth can be there? 'ſince this Author has been ſo often proved guilty of 'falſifying matters of fact, quotations induſtriouſly 'miſrepreſented, or for want of knowledge, vilely tran'ſlated.' He concludes as follows: 'Thus have I run 'through the *Defection conſidered,* without offending; 'I hope, againſt truth; and if I have taken ſome pains 'to vindicate merit from reproaches, I have performed 'a more laudable part, than the man who drudged in 'the poor work of calumny and detraction. If there 'appears any where ſomething warm and paſſionate, I 'own it the effect of contempt and indignation; when 'I ſee a wretch, who neither can write Engliſh, nor 'conſtrue Latin, make an attempt upon the good 'names of his fellow ſubjects, under the falſe colour 'of a love for his country, at the ſame time diſtating 'ſchemes of politicks to his ſuperiors; and under the 'diſguiſe of a zealot, impoſing ſcandalous notions of 'Religion on the world: All this I could not bear. 'And I profeſs, that neither a view of intereſt, nor any 'hopes of pleaſing or diſpleaſing the great, made me 'expoſe, in this manner, the numerous falſities and ab'ſurdities in his book (8).'

(8) At the end of this piece is the following advertiſement: Speedily will be publiſhed, An Account of the Learned and Political Qualifications of Dr M—w T-nd-l, from Memoirs of his Club, with a faithful Catalogue of the Pamphlets he has written, and thoſe he intends to write; dedicated to A. C. Eſq;

[G] *An Account of a Manuſcript.*] In this Account, page 2, our Author informs us, that he wrote a paper in the form of a *Dialogue between two Scholars*; whereof one was to perſonate a Whig, and the other a Tory. The Whig being ſuppoſed to know what reaſons would moſt affect the Tory, endeavours to prove it his intereſt to change ſides; the other, by arguments drawn from the wretched management, and weak conduct of ſome then in power, ſhewing they took no ſtep but what was to the prejudice of their own ſide, pretends to prove, that the Government, if other meaſures were not taken, could not long ſubſiſt; or, what was next to it, muſt throw itſelf into Tory hands for protection.

ſtrict Union between all who love the Proteſtant Government and Proteſtant Religion: written at the deſire of R—— W——, Eſq; and left with him, at his requeſt; but ſince expoſed, contrary to his promiſe, with Aſperſions on the Author of the Defection. In this pamphlet the Doctor denies the fact of having changed the perſon characterized, and charges this antagoniſt with the baſeſt treachery in betraying a ſecret, which, from the narrative he here gives of that tranſaction, was the effect of former mutual confidence and friendſhip (*s*). Notwithſtanding this, in 1721, and the two following years, he entered the liſts in defence of Mr Walpole's meaſures (who was then at the head of the Miniſtry) againſt the attacks of the Author of Cato's Letters in the *London Journal* [*H*]; and 1727 he publiſhed a pamphlet, with this title, *Corah and Moſes: being the ſubſtance of a Diſcourſe on thoſe words, I have not taken one aſs from them, neither have I hurt one of them*; where he gives the higheſt encomiums to the ſame Gentleman, under the character of Moſes, 'whoſe perſonal accompliſhments, he obſerves, were ſo great, that the Rabbies ſay, even the Egyptian faction, who hated the Miniſter, yet loved the Man; and it is plain from Scripture, his poſt did not elevate him, but he preſerved his humility, being eaſy of acceſs to all, and treating the meaneſt with the greateſt affability; and therefore he is called *meek* above all men which are upon the face of the earth.' Mr Anthony Collins, Eſq; having publiſhed, the year following, his ſcheme of *Literal Prophecy conſidered*, the Biſhop of London, Dr Gibſon, wrote his firſt *Paſtoral Letter* to the people of his Dioceſe, *occaſioned* (as the Author expreſsly declares) *by ſome late writings in favour of Infidelity*. In return to this, Dr Tindal publiſhed, in 1728, *An Addreſs to the Inhabitants of the two great Cities of London and Weſtminſter, in relation to a* Paſtoral Letter, *ſaid to be written by the Biſhop of London* to the people of his Dioceſe, &c.; and upon the Biſhop's writing a ſecond *Paſtoral Letter*, our Author publiſhed a *Second Addreſs* (*t*) ——. In 1730 came out his grand Work, intitled, *Chriſtianity as old as the Creation: or the Goſpel a Republication of the Religion of Nature*; which being immediately attacked by Dr Waterland, our Author the ſame year publiſhed a Second Edition of his *Second Addreſs to the Inhabitants &c. with Remarks on* [Dr Waterland's book, intitled] Scripture Vindicated [*I*], *and ſome other late writings*. Not long after

(*s*) An account of a manuſcript, &c. p. 1, 2, & ſeq.

(*t*) It was reprinted with alterations and additions the ſame year, in 8vo.

'The Dialogue (which at firſt had not near ſo many 'things in it, and yet had been ſeen by ſome great men) 'when it was enlarged, I ſent, ſays he, to Mr W—— 'with this compliment, *that he might ſee what his ene'mies ſaid of him, and what his friends expected from him.*' After this, at Mr W——'s invitation, he waited upon him, when that Gentleman, he ſays, having expreſſed himſelf upon the ſubject of occaſional conformity, and the reformation of the Univerſities, much to our Author's mind, told him, that if he was at leiſure, he would have him put his thoughts, with relation to the deficiencies among the great men, in writing, and ſhew it him; ſaying, it would be for his private ſatisfaction, or to that purpoſe. 'Upon which, continues he, I 'drew up an incorrect, unfiniſhed piece, intitled, *De'ſtruction &c.* and the firſt opportunity I had, put it 'into Mr W——'s hands, who neither read it before 'me, nor ever returned it. What ſhews, that he 'thought when he had got this manuſcript he had 'wherewith to hinder me from printing the Dialogue, 'is, that as ſoon as it was in his poſſeſſion, though a 'conſiderable while before he quitted his poſts, all the 'correſpondence I had with him, was wholly loſt; he 'dropped me with this cold compliment: *that I need 'not give myſelf the trouble to come to him till he ſent for 'me.* Thus, ſays our Author, have I given the ſecret 'hiſtory of a correſpondence which did not laſt long, 'it not beginning till ſome months after the King went 'abroad, and ending as before mentioned.'

[*H*] *He defended Sir Robert Walpole's meaſures againſt Cato's letters in the London Journal.*] The titles of the Pamphlets he wrote on this occaſion are: 1. *The Judgment of Dr* Prideaux *in condemning the murder of Julius Cæſar, by the conſpirators, as a moſt villainous act, maintained, and the ſophiſtry of the London Journal of December the 2d and 9th expoſed, with ſome political remarks on the Roman government.* Lond. 1721, in 8vo. 2. *A defence of our preſent Happy Eſtabliſhment, and the Adminiſtration, vindicated from the falſehood and malice of ſeveral late treaſonable Libels*, viz. Cato's *letters in the London Journal, and the Hiſtorical Account of the advantages of the* Hanover *Succeſſion, &c.* Lond. 1722, in 8vo. 3. *An Enquiry into the Cauſes of the preſent diſaffection; as alſo into the neceſſity of ſome ſtanding forces; the power of Judges and Juries in relation to Libels; and the Juſtice of the Additional tax on the Papiſts and Popiſh Recuſants; with Remarks on the diſcourſe on ſtanding armies, and other Papers of Cato the Journaliſt.* London, 1723, in 8vo.

[*I*] *Remarks on Dr Waterland's book, entitled, Scripture Vindicated.*] That Chriſtianity as old as the Creation was at leaſt artfully wrote, is inconteſtibly evident from the foils which many of its Oppugners ſuffered in attacking it. For inſtance, Dr *Waterland* ſets out thus, in his Introduction: 'His [Dr Tindal's] attacks are fee'ble, his artillery contemptible; he has no genius or 'taſte for literature, no acquaintance with the original 'languages, nor ſo much as with common criticks or 'commentators; ſeveral of his objections are pure Eng'liſh objections, ſuch as affect only our tranſlation: 'the reſt are of the loweſt and moſt trifling ſort.' And in the body of the book he calls him fool and idiot, who had neither wit, judgment, learning, or any thing elſe but dull malice, p. 31, 95. 'If this be really 'the caſe, ſays another Aſſailant (9), what is all this 'buſtle about, why all this Apparatus to foil ſo feeble, 'ſo contemptible an Adverſary. Why muſt two Emi'nent Scholars be picked out from (10) Oxford and 'Cambridge to divide the taſk between them, and re'pel, with united force, the deſpicable attacks of a 'poor Engliſh blunderer. All this Apparatus muſt 'needs perſuade us, that you have a different notion 'of his ability from what you think proper to declare: 'and, in fact, as all who talk extravagantly or infin'cerely are apt to betray themſelves, ſo you in many 'places confute yourſelf, and ſhew, that theſe pure 'Engliſh objections, which owe their riſe, as you would 'inſinuate, to the blunders of our tranſlation, deſerve 'to be conſidered in another light; ſince at ſome times 'you exclaim againſt them as being ſtale, or borrowed 'from antiquity, from the ancient enemies of religion, 'Celſus and Julian; at other times from our learned 'moderns, Marſham and Burnet, &c. and do not ſo much 'as in one ſingle inſtance prove them to be grounded 'on the miſtaken ſenſe of the original. For my own 'part, continues he, to obſerve our Engliſh proverb, 'and *give the Devil his due*, I cannot for my life diſ'cover any ſuch want of literature as you object to him; 'but, on the contrary, ſee plainly, that his work has 'been the effect of much ſtudy and reading; his mate'rials collected from a great variety of the beſt writers; 'his pages decently crowded with citations; and his 'index of authors as numerous as that of moſt books 'which have lately appeared: and, to tell you the truth, 'were it my taſk to anſwer him in the method you have 'choſen, by undertaking to vindicate every ſingle text 'of Scripture from all the exceptions that may be made 'to it, I ſhould be tempted to wiſh that he had leſs 'learning rather than more; ſince, with the ſmall ſhare 'he has, one may eaſily foreſee, by the ſpecimen you 'give us, that he will in many caſes be at leaſt a full 'match for you.' This he proceeds to confirm in ſeveral inſtances, as in the hiſtory of the fall of man, of circumciſion, and the confuſion of tongues at Babel. But here he ſuffered a like foil to that of his immediate Antagoniſt, and

(9) Dr Conyers Middleton, in a letter wrote this year to Dr Waterland, containing ſome remarks on his vindication &c.

(10) Middleton's works, Vol. II. Edit. 1752, 4to. Beſides this by Dr Waterland, another anſwer was publiſhed to Dr Tindal's book by Dr John Conybeare, Dean of Chriſt-church in Oxford, intitled, A Defence of Revealed Religion againſt the Exceptions of a late Writer, in his book, intitled, Chriſtianity as old as the Creation. To whom may be added Mr James Foſter, in his Uſefulneſs, Truth, and Excellency of the Chriſtian revelation defended; and Mr John Leland, in his Anſwer to Chriſtianity as old as the Creation. Dublin, in 2 Vols, 8vo.

after this, the Doctor began to ſink under the infirmities of old age, and a few days before his death, being prevailed upon to remove from his chambers in Gray's-Inn to lodgings in *Cold-Bath Fields* (*u*), he expired there on the 16th of Auguſt, 1733, being then Senior Fellow of All-Soul's College; which was the only preferment he ever had. He had been long afflicted with the ſtone, and his body being opened (*w*), according to his own requeſt, there was found in the *gall-bladder*, a ſtone of the ſize of a cheſnut, and in the *ductus choledochus* another ſtone, which, though of a ſmaller ſize, was big enough to prevent the paſſage of any gall, and thereby became the immediate cauſe of his diſſolution. After the opening, his body was wrapt in a ſheet of fine lead, and preſerved for a week, during which, two molds were taken from his face by Mr Rieſbrach, the Statuary, to make a buſt of him. On Thurſday, Auguſt 23, his remains were conveyed from Cold-Bath Fields in a herſe, attended by three mourning coaches, to Clerkenwell Church, and interred, according to his deſire, near thoſe of Dr Burnet, late Biſhop of Saliſbury. The corpſe was followed only by Euſtace Budgell, Eſq; (*x*), who, by the tenor of the Doctor's laſt will [*K*], was appointed

(*u*) By the perſuaſions of Mr Budgell, who hired the lodgings near his own houſe. A copy of the will of Dr Tindal, &c. 1733. 8vo. p. 22.

(*w*) By Mr Small, a Surgeon, who with Dr Dodd, a Phyſician, and formerly Fellow of All-Soul's College, attended the Doctor in his laſt illneſs. Id. p. 20.

(*x*) Id. p. 22.

and run into ſome unwarranted interpretations of Scripture, which drew him into further diſputes, that ended not to his reputation (†). It is pleaſant enough to hear Mr *Warburton*, the preſent Biſhop of Glouceſter, upon this ſubject. Having mentioned the controverſy between Dr Waterland and Mr Jackſon upon the Trinity, he proceeds *thus*: 'The worſt is, that ſuch kind of 'Writers ſeldom know when to have done. For, 'writing themſelves up into the ſame deluſion with their 'Readers, they are apt to venture out into the more open 'paths of literature, where their reputation, made out 'of that ſtuff which Lucan calls Σκότῳ ὁλόχροος*; pre- 'ſently falls from them; and their nakedneſs appears; 'and thus it fared with our two worthies. The world, 'which muſt have always ſomething to amuſe it, was 'now in good time grown weary of its play-thing, and 'catched at a new object that promiſed them more agree- 'able entertainment. *Tindal*, a kind of *baſtard Socrates*, 'had brought our ſpeculations from heaven to earth, 'and, under pretence of advancing the antiquity of 'Chriſtianity, laboured to undermine its original. 'This was a controverſy that required another manage- 'ment. Clear ſenſe, ſevere reaſoning, a thorough 'knowledge of profane and ſacred antiquity, and an 'intimate acquaintance with human nature, were the 'qualities proper for ſuch as engaged on this ſubject: 'a very unpromiſing adventure for theſe metaphyſical 'nurſlings, bred up under the ſhade of chimæras. 'Yet they would needs venture out. What they got 'by it was only to be once laughed at, and then for- 'gotten. But one odd circumſtance deſerves to be 'remembered, that though they wrote not, we may 'be ſure, in concert, yet each attacked *his* adverſary 'at the ſame time, faſtened upon him in the ſame 'place, and mumbled him with juſt the ſame toothleſs 'rage (11).'

(†) See Dr Middleton's article.

* Uniform darkneſs.

(11) Pope's *Eſſay on man*, Ep. 3. in the note to line 127. For modes of faith let graceleſs zealots fight.

[*K*] *His will.*] It was drawn up in theſe terms: 'I Matthew Tindall do make this my laſt will and 'teſtament in manner following: I give and bequeath 'unto my ſervant Hannah Anthony (12), if ſhe live 'with me at the time of my deceaſe, the ſum of fifty 'pounds ten ſhillings; and alſo I give and bequeath 'unto Euſtace Budgell, Eſq; the ſum of two thouſand 'one hundred pounds, that his great talents may ſerve 'his country. I give and bequeath unto the widow 'Lucy Price the tranſlation of Rapin's hiſtory of Eng- 'land, in fifteen volumes, by my nephew Tindall. I 'give and bequeath unto Euſtace Budgell, Eſq; my 'ſtrong box, my diamond ring, and all my manuſcript 'books, papers, and writings; and I do hereby deſire 'the ſaid Euſtace Budgell to print the ſecond part of 'Chriſtianity as old as the creation, and alſo my other 'works collected in a volume, of which I will give him 'a liſt, if I ſhould not live to print them myſelf. And 'I do hereby make the ſaid Euſtace Budgell my exe- 'cutor, to the end that no other perſon whatſoever may 'have any power over, or have any (‡) to do with my 'ſaid books, papers, and writings. And I do make 'my nephew, Nicholas Tindall, my reſiduary Legatee 'and my Executor; and I do hereby revoke all former 'wills by me made. In witneſs whereof I do hereunto 'put my hand and ſeal this ſeventh day of Auguſt, in 'the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and 'thirty-three. Mat. Tindall.

'Signed, ſealed, and publiſhed in the preſence of

'Margaret Leigh (13).

'Samuel Tuckey (14).'

(11) Pope's *Eſſay on man*, Ep. 3. in the note to line 127. For modes of faith let graceleſs zealots fight.

(12) This ſervant, in excuſe for not ſending to Mr Tindal during his Uncle's illneſs, ſaid, that Mrs Price aſſured her, that his Uncle had left him all, except a ſmall legacy to Mr Budgell; which ſtory ſhe believed, and therefore thought there was no occaſion to ſend for him. She alſo told him, that, in his illneſs, his Uncle wrote a letter to him, which was never carried to the poſt. A copy of the will of Dr Matthew Tindal, 1733.

(‡) The word [thing] is omitted in the original.

(13) The woman at whoſe houſe the Doctor lodged.

(14) Mr Budgell's ſervant.

(15) Judge Price's Relict, who, in a letter to Mr Tindal, dated the day of his Uncle's death, firſt informed him thereof, as alſo that his Uncle's will was in her hands. A copy of the will of Dr M. Tindal, &c. printed for T. Cooper in 1733, 8vo.

Mr Tindal, upon reading this paper, which was delivered to him by Mrs Lucy Price (15) in the preſence of Mr Budgell, ſuſpected it on many accounts; namely, for the ſtile, ſo different from his Uncle's; for the ſtrange expreſſion concerning Mr Budgell; for the omiſſion of a word; for being all writ with Mrs Price's own hand, and witneſſed by Mr Budgell's footman and the woman of the houſe, whoſe lodgings were recommended and hired for the Doctor by Mr Budgell; but more particularly for the extravagant legacy, ſo contrary to what his Uncle had lately told him, to his frequent and expreſs declarations to him and his friends, and to his real will, witneſſed by Gentlemen who were ready to atteſt it, and peruſed by a friend of the Doctor's about ſix weeks before. As Mr Tindal was expreſſing his ſurprize at this legacy, Mr Budgell ſteps up and tells him, he muſt not think he had all this money to pay; for the Doctor had lent him 1000l. upon bond and judgment. Accordingly, upon opening his Uncle's ſtrong box, (which was alſo delivered to him by Mrs Price) he found Mr Budgell's ſingle bond of 1000l. but all the other things in it amounted to no more than about the value of 60l. (16). This put him upon further ſearch after the Doctor's effects; to which purpoſe going to Meſſ. Snow and Pultocks, the Doctor's bankers, he was told, that the Doctor had not been poſſeſſed, at leaſt for many years, of more than 100l. Bank ſtock, and 1800l. South-ſea ſtock. That on June 2, 1732, Mr Snow ſold for him 1000l. South-ſea ſtock, and paid him in Bank notes; and on June 20, 1733, he ſold for him the remaining 800l. South-ſea ſtock, and heard him ſay afterwards, he had lent his money upon bond. Theſe circumſtances increaſed Mr Tindal's ſuſpicions of foul play. He could not believe that his Uncle would in his ſenſes give more than he was worth in one legacy, and then formally appoint him a reſiduary Legatee, as well as Executor. Wherefore he reſolved to conteſt the will; but however would firſt ſee what was become of the 1000l. received by the Doctor of Mr Snow the 2d of June, 1732; for as to the other 800l. ſtock, ſold June 20, 1733, Mr Budgell's bond being of the ſame date, it was plain he had received it, as indeed he confeſſed. In this further ſearch at the Bank he found there the aforeſaid notes, all endorſed with theſe words, *Budgell, June 3, BB*; which BB appeared to be the mark of a ſervant of Sir Francis Child and Company, to whom the Bank notes were paid by Mr Budgell the 3d of June, 1732, and for which he took promiſſory notes of Sir Francis Child and Company, payable to Euſtace Budgell, Eſq; or order. When Mr Tindal acquainted Mr Budgell, at Mrs Price's, that the Doctor was never poſſeſſed of more than 1900l. ſtock, they both ſhewed ſome concern, but ſaid they knew nothing of the 1000l. ſtock, ſold by the Doctor, June 2, 1732, nor had ever ſeen, or heard the Doctor ſpeak of, any Bank notes relating to the ſame, nor knew any thing of his lending ſuch a ſum, upon bond or other ſecurity. However, upon Mr Tindal's propoſing to renounce the will, if Budgell would agree to give him the Doctor's goods (17) and the 100l. Bank ſtock, it was agreed, upon articles, that he ſhould have immediate poſſeſſion of the goods, and alſo 145l. on condition he could trace the loſt 1000l. Mr Tindal, having ſecured the goods, told Mr Budgell he had traced the 1000l. in the manner above mentioned into his pocket, and therefore demanded performance of the articles. And, upon telling him the particulars, Budgell, after many other baffled ſubterfuges, owned that he had borrowed the money of the Doctor upon bond, but had repaid it, and torn the bond (18). And at laſt, at the inſtance of Mrs Price (19), he transferred the ſtock to Mr Tindal, as ſoon as the will was proved. Budgell, at the proving of it, took the uſual

(16) As Mr Tindal knew the Doctor's true will was kept in the ſtrong box, he aſked them if they had ſeen it, or knew what was become of it; Mrs Price anſwered, ſhe knew nothing of it.

(17) They were appraiſed at 51l. beſides the remainder of a bond from Mr Tindal's father to the Doctor, amounting to 261. which Mr Budgell gave up, p. 16.

(18) Mr Tindal intimated that this was not probable, and inſiſted, ſince Budgell had owned the receipt of the money, upon his proving how he was diſcharged of it.

(19) She inſiſted upon it with an oath. For, ſays ſhe, who brought you firſt acquainted with the Doctor, was it not I? Is not all this my doing? I ſay you ſhall comply. Id. p. 20.

appointed his teſtamentary heir, having before got poſſeſſion of his fortune (*y*), in prejudice of his nephew, and heir at law, the Reverend Mr *Nicholas Tindal*, the Tranſlator and Continuator of Rapin's Hiſtory of England.

(*y*) Thus our Deiſt's vanity, and conceit of his own parts, delivered him up a prey to the greater vanity and villany of Mr Budgell.

(20) In the Dedication to him of his Uncle's Eſſay concerning the laws of Nations and the rights of Sovereigns, dated Oct. 18, 1734.

uſual oath; but Mr Tindal, in renouncing it, refuſed to ſwear he believed it to be the Doctor's will; and afterwards conteſting it at Law, the will was ſet aſide. But he never recovered the 1000l. or any part of it, notwithſtanding Mr Curl aſſured him (20), that Lord Orrery was an Obligee in the bond with Mr Budgell. But this information, which was not made till 1734, happened, if true, to come a little too late, his Lordſhip having expired on the 28th of Auguſt the preceding year (21). P

(21) Peerage of England, Vol. V. p. 292, 293. Edit. 1756.

TOLAND [JANUS JUNIUS]. This was his true name, though he loſt it at ſchool, where his Maſter (*a*) firſt ordered him to be called John, which he himſelf retained ever after, the other being only uſed by him as a diſguiſe (*b*). He was born November the 30th, 1678 (*c*), upon a peninſula, vulgarly called *Eniſowen (d)*, in the province of *Ulſter* in Ireland, and deſcended of an ancient family in that Kingdom (*e*). He was put to ſchool at *Redcaſtle* near *Londonderry (f)*, and bred in the Roman Catholic Faith (*g*), all his relations being in that Communion; but as he was a boy of forward parts, he early ſhook off the ſuperſtition of his anceſtors, and even before he was ſixteen years of age, had grown into a warm zeal againſt Popery. Wherefore, having acquired a competent ſtock of grammar learning at ſchool, he went from thence, in 1681, to Glaſcow in Scotland, where he continued three years (*h*), after which he made a viſit to the Univerſity of Edinburgh; and having gone through the ſtatutable examinations with great applauſe there, on the 30th of June, 1690, he was created Maſter of Arts. Upon the 22d of July following he received the uſual diploma (*i*), with which he returned to Glaſcow, where he ſtaid only a few days, till he could procure a proper teſtimonial of his Religion and Loyalty (*i*) from the Magiſtrates of that town, as he had before done of his learning and morals from the Profeſſors of Edinburgh [*A*]. Thus furniſhed, after ſome ſmall deliberation (*k*), he determined to go to England. Here joining with the Diſſenters, he recommended himſelf to ſome good families of that perſuaſion, in which he lived about two years. During his reſidence amongſt them, a remarkable book, intitled, *Goſpel Truth ſtated and vindicated*, was publiſhed in 1692, by Mr *Daniel Williams*, a celebrated Diſſenting Miniſter. This piece being greatly liked by our young Student in Divinity, he ſent it to the Author of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle (l)*, whom he deſired to give an abſtract of it, acquainting him with the hiſtory of the diſpute which had occaſioned it to be wrote [*B*]. About

(*a*) His ſchool-fellows made a jeſt of it, as he was called in the ſchool-roll every morning. Life of John Toland by Des Maizeaux, prefixed to the firſt volume of his Poſthumous Works, in two volumes, 8vo. 1747.

(*b*) To the Preface of his Pantheiſticon, mentioned in the ſequel, he ſubſcribes this name for that purpoſe.

(*c*) See note [*P*].

(*d*) Its ancient name is Inis Eogain. See Toland's ſpecimen of the Hiſtory of the Druids, in a note, p. 8. in the firſt volume of his Poſthumous Works.

(*e*) See note [*EE*].

(*f*) This city ſtands upon the iſthmus of the foremention'd peninſula. Hiſt. of the Druids, ibid. ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Chriſtianity not myſterious, p. viii, ix.

(*h*) Apology for Mr Toland, p. 46.

(*i*) See note [*A*].

(*k*) It appears by his diploma, in note [*A*], that he told the Edinburgh Profeſſor, his intentions were to return to Ireland.

(*l*) It is inſerted in Tome XXIII. p. 505. where he is called Student in Divinity.

[*A*] *A certificate of his learning from the Profeſſors at Edinburgh.*] As the form of ſuch a diploma is rarely to be met with, we ſhall give a copy of it. *Univerſis et ſingulis ad quos præſentes Literæ pervenient, Nos Univerſitatis Jacobi Regis Edinburgenæ Profeſſores, ſalutem in Domino ſempiternam comprecamur: Unaque teſtamur, ingenuum hunc bonæ ſpei juvenem magiſtrum Johannem Toland Hibernum, moribus, diligentia, et laudabili ſucceſſu, ſe nobis ita approbaſſe, ut poſt editum Philoſophici profectûs Examen, ſolenni more Magiſter in Artibus Liberalibus renunciaretur in Comitiis noſtris laureatis anno ſalutis milleſimo ſexcenteſimo & nonageſimo, trigeſimo die Junii. Quapropter non dubitamus eum nunc a Nobis in patriam redeuntem, ut egregiu u adoleſcentem, omnibus quos adire vel quibuſcum verſari contigerit de meliori nota commendare, ſperantes illum (opitulante divina gratia) literis hiſce teſtimonialibus fore abunde reſponſurum. In quorum fidem inclyta civitas Edinburgum, Academiæ hujus Parens & Altrix, ſigillo ſuo publico literas ſingraphis noſtris porro confirmari juſſit.* Alexander Monro, S. S. T. D. Profeſſor Primarius. Ja. Strahan, S. S. T. D. ejuſdemque Profeſſor. D. Gregorie Math. P. J. Herbertus Kennedy, P. P. J. Drummond, H. L. P. Tho. Burnet, Ph. P. Robertus Henderſon, B. & Academiæ ab Archivis &c.

Dabamus in ſupradicto Athenæo Regio 22do die Julii, anno ſeræ Chriſtianæ, 1690. [L. S.]

That from Glaſcow is as follows:

We the Magiſtrates of Glaſcow underſubſcribing, do hereby teſtifie and declare to all whom theſe preſents may concern, that the bearer, John Toland, Maſter of Arts, did reſide here for ſome years as a Student at the Univerſitie in this citie, dureing which tyme, he behaved himſelf as one trew Proteſtant, and loyal ſubject; as witneſs our hands, at Glaſcow, the penult day of July, one thouſand ſix hundred and ninetie yeares. And the common ſeale of office of the ſaid citie is hereunto affixt.

L. S. John Leeck, George Niſbit (1).

(1) Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr John Toland: by Mr Des Maizeaux, prefixed to Toland's Miſcellaneous Works, Vol. I. p. vii, viii, ix.

[*B*] *Acquainting him with the hiſtory of the diſpute which occaſioned it.*] The whole title of Mr Williams's (2) book runs thus: *Goſpel Truth ſtated and vindicated; wherein ſome of Dr Criſp's notions are conſidered, and the oppoſite truths plainly ſtated and confirmed.* It was occaſioned by the republication of Dr Criſp's Works, about two years before, which had revived a controverſy that Mr Williams had made himſelf famous for managing againſt the Antinomian Principles, which then were breaking in, with great impetuoſity, among the Preſbyterians. This new impreſſion of ſermons appearing (at a time when the Socinian Controverſy was very hotly agitated) with additions, and twelve names of the Preſbyterian and Independent Miniſters prefixt to honour it, ſpread the Antinomian Principles to ſuch a degree, that the more ſober of the Preſbyterian Miniſters were not able to preach a ſermon, wherein either hope was aſſerted by conditional promiſes, or the fear of ſin preſſed by the divine threatnings, but they were immediately cenſured and condemned as enemies of Chriſt, and of free grace; and eſpecially were cried out upon violently by many of the Anabaptiſts and Independents: nay, one of them preaching at Pinners-Hall that repentance was neceſſary to the remiſſion of ſins, that pulpit was ſoon filled with the hardeſt cenſures againſt the Preſbyterians. Theſe proceedings incited ſome of the moſt zealous among them, called the *United Brethren*, to conſider of ſome proper expedient to obviate the growth of thoſe errors, the revival whereof, they concluded, would make their Miniſtry uſeleſs, and unity impoſſible. And Dr Criſp's book being found to be the chief ſource of this evil, at their requeſt Mr Williams undertook therefore to confute it. This he did, firſt, in a ſermon at Pinners-Hall, and afterwards in the treatiſe above mentioned, which was publiſhed in May, 1692, with the approbation of Dr *Bates*, Mr *Howe*, Mr *Aſſop*, Mr *Shower* (3), and a dozen more of the Diſſenting Miniſters, wherein they did not only atteſt the right ſtating of truth and errors therein, but recommended it as a conſiderable ſervice to the Church of Chriſt, and as a means for the reclaiming of thoſe who have been miſled into ſuch dangerous opinions, and for the eſtabliſhing any that waver in any of thoſe truths. But upon the coming forth of this treatiſe, it was obſerved, that ſuch a furious zeal againſt the Author and his book broke out, as had almoſt overſet the *United Brethren*, with their union: for in October following, a paper was delivered unto the ſaid Brethren, ſubſcribed by ſix Diſſenting Miniſters, importing a high and heavy charge againſt the Author and his work. However, the objections being looked upon, either as frivolous, or groundleſs, and ſome of the citations to be quite contrary to the letter of his expreſſions pretended to be cited, were

(2) This Mr Daniel Williams may be ſaid to have ſucceeded Mr Baxter in the management of this diſpute.

(3) This Gentleman was a particular friend of Mr Toland, both now, and long after he left the Diſſenters. He ſent the *Memorial of the State of England*, in 1705, to him for his approbation, which Mr Toland ſet a great value upon. See Miſcellaneous Works, ubi ſupra, Vol. II. p. 356.

About this time, ſeveral of the moſt eminent of theſe Proteſtants conceiving great hopes from his uncommon parts, he went, by their encouragement, to perfect his ſtudies at Leyden, where he was ſupported by them near two years (*m*). After his return to England, he preſently went to Oxford (*n*), having procured letters of recommendation [*C*] to Mr *Creech* of All-Souls College, Dr *Mill*, Principal of Edmund-Hall, Mr *White Kennet*, then a Member of that Hall, afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough, and ſeveral other learned Members of that Univerſity. Upon the credit of theſe Gentlemen, he got ſworn and admitted in the regular form into the Bodleian Library, in January 1693-4 (*o*). Having procured this favour, he did not neglect to make his own uſe of it, and proſecuted his intended ſtudies very induſtriouſly [*D*]. But he had not been here long before ſome religious notions, openly advanced, and warmly maintained by him in the coffee-houſes, were taken notice [*E*] of; whereupon he drew up a formal Confeſſion of his Faith [*F*], which giving ſome ſatisfaction, he

(*m*) See his Life, ubi ſupra, p. ix.

(*n*) He was there in December 1693. See his Poſthumous Miſcellanies, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. p. 205.

(*o*) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 292, 293.

thought not deſerving to be taken notice of. Notwithſtanding, Dr *Chauncey*, one of the Subſcribers, in a meeting of the *United Miniſters*, declared, that he would break off from their Union, becauſe they had taken no cognizance of this Paper of Objections; and the oppoſition was carried on ſo far by that party, particularly by *Mather* and *Lob*, two Independents, that when other ways, as that of writing againſt Williams, were found unſucceſsful, a perſon was appointed more narrowly to examine his books, and to collect out of them what errors he could *diſcover*; and accordingly another Paper of Objections was drawn up againſt him: and whereas, in the former paper there was not one word tending to the charge of Socinianiſm; upon this freſh examination, *that* was now thought proper to be added to the weight of other exceptions againſt him. After ſome time, the matter was referred, by both ſides, to Dr *Stillingfleet*, Biſhop of Worceſter, who gave the world a true ſtate of both theſe controverſies; wherein he cleared Mr *Williams* (as well as Mr *Baxter*) from the charge of Socinianiſm. After this Mr *Lob* and his brethren being better reconciled to Mr Williams, he, at their requeſt, printed a ſmall pamphlet, repreſenting the true ſtate of the Principles of the more ſober Independents, intitled, *An End of Diſcord*. And thus ended this controverſy among the Diſſenters (4), of which we thought it not amiſs to give this account, as it ſerves to let us ſee by what means Mr Toland procured thoſe recommendations, mentioned in the text, which he at this time carried to Oxford.

(8) The Abbé Vertot has related this as a fact in his Revolutions of the Roman Republic.

(9) A piece intitled, Obſervationes in optimos ſere Authores Græcos.

(10) Miſcellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 295, & ſeq.

(4) See Nelſon's Life of Biſhop Bull, p. 259, & ſeq. Lond. 1713. in 8vo.

[*C*] *He carried letters of recommendation.*] In a letter (5) which he wrote ſoon after his arrival to a Gentleman who was concerned in procuring theſe recommendations, he writes thus: 'I lie under great obligations to the Gentlemen who recommended me, both for the advantageous character they were pleaſed to beſtow upon me, and the ſuitable reception I met with. Mr *Creech*, in particular, has been extraordinary civil to me, and did me the honour to recommend three or four of the moſt ingenious men in the Univerſity to my acquaintance, who accordingly viſited me. The like did Dr *Mill* and Mr *Kennet*——I beg you to acquaint Mr Freke with the contents, whoſe care and favour I ſhall always endeavour to deſerve, looking upon him as the *primum mobile* of my happineſs. I forget to tell you Mr Creech is publiſhing *Lucretius* in Latin, with a paraphraſe (6) and commentary, and *Manilius* in Engliſh verſe, which will be nothing inferior to Lucretius. Dr *Mill* has already communicated his Teſtament to me, and others have already ſent me ſeveral books I only enquired after, without any deſign of making bold ſo ſoon to borrow; all which I attribute to the reſpect they owe their friends. I am conveniently and pretty reaſonably lodged at Mr Bodington's, over-againſt All-Souls College.'

(5) Miſcellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 292.

(6) It was not publiſhed till 1695, and the Manilius came out ſome time after.

[*D*] *He followed his ſtudies induſtriouſly.*] He collected materials upon various ſubjects, and compoſed ſome ſmall pieces. To the end of his *Specimen of a Hiſtory of the Druids* is ſubjoined a catalogue of ſome old Armorican Britiſh words, which he ſuppoſes to be Iriſh, chiefly from their affinity in pronunciation, at the head of which he has theſe words: '*Catalogus vocum quarundam Armoricarum quas Hibernicas eſſe deprehendi, quaſque ex libello, quem mihi mutuo dedit Cl. & Rev. Dominus Dominus Jo. Millius, S. S. T. in Academia Oxonienſi P. ibidemque Aulæ Sanctæ Edmundanæ Principalis, collegi & deſumpſi.*' This is followed with a ſhort introduction, which is dated thus: '*Oxoniæ* 19 *Decembris anno a Chriſto nato* 1693 (7).' In this Specimen, p. 4, he ſays he formed the deſign of writing that hiſtory at Oxford, and he mentions Mr *Aubrey* (afterwards Author of the Natural Hiſtory and Antiquities of Surrey) as one of his acquaintance there, who was of great aſſiſtance to him, p. 112. In his Miſcellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 28, et ſeq. there is a piece intitled, *The Fabulous Death of Attilius Regulus: or a Diſſertation proving the received Hiſtory of the Tragical Death of Marcus Attilius Regulus, the Roman Conſul, to be a Fable* (8). This is dated Oxon. Aug. 6, 1694; and Mr Toland owns, that the hint for enquiring into this ſubject was, though undeſignedly, given him by an acquaintance there. He was led to the diſcovery by a note in *Palmerius* upon the ſame ſubject in a note upon *Appion* (9).

(7) See Specimen of the Hiſtory of the Druids, in the firſt volume of his Miſcellaneous Works, p. 204, 205.

[*E*] *Some religious notions were taken notice of.*] He received a letter, dated May 4, 1694 (10), from an unknown hand, which begins thus: 'Mr Toland, The character you bear in Oxford is this; that you are a man of fine parts, great learning, and little Religion. Whether or no this be your juſt character, I cannot ſay; but this I can ſay, and am aſſured of, that if it be, it is your higheſt intereſt to reflect ſeriouſly upon the matter, and to endeavour betimes to deſerve a better. This is the whole occaſion of my writing to you, and I intreat you to receive it as it is meant——Popular eſteem, the applauſes of a coffee-houſe, or a club of prophane wits, are mean unworthy ends——Believe me, I am concerned for your ſake: methinks it is ten thouſand pities, that any one ſhould freely chooſe to be eternally wretched, or but moderately happy, into whoſe hands God hath put the means of purchaſing an exceeding weight of glory; and whom he ſeems to have deſigned to be a veſſel of honour.'——The ſame perſon, in another (11) letter, dated May 30, has theſe words: 'It is ſaid, that you are now publiſhing a piece with an intent to ſhew, that there is no ſuch thing as a myſtery in our Religion.'

(11) Ibid. p. 372.

[*F*] *He drew up a ſyſtem of his Faith.*] After having declared his belief of the immortality of the ſoul, and a future retribution, he goes on, 'I muſt therefore be 'neceſſarily of ſome Religion, and I preſume you will 'readily acknowledge it to be the Chriſtian, when I 'aſſure you, that, I. I firmly believe the exiſtence of 'an infinitely good, wiſe, and powerful Being, which 'in our language we call God, ſubſtantially different 'from the univerſe he created, and continues to govern 'by his Providence, of whom, through whom, and to 'whom are all things. II. Concerning Chriſt in particular, 'that he is God manifeſt in the Fleſh, or True God 'and Man, perfectly united, without contrariety of 'will, or confuſion of eſſence. As to his human na'ture, that according to the Prophets, he was born of 'a pure virgin, conceived by virtue of the Divine 'Spirit, and therefore ever free from all the ſinful diſ'orders of fallen man. That he roſe from the dead the 'third day after he was crucified by the Jews, and forty 'days after aſcended into heaven, from whence I ex'pect his coming at the laſt day to judge me and all the 'world: and that when he was on earth, he not only 'by his life gave us a perfect example, and by his 'doctrine an infallible rule of all that we are to do, 'ſuffer, and hope; but alſo by the ſacrifice of his death, 'reconciled to Mercy, all ſuch as do the will of his 'Father, particularly thoſe that believe his word, imi'tate his works, and accept his interceſſion. That as 'well the holy adult, deceaſed before his paſſion, as 'children dying before the uſe of reaſon, are delivered 'from death by his merits; ſo that none can be ſaved 'without a Mediator. And laſtly, that he is the only 'Ruler and Legiſlator of the Church. III. I believe 'we are ſanctified by the Divine Spirit, who worketh 'in us and with us, who directs and perfects us. I 'acknowledge the purity, excellence, and obligation 'of all the evangelical precepts, as they are com'prehended under theſe three heads, to live tempe'rately, juſtly, and piouſly; to love God above all 'things, and my neighbour as myſelf. This is the

he proceeded in compoſing his grand Work againſt 'the Chriſtian Myſteries.' However, he did not ſtay at the Univerſity till he had compleated his deſign, but going to London the following year, he finiſhed and publiſhed it there in 1696, under the title of *Chriſtianity not Myſterious: or a Treatiſe ſhewing that there is nothing in the Goſpel contrary to reaſon, nor above it, and that no Chriſtian Doctrine can be properly called a Myſtery.* Every body was alarmed at the boldneſs of this attempt: our Author thereby raiſed himſelf a crowd of adverſaries among Chriſtians of all denominations [G], and his book was even preſented by the Grand Jury of Middleſex (p). In the midſt of this clamour againſt him in England, our Author took a trip into his native country, where he arrived in the beginning of April the enſuing year (q). But here he met with much worſe fare; for his book being got to Dublin before him, he had ſcarcely ſet his foot there, when he heard himſelf warmly attacked from the pulpit, and in a little time it became ſo popular a ſubject, that it was even expected of courſe, as much as if it had been preſcribed by the Rubric (r). In the mean time, his own indiſcreet behaviour did not a little contribute to exaſperate the people [H]. Soon after his arrival, he made a viſit to Mr *William Molyneux*, who received him with great politeneſs, and was much pleaſed with his converſation (s). But the general cry ran ſo ſtrong againſt his book [I], that the

(p) See his Life, p. xvi.

(q) A Letter by Mr Molyneux to Mr Locke, dated April 6, 1697.

(r) Toland's Apology, p. 4.

(s) Mr Molyneux's Letter, ubi ſupra.

'ſum of my aſſurance of Eternal Life; in hopes where-
'of, I am now writing this unfeigned confeſſion of my
'Faith.' This letter is dated May the 7th, and in anſwer to it, his correſpondent writes, May 30 following, that *he acquieſces in theſe tokens of his ſincerity* (12).

(12) Miſcellaneous Works, Vol II. p. 302, et ſeq.

[G] *Raiſed himſelf antagoniſts among Chriſtians of all denominations.*] For inſtance, Mr Beverly, a Preſbyterian Miniſter, put out a pamphlet, intitled, *Chriſtianity the great myſtery, in anſwer to a late treatiſe, intitled,* Chriſtianity not myſterious, that is, not above nor contrary to reaſon. In oppoſition to which it is aſſerted, Chriſtianity is above created reaſon in its pure eſtate, and contrary to human reaſon as fallen and corrupted, and therefore, in a proper ſenſe, *myſtery.* Another came out, intitled *The Chriſtian belief, &c. in anſwer to a book, intitled,* Chriſtianity not myſterious. Mr *Norris* likewiſe, in his *Account of Reaſon and Faith* in relation to the myſteries of Chriſtianity, and Mr *Elys*, in a letter to Sir Robert Howard; Dr *Payne*, in ſome ſermons preached at Cambridge; Dr *Stillingfleet*, Biſhop of Worceſter, in his *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, &c. the Author of the Occaſional Paper, No. III. Mr *Miller*, in his *diſcourſe of conſcience*; Mr *Gailhard*, in his book againſt the Socinians; Mr *Synge*, in his Appendix to *The Gentleman's Religion*; all animadverted upon it. We have the remarks alſo of the celebrated Mr Leibnitz, intitled, *Annotatiunculæ Subitaneæ ad librum de Chriſtianiſmo myſteriis carente conſcriptæ*, 8 *Auguſti*, 1701 (13). On the other ſide Mr *Des Maizeaux* appears in our Author's defence. 'To affirm indeed, ſays he, that 'the Chriſtian religion has no myſteries, or nothing 'above reaſon, muſt needs appear a ſtrange paradox; 'but, as we ought not to be prejudiced, or frightned 'with words, let us examine our Author's intent and 'meaning. The word *myſtery* is always uſed in the 'New Teſtament for a thing intelligible in itſelf, but 'which could not be known without ſpecial revelation. 'And, to prove this aſſertion, he examines all the 'paſſages of the New Teſtament where the word *myſtery* 'occurs, and ſhews, firſt, that myſtery is read for the 'Goſpel, or Chriſtian religion in general, as it was a 'diſpenſation totally hid from the Gentiles, and but 'very imperfectly known to the Jews: ſecondly, that 'ſome peculiar doctrines, occaſionally revealed by the 'Apoſtles, are ſaid to be *manifeſted myſteries*, that is, 'unfolded ſecrets: and thirdly, that *myſtery* is put for 'any thing under parables or enigmatical forms of 'ſpeech. And, to ſet this matter in a clearer light, 'he obſerves, that, as in the phænomena of nature we 'neither call myſteries thoſe things which are perfectly 'unknown to us, nor thoſe whereof we can have no 'adequate idea, the ſame way of ſpeaking ought to be 'uſed in religious matters; ſince all the revealed truths 'of the Chriſtian religion, which it is neceſſary and 'beneficial for us to know, can be made as clear and 'intelligible as natural things which come within our 'knowledge and comprehenſion; and that the caſe is 'parallel, he [Mr Toland] promiſed to ſhew in another 'work, and to give a particular and rational explication 'of the reputed myſteries of the Goſpel. But he de-
'clares at the ſame time, that, if his Adverſaries think 'fit to call a myſtery whatever is either abſolutely unintelligible to us, or whereof we have but inadequate 'ideas, he is ready to admit as many myſteries in religion as they pleaſe. So far you will ſay there is no 'great harm done: it is only a diſpute about words. 'Indeed he pretends that he can give as clear an expla-
'nation of the myſteries of the Goſpel as it is poſſible 'to give of the phænomena of nature; but do not our 'Divines do the ſame thing, in attempting to give a 'rational explanation of the Trinity, the greateſt myſtery of the Chriſtian religion? Such explanations are 'the teſt of the ſoundneſs of their doctrine; and who 'knows but Mr Toland's explanation, had he given 'one, might have been orthodox?' To all this it may be eaſily anſwered in a few words, that our Orthodox Divines (to uſe his own term) never pretend to give ſuch a rational explanation of the Trinity as does not imply in it ſomething above human reaſon: what then could hinder Mr Des Maizeaux from knowing, that Mr Toland's explanation, had he given one, could not have been orthodox? One would be apt to think, from this remark of Mr Des Maizeaux, that he had ſome reaſons to know Mr Toland either was not thoroughly convinced himſelf, or elſe was capable, upon a proper occaſion (14), of explaining away his own words, and conſtruing *above reaſon* in a different ſenſe to what he knew the Orthodox Divines underſtood by them. In this light indeed the diſpute would be merely Verbal. But any ſuch ſuppoſition ſinks Mr *Toland* from a formidable Opponent into an idle inſignificant Trifler; which is not what he deſerves. In this treatiſe, chapter the third, he expreſsly aſſerts, that many miracles were wrought by Chriſt; therefore there could be nothing above reaſon in his ſenſe of the words, that is, above what reaſon teaches us concerning the force of the Divine power to controul the ordinary laws of nature by an extraordinary agency. In any explanation then that we can ſuppoſe him to have given of the reputed myſteries of Chriſtianity, as in the inſtance now before us of the Trinity, ſo as not to be above reaſon, he muſt have repreſented it in ſuch a manner, as to imply nothing which reaſon does not teach us concerning the nature and attributes of the Divine Being: whereas, if I am not much miſtaken, the Orthodox Divines (to keep to the ſame expreſſion) maintain, that we are not able to conclude, from any thing which reaſon teaches, whether, what is revealed in the Goſpel concerning this myſtery, be compatible to the nature of the Deity or no.

(13) See the Appendix to Toland's miſcellaneous works, p. 60. Vol. II.

(14) In a letter, wherein Mr Toland is making his court to Mr Harley and Lord Godolphin, he has theſe words, You will wonder all this time that I have not mentioned the Church, which is ſo much exaſperated againſt me; but as that is the heavieſt article, yet it is undoubtedly the eaſieſt conquered, and I know the infallible method of doing it. And, in a letter to Dr Tenison, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he expreſsly promiſes to reform his religion to that Prelate's liking. Ibid. p. 357, 371. By a letter of Toland's to a Clergyman, ibid. P. 373, probably written near the ſame time (viz. 1706) with that to the Archbiſhop, it appears that he had received the Sacrament.

[H] *His indiſcreet behaviour did not a little contribute to exaſperate the people.*] In a letter (15) writ to Mr Locke from Dublin by Mr Molyneux, that Gentleman, ſpeaking of Mr Toland, expreſſes himſelf thus: 'To 'be free and without reſerve to you, I do not think his 'management, ſince he came into this city, has been 'ſo prudent. He has raiſed againſt him the clamours 'of all parties, and this not ſo much by his difference 'in opinion, as by his unſeaſonable way of diſcourſing, 'propagating, and maintaining it. Coffee-houſes and 'public tables are not proper places for ſerious diſcourſes 'relating to the moſt important truths. But when alſo 'a tincture of vanity appears in the whole courſe of a 'man's converſation, it diſguſts many that may other-
'wiſe have a due value for his parts and learning.'

(15) It is dated May 27, 1697, in Locke's Works, Vol. III.

[I] *But the general cry run ſo ſtrong againſt him.*] He was attacked by Mr Peter Brown (16), ſenior Fellow of Trinity-College near Dublin, in *A letter, in anſwer to a book, intitled,* Chriſtianity not myſterious, *as alſo to all thoſe who ſet up for reaſon and evidence in oppoſition to revelation and myſtery.* This letter, we are told, contributed very much to inflame all ſorts of people againſt Mr Toland, who was repreſented by this Author as a moſt inveterate enemy to all religion, a Knight errant, one

(16) This Gentleman being afterwards made Biſhop of Cork, Mr Toland uſed to ſay, *He had made him a Biſhop.* See his life, ubi ſupra, p. xx. The ſame Author wrote a book againſt drinking of healths, which was pleaſantly ridiculed by Dean Swift at a Mayor's feaſt in Dublin. That Magiſtrate drinking a health to him, he replied very loud, I drink no healths. See more of this Biſhop in the Dean's article, Rem. [NN].

the Grand Jury was ſollicited to preſent him for it, and to gain the readier compliance, the preſentment of that of Middleſex was printed at Dublin, with an emphatical title, and cried about the ſtreets. Accordingly, the laſt day of the term he was preſented there in the Court of King's-Bench. The Jurors, however, did not ground their proceedings upon any particular paſſage in this book, moſt of them having never read it, and thoſe that did, confeſſed they did not underſtand it (*t*). But the matter did not reſt here, for in a few days after, the Lords Juſtices of that Kingdom landing from England, the Recorder of Dublin [Mr Hancock] in his congratulatory ſpeech, begged their Lordſhips would protect the Church from all its enemies, particularly from the *Tolandiſts* (*u*). Agreeably thereto, the Parliament fell upon his book [*K*], voted it to be burnt by the common Hangman, and ordered the Author to be taken into cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, and to be proſecuted by the Attorney-General at Law. Hereupon Mr Toland found it neceſſary, in the beginning of September, to withdraw himſelf out of Ireland [*L*], and to avoid the ſtorm, he came into England juſt before the paſſing of that vote (*w*). It muſt be obſerved, that the Diſſenters in Ireland were the chief promoters of all this proſecution [*M*], and as our Author had, by writing this book, loſt the greateſt part of his friends of that perſuaſion, ſo as ſoon as he got ſafe to London, he publiſhed an Apologetical Account (*x*) of the treatment he had met with in Ireland, wherein he ſpares neither the diſcipline nor worſhip of that ſect, which he there renounces, and declares himſelf a *Latitudinarian* [*N*]. Our Author's fortune had been reduced to the loweſt ebb before he eſcaped

(*t*) Mr Molyneux's letter, dated July 20, this year.

(*u*) Apology, p. 7.

(*w*) A Letter of Mr Molyneux, ubi ſupra, dated September 11.

(*x*) It is intitled, *An Apology for* Mr Toland, *in a Letter from himſelf to a Member of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland; written the day before his book was reſolved to be burnt by the Committee of Religion. To which is prefixed, a narrative, containing the occaſion of the ſaid Letter.*

one who openly affected to be the head of a ſect, and deſigned to be as famous an impoſtor as Mahomet. He likewiſe calls in the aid of the Civil Magiſtrate, and delivers Mr Toland up to ſecular puniſhment (17).

(17) In juſtice to our Author we muſt not omit to mention his tranſlation into Engliſh, from the Italian, a diſcourſe upon coins, by Signor Bernardo Davanzati, a gentleman of Florence, publiſhed by him this year, in the view of remedying the miſchiefs ariſing from the wicked practice of clipping our coin.

[*K*] *The parliament fell upon his book.*] On Saturday the 4th of Auguſt it was moved in the Committee of Religion, that the book, intitled, *Chriſtianity not myſterious*, ſhould be brought before them, and it was ordered accordingly to be done on the Saturday following. The Committee not ſitting that day, the next Saturday, Auguſt 28th, there met a very full Committee, wherein this buſineſs was a great while debated: ſeveral perſons, eminent for their birth, good qualities, or fortune, oppoſed the whole proceeding, being of opinion it was neither proper nor convenient for them to meddle with a thing of that nature. This being without much argument carried againſt them, they inſiſted, that the paſſages in the book which gave offence ſhould be read, and then the Committee was adjourned to the 4th of September. That day ſeveral Gentlemen ſpoke to the objections made to ſome paſſages in the book, after which they urged, at Mr Toland's requeſt, that he ſhould be called to anſwer in perſon, to declare the ſenſe of his book, and his deſign in writing it. Which being denied, a letter containing theſe declarations, received that morning from Mr Toland, was offered to be read by an honourable member, who went to the bar of the Houſe for that purpoſe. But this was rejected, and the Committee came immediately to theſe reſolutions; to which the Houſe agreed, after ſome debate, on Thurſday following, being the 9th of September, "That the book, intitled, Chriſtianity not myſterious, containing ſeveral heretical doctrines, contrary to the Chriſtian religion and the eſtabliſhed church of Ireland, be publickly burnt by the hands of the common Hangman. Likewiſe that the Author thereof, John Toland, be taken into the cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, and be proſecuted by Mr Attorney-General for writing and publiſhing the ſaid book. They ordered too, that an addreſs ſhould be made to the Lords Juſtices, to give directions, that no more copies of that book be brought into the kingdom, and to prevent the ſelling of thoſe already imported." The ſentence was executed on the book the Saturday following, viz. the 11th of September, before the Parliament-houſe gate, and alſo in the open ſtreet before the Town-houſe, the Sheriffs and all the Conſtables attending (18).

(18) See Toland's Apology, p. 22, et ſeq.

[*L*] *He found it neceſſary to withdraw himſelf out of Ireland.*] The day that his book was burnt, Mr Molyneux wrote to Mr Locke (19) to acquaint him, that Mr Toland was driven out of the kingdom. 'The 'poor Gentleman, ſays he, by his imprudent manage-'ment, had raiſed ſuch an univerſal outcry, that it was 'even dangerous for a man to have been known once 'to converſe with him. This made all men, wary of 'reputation, decline ſeeing him, inſomuch that at laſt 'he wanted a meal's meat, (as I am told) and none 'would admit him to their tables. The little ſtock of 'money which he brought into this country being ex-'hauſted, he fell to borrowing from any one that would 'lend him half a crown, and run in debt for his wigs, 'cloaths, and lodging.'

(19) In a letter, dated Sept. 11, 1697.

[*M*] *The Diſſenters were the chief promoters of all this proſecution.*] In a letter, dated July 20, the ſame Gentleman informs Mr Locke of this, and ſays, when he aſked one of that perſuaſion, What if a violent Church of England jury ſhould preſent Mr Baxter's books as pernicious, and condemn them to the flames by the common Executioner? That Diſſenter was ſenſible of the error, and ſaid, *He wiſhed it had never been.* Mr Molyneux, as appears from theſe letters, was very warm againſt theſe proceedings in the Iriſh parliament, where he himſelf ſat (20). Nor does Mr Locke ſpare the Diſſenters upon this occaſion. In his anſwer to the aforeſaid letter he writes, 'I think with you the Diſ-'ſenters were beſt conſider, *that which is ſauce for a* '*gooſe is ſauce for a gander*; but they are a ſet of men 'that will always be the ſame.' Mr Toland, upon another occaſion, gives us a character of ſome of his countrymen at this time, which he ſays diſcovers the original root of all this violent heat and fury againſt his book. 'When I was in Dublin, ſays he, in the year 1697, 'I walked out one day to the village of Finglaſs, and 'overtook upon the way two gentlemen of the *old Iriſh* '*ſtock*, with whom I had contracted ſome acquaintance 'at the coffee-houſe. They told me they were going 'a good way further, about a buſineſs of ſome import-'ance; and not many minutes after one of them cried 'out with joy to the other, *See Couſin! by heaven,* '*matters will go well*; pointing at the ſame inſtant to a 'Raven feeding and hopping hard by, which had a 'white feather or two in the wing that was towards us. 'The other appeared no leſs tranſported, nor would 'they ſtir, till they ſaw what way the Raven flew, 'which being to the South of them, and with a great 'noiſe, they were fully confirmed about the ſucceſs of 'their buſineſs (21).'

(20) He went chose, with Cyril Wych, for Dublin, in 1692.

(21) Specimen of the hiſtory of the Druids, in the 1ſt Vol. of his Miſcellanies, p. 241.

[*N*] *And declares himſelf a Latitudinarian.*] In anſwer to the imputation of being a rigid Nonconformiſt, Mr Toland ſays, "he will never deny but the real ſimplicity of the Diſſenters worſhip, and the ſeeming equity of their diſcipline (into which, being ſo young, he could not diſtinctly penetrate) did gain extraordinarily upon his affections, juſt as he was newly delivered from the inſupportable yoke of the moſt pompous and tyrannical policy that ever enſlaved mankind, under the name or ſhew of religion. But, when greater experience and more years had a little ripened his judgment, he eaſily perceived that the differences were not ſo wide as to appear irreconcileable; or at leaſt that men, who were found Proteſtants on both ſides, ſhould barbarouſly cut one another's throats, or indeed give any diſturbance to the ſociety about them: and as ſoon as he underſtood the late heats and animoſities did not totally (if at all) proceed from a concern for meer religion, *he allowed himſelf a latitude in ſeveral things* that would have been matter of ſcruple to him before. That his travels (22) increaſed, and the ſtudy of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory perfected, this diſpoſition, wherein he continues to this hour; for whatever his own opinion of thoſe differences be, yet he finds ſo eſſential an agreement between the French, Dutch, Engliſh, Scotch, and other Proteſtants, that he is reſolved never to loſe the benefit of an inſtructive diſcourſe in any of their churches upon that ſcore; and it

(22) After he left Leyden, he had travelled no where yet but to Oxford and Ireland.

caped from Ireland, ſo that he gladly embraced the opportunity which was thrown into his hands by the conjuncture in 1690 (y), of propoſing a method to reform the militia, in a pamphlet in 8vo, intitled, *Militia Reformed: or an eaſy ſcheme of furniſhing England with a conſtant land-force, capable to prevent or ſubdue any foreign power; and to maintain perpetual quiet at home, without endangering the Public Liberty* (z). There being a collection of Milton's Proſe-works on foot about this time, Mr Toland was pitched upon to write the life of that celebrated Author. It was both prefixed to that collection publiſhed this year in folio, and likewiſe printed ſeparately in 8vo, with this title, *The Life of John Milton, containing, beſides the Hiſtory of his Works, ſeveral extraordinary characters of Men, of Books, of Sects, Parties, and Opinions.* In this performance, he took occaſion to enter into the controverſy concerning the Author of *Icon Baſilike*, and oppoſed the then generally received opinion, which had aſcribed that Work to King Charles I; he does not ſcruple to ſtile the *whole of that report*, a notorious impoſture, and from thence ſteps forward to declare his doubt, that the ſpuriouſneſs of ſeveral books generally aſcribed, either to Chriſt or his Apoſtles, or to ſome other great perſons, was yet undiſcovered through the remoteneſs of thoſe ages, the death of the perſons concerned, and the decay of their monuments, which might give us true informations (aa). As theſe aſſertions drew ſeveral adverſaries (bb) upon him [O], he defended himſelf in a treatiſe, which for that reaſon he intitled, *Amyntor*, in which he gave a catalogue of ſuch primitive books as he concluded to be ſpurious, and likewiſe a complete hiſtory of the *Icon Baſilike*, in proof of his firſt aſſertion. The ſame year, 1699, in the ſpring, he made a trip to Holland (cc); ſoon after his return, the Duke of Newcaſtle, one of his Patrons and Benefactors (dd), having put into his hands a manuſcript containing ſome Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, Baron of Iſield in Suſſex (*), from the year 1641 to 1648; he publiſhed them by his Lordſhip's direction: and the following year, upon the encouragement of Mr Rober Harley, he reprinted Harrington's *Oceana (ee)* [P]. About the ſame time there appeared an anonymous ſatyrical pamphlet upon the Clergy, of which Mr Toland tacitly acknowledged himſelf the Author. It was intitled, *Clito, a Poem* [Q] *on the Force of Eloquence.* In the beginning of the year 1701, he publiſhed another pamphlet

(y) See the article MOYLE [WALTER]. After the peace of Ryſwic great diſputes aroſe about the number of forces to be kept up. Life of King William III, p. 310, & ſeq.

(z) Toland, in this treatiſe, appears againſt a ſtanding army.

(aa) The Life of John Milton, p. 92.

(bb) For the laſt aſſertion, ſee the article BLACKALL [OFFSPRING] in note [B].

(cc) Here he viſited Van Dale and Grævius. See Miſcellanies, ubi ſupra, Vol. II. p. 333, 335.

(dd) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 348.

(*) See his article, in remark [E].

(ee) There was a new edition printed in 1737, with an Appendix, containing alſo the polemical tracts omitted by Mr Toland.

it muſt be a civil not a religious intereſt that can engage him againſt any of theſe parties; not thinking all their private notions, wherein they diſagree, worth diſturbing, much leſs endangering, the public peace of a nation. If this, purſues he, makes a man a Nonconformiſt, then Mr Toland is one unqueſtionably (23).'

(23) Apology, p. 18, 19.

[O] *Theſe aſſertions drew ſeveral adverſaries upon him.*] As to the diſpute about the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, enough hath been ſaid already in the courſe of this work, to which we ſhall therefore only obſerve at preſent what regards Mr Toland in particular, that his account was ſent to Mr Bayle, who publiſhed it with his own approbation (24), before he had ſeen Mr Wagſtaffe's defence, which was then printed. After this Mr Wagſtaffe, in 1711, put out a third edition of his *Vindication* &c. (25). An anſwer to which was inſerted in the *Hiſtory of England during the reign of the Stuarts*, by Mr Oldmixon. Lond. 1730 (26.) In the ſecond part of his Amyntor, Mr Toland gives a catalogue of books mentioned by the Fathers, and other ancient writers, as truly or falſly aſcribed to Jeſus Chriſt, and other eminent perſons commended by Fabricius (27) and Pfaffius (28). But though, in anſwer to Mr Blackall, he profeſſes he had no view, in the paſſage cited in the text, to the books of the New Teſtament, yet he endeavoured, by ſeveral ſuggeſtions and inſinuations, to render the authority of the preſent canon ſuſpicious and precarious. In which point he was anſwered, 1. by Mr, afterwards the famous Dr, Samuel Clarke, in a ſmall tract, intitled, *Some Reflections on that part of a book called* Amyntor, &c. 2. By Mr Stephen Nye, in his *Hiſtorical Account and Defence of the Canon of the New Teſtament, in anſwer to* Amyntor. And 3. by Mr John Richardſon, in *The Canon of the New Teſtament vindicated*, in anſwer to the objections of J. T. in his Amyntor.

(24) In the ſecond edition of his Dictionary, publiſhed in 1702, article of Milton, note [N].

(25) The firſt edition was in 1693, and the ſecond in 1697.

(26) p. 347.

(27) Biblioth. Græca, lib. 4. c. 5. § 15.

(28) In Diſſertatione Critica de librorum. N. T. lectione rite inveſtiganda, c. 1. § 2.

Since the writing of this article of Toland, there has very lately (†) appeared a pamphlet, intitled, *The Life and Remains of Dean Bathurſt*, by Mr Warton, Profeſſor of Poetry in the Univerſity of Oxford; wherein, among other curious particulars, that ingenious gentleman informs us, that in the Aſhmolean Muſæum, among the manuſcripts of Aubrey the Antiquarian, there is one, very little known, but valuable. It is an account of Engliſh writers, particularly our Poets, with many of whom Aubrey was intimately acquainted, and contains ſeveral new and curious anecdotes of their lives. It was lent to Mr Wood while he was drawing up his *Athenæ*, as appears from a note of Wood to Aubrey, written in a blank leaf; but Wood, as appears from another note left by the author Aubrey, greatly caſtrated the manuſcript while in his poſſeſſion. Wood's account of Milton (29), the firſt that ever appeared in print, and which hath ſince furniſhed the ſubſtance of all the materials now extant of Milton's life, was literally taken from this manuſcript. But Wood (ſays Mr Warton) has omitted ſome circumſtances; one of which is, that Milton was actually whipped by Dr Thomas Bainbrigge, Maſter of Chriſt's college, while he was at Cambridge. This explains more fully the following paſſage in one of Milton's elegies:

(†) Viz. this preſent year 1761.

(29) In Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 28.

Nec duri libet uſque minas perferre magiſtri,
Cæteraque ingenio non ſubeunda meo (30).

(30) Eleg. lib. 2. Eleg. 15.

[P] *Upon the encouragement of Mr Robert Harley, he reprinted Harrington's Oceana.*] In a memorial (31), addreſſed to that gentleman after he was Earl of Oxford, our Author gives us an account of the ſtate of his own political principles, in which he aſſures his Lordſhip, that he means no more by liberty than a government of laws, and not of will, particularly our own excellent conſtitution of King, Lords, and Commons; yet without the *Jure-divino-ſhip* of the Prince, or the Paſſive Obedience of the Subject; the laws being to both an equal rule. As the Whigs mean no other Commonwealth, contrary to the furious and ill-affected part of the Tories; ſo I am perſuaded, ſays he, many of the Tories are far from aiming at ſetting up irreſiſtible power or indefeaſible ſucceſſion, contrary to the ſuggeſtions of ſome weak but well-meaning Whigs. The Papiſts and Jacobites are common enemies to both, and againſt theſe they muſt both join at laſt, or be ruined. Such a Commonwealth's-man I only approve, as your Lordſhip formerly was, when you encouraged me to reprint Harrington's *Oceana*, though neither of us imagined the model itſelf to be practicable. The whole title of this edition runs thus: *The Oceana of James Harrington, and his other works, ſome whereof are now firſt publiſhed from his own manuſcripts. The whole collected, methodized, and reviewed, with an exact account of his life prefixed by* John Toland, in folio. In the preface to this, which is dated Nov. 30, 1699, he ſays, I am this preſent day beginning the 30th year of my age.

(31) It is dated Dec. 17, 1711, and printed in his Miſcellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 220, et ſeq.

[Q] *Clito, a poem.*] The Editor expreſsly aſcribed it to Mr Toland, and moreover declares, that he is underſtood in the poem by *Adeiſidæmon, unſuperſtitious.* Mr Toland never openly denied either of theſe facts. *Adeiſidæmon* undertakes to undeceive mankind in reſpect to ſome religious truths, and, having mentioned the great and ſurprizing things he can perform in theſe matters, proceeds thus:

Nor will I here deſiſt; all holy cheats,
Of all religions, ſhall partake my threats;

pamphlet without his name, which he called, *The Art of Governing by Parties* [*R*]: he dedicated this book to the King, with this inſcription; *To William, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland: Stadtholder of Guelderland, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Over-Yſſel: Supreme Magiſtrate of the two moſt potent and flouriſhing Commonwealths in the Univerſe.* And ſoon after he put out *Propoſitions for uniting the two Eaſt-India Companies* [Dutch and Engliſh]: *in a Letter to a Man of Quality, who deſired the opinion of a Gentleman not concerned in either Company.* In March following, he wrote two letters to Dr *Hooper*, Prolocutor of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, where his book, *Chriſtianity not Myſterious*, and his *Amyntor*, were then under the conſideration of a Committee. But this did not ſtop the proceedings of that houſe. They extracted five propoſitions out of the firſt, and in ſubſtance reſolved, that in their judgment the ſaid book contains pernicious principles, of dangerous conſequence to the Chriſtian Religion, written on a deſign (as they conceive) and tending to ſubvert the fundamental articles of the Chriſtian Faith; that the poſitions extracted out of it, together with divers others of the ſame nature, are pernicious, dangerous, ſcandalous, and deſtructive of Chriſtianity. This repreſentation was ſent up to the Upper Houſe, who agreed with the other in their opinion of the book: however, after the moſt mature deliberations [*S*], it was there declared, that without a licence from the King, (which they had not yet received) they did not find how they could have ſufficient authority to cenſure any ſuch books. Several pamphlets came out on occaſion of this difference between the two houſes upon the extent of that Aſſembly's juriſdiction. In ſome of thoſe that were written in favour of the Lower Houſe, Mr Toland found ſuch an account of *Chriſtianity not Myſterious*, as he thought injurious to his character: for which reaſon he publiſhed *Vindicius Liberius: or Mr Toland's defence of himſelf againſt the Lower Houſe of Convocation*; *wherein, beſides his Letters to the Prolocutor, certain paſſages of the book, intitled*, Chriſtianity not Myſterious, *are explained, and others corrected, with a full and clear account of the Author's principles relating to Church and State, and a juſtification of the Whigs and Commonwealth's Men againſt all their opponents (ff).* Upon the paſſing of the new Act of Succeſſion, in June this year, 1701, occaſioned by the death of the Duke of Glouceſter, our Author publiſhed his *Anglia Libera*, wherein he aſſerts and explains the natural advantages of that act, and being reſolved to puſh his fortune *qua data via*, he took the opportunity of attending the Earl of Macclesfield, who carried the act to Hanover. Here he preſented his book to the Princeſs Sophia, and was the firſt who had the honour of kiſſing her Electoral Highneſs's hand on occaſion of the ſaid act [*T*]. Not long after his return to England, upon the calling the new Parliament, our Author publiſhed the following advertiſement in the Poſtman: 'There having been a public report as if Mr Toland ſtood for Blechingley in Surrey, it is 'thought fit to advertiſe, that Sir Robert Clayton *(gg)* has given his intereſt in that bo-

(ff) It was publiſhed in 1702, in 8vo.

(gg) This Gentleman was a great Patron of our Author, who had a particular value for him, as appears by two letters in the Miſcellanies, Vol. II. p. 318, & ſeq.

Whether with ſable gowns they ſhew their pride,
Or under cloaks their knavery they hide;
Or whatſoe'er diſguiſe they chuſe to wear
To gull the people, while their ſpoils they ſhare.

This piece was animadverted on in a pamphlet, intitled, *Mr Toland's Clito diſſected, and Fuller's plain proof of the true mother of the Prince of Wales made out to be no proof: In two letters from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in London.* This Author remarks, that Mr Toland rightly aſſumes the title of *Adeiſidæmon*, which, in downright Engliſh, is one that fears neither God nor Devil.

[*R*] *The art of governing by parties.*] The whole title is, *The Art of governing by Parties; particularly in religion, in politicks, in parliament, on the bench, and in the miniſtry; with the ill effects of parties on the People in general, the King in particular, and all our foreign affairs, as well as on our credit and trade in peace or war, &c.* In the firſt chapter he obſerves, that, till the acceſſion of the Stuarts to the imperial throne of this realm, we never knew the art of governing by parties. It was ſet on foot, ſays he, among us by the firſt of that race, and was daily improving under his ſucceſſor, till at laſt it fatally turned on himſelf, and deprived him both of his crown and life. But becauſe this execrable policy was brought to perfection under Charles II, I ſhall diſplay ſome of its worſt effects in his reign, and the diſmal influence it has on all our affairs even at this time. In the enſuing books he characteriſes ſeveral great ones of his own time, as the Lords *Somers, Halifax, Nottingham, Rocheſter, Marlborough*, and others, who happened not to be his Patrons at that time.

[*S*] *After mature deliberation.*] They conſulted with Council, who adviſed them, that by any ſuch judicial cenſure both Houſes might incur a Præmunire by 25 Hen. 8. The queſtions they put to the Lawyers were; 1. Whether the Convocation's giving an opinion concerning a book that is heretical, impious, and immoral, is contrary to any law? to which they received an anſwer in the affirmative: ſecondly, whether the poſitions they had extracted out of *Chriſtianity not myſterious* were ſuch an opinion as is contrary to any law? to which it was anſwered in the negative. Beſides this advice, they inquired what had been formerly done in ſuch caſes, and found, that, on a complaint being exhibited againſt ſome books by the Lower to the Upper Houſe in the year 1689, the learned in both the laws were of opinion they could not proceed judicially in ſuch matters (32).

(32) See Toland's Vindicius Liberius, p. 52.

[*T*] *On occaſion of the ſaid act.*] The Earl of Macclesfield was pleaſed to recommend him particularly to her Highneſs. Mr Toland ſtaid there five or ſix weeks, and, upon his departure, the Electreſs dowager and the Elector were pleaſed to preſent him with ſeveral Gold medals as an acknowledgment for his book. Her Highneſs gave him likewiſe the pictures of herſelf, the Elector, the young Prince, and of her Majeſty the Queen of Pruſſia, done in oil-colours. The Earl of Macclesfield, in his return, waited upon the King at *Loo*. 'There, ſays Mr Toland, he preſented me to kiſs his 'Majeſty's hand, and took off thoſe impreſſions which 'might have been made upon him by ſome of them 'who endeavoured to prepoſſeſs him againſt thoſe 'that were the moſt zealous for his ſervice, and the 'moſt faithful in his intereſts. My Lord himſelf went 'with a prejudice againſt me to Hanover, where he 'was thoroughly undeceived, and became my hearty 'Patron, till, juſt on his going home, he was removed 'by death from the ſervice of his country and his friends.' It muſt be obſerved, that from the time of his writing his pamphlet upon the militia, which was levelled againſt any ſtanding army, our Author had ſided with the Tories againſt the miniſtry of Lord Somers and Halifax, with whom, he ſays, he never entered into any manner of tranſactions either at home or abroad (33). Before Mr Toland's return to England, he made a viſit to the court of Berlin, where he talked openly againſt the authority of the Scripture, and had a diſpute before the Queen of Pruſſia at Charlottenburgh with Mr *Beauſobre* upon that point. This latter gave afterwards an account of the diſpute very much in his own favour. He ſays it happened in the beginning of October, 1701 (34).

(33) See a letter of his, dated London, June 26, 1705, in his Miſcellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 337, *et ſeq.*

(34) Bibliotheque Germanique, Tom. VI. p. 59, *et ſeq.*

'rough

'rough to an eminent Citizen, and that Mr Toland has no thoughts of ſtanding there, or 'any where elſe.' This advertiſement furniſhed a ſubject for the pleaſant humour of an anonymous Writer, who publiſhed a little pamphlet, intitled, *Modeſty miſtaken* [*U*]. The King's ſpeech, at the opening of the Parliament, gave our Author occaſion to publiſh, in 1702, in 8vo, *Paradoxes of State relating to the preſent Juncture of Affairs in England, and the reſt of Europe, chiefly grounded on his Majeſty's Princely, Pious, and moſt Gracious Speech.* Soon after which, King William being now known to be in an irrecoverable ſtate of ill health *(hh)*, he put out another pamphlet, containing, I. *Reaſons for addreſſing his Majeſty to invite into England their Highneſſes the Electreſs Dowager, and the Electoral Prince of Hanover, and likewiſe,* II. *Reaſons for attainting and abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales, and all others pretending any claim, right, or title from the late King James and Queen Mary: with arguments for making a vigorous war againſt France (ii).* Upon the acceſſion of Queen Ann, Mr Toland thought proper to go to the Courts of Hanover and Berlin, where he was received very graciouſly [*W*] by the Princeſs Sophia, and the Queen of Pruſſia, and had the honour to be often admitted into their converſation; and as he made a longer ſtay at Berlin than at Hanover, ſo he had frequent opportunities of waiting upon the Queen, who took a pleaſure in aſking him queſtions, and hearing his ſingular opinions. This gave him occaſion to write ſome philoſophical pieces, which he then preſented to her Majeſty. Three of theſe, after his return to England, in 1704, he printed (with ſome others) in the form of letters, inſcribed to *Serena*, i. e. the Queen of Pruſſia, who, he aſſures us, was pleaſed to aſk his opinion concerning the ſubjects of them [*X*]. In one of theſe letters *(kk)*, he maintains that the beſt, if not the only demonſtration of the ſoul's immortality, is from Divine Authority. At the ſame time he publiſhed an Engliſh Tranſlation of the Life of Æſop from the French of Mr *de Meziriac (ll)*, and dedicated to Anthony Collins, Eſq; [*Y*]. In 1705, before the election of the new Parliament, he found means to introduce himſelf into the Patronage of Mr Harley, then Secretary of

(*bb*) See the article RADCLIFFE [JOHN].

(*ii*) The acts for attainting the Pretender, and for taking the Abjuration Oath, had the Royal Aſſent by Commiſſion, on the 2d and 7th of March, and the King died on the 8th.

(*kk*) The ſecond letter, containing the Hiſtory of the Soul's Immortality among the Heathens.

(*ll*) It was prefixed to the fables of Æſop, with the moral reflections of Mr Baudouin: tranſlated from the French.

[*U*] *Modeſty miſtaken.*] The whole title runs thus: *Modeſty miſtaken; or a Letter to Mr Toland upon his declining to appear in the enſuing parliament.* He begins his Letter thus: 'Among all the news of this buſy 'ſeaſon, no report has affected me ſo peculiarly, as that 'of your inclination to fill a ſeat in the grand approach'ing Council; for I am perſuaded, that not only our 'Civil Intereſt, but our Religion, has ſome dependance 'on the iſſue of the next debates; and I have long 'known your talents, whether in Politicks or Theology, 'to be ſo weighty, as to qualify you at once for a good 'old Committee-man, and for a member of that healing 'ſynod, the Aſſembly of Divines: it was with this dou'ble juſtice to your merit that I lately confounded an 'Academical Fop, who, ſpeaking of your book-learned 'Antagoniſt, the late Biſhop of Worceſter, and gravely 'ſtiling him a body of Divinity, was by me given to 'underſtand, that what the Biſhop had in profundity, 'Mr Toland made out in latitude; and that if the one 'was *Corpus Theologiæ*, the other was *Tractatus Theolo'gico-politicus.*' See what has been ſaid in Remark [*G*] note (14).

[*W*] *He thought proper to go to the courts of Hanover and Berlin, where he was received very graciouſly.*] We have an account from himſelf what it was that called him to theſe courts at this juncture, which was to inform them of (what he then thought convenient to call) the true ſtate of the Engliſh court upon that change, which created at Hanover ſome uneaſy ſpeculations. It is in a letter quoted in remark [*Y*]. After having related the ſeries of his political conduct, from his firſt coming into the world till that time, he proceeds thus: 'Thoſe 'who paſs for Tories, without being Jacobites, are 'perfectly miſinformed about me, and if they knew 'how I repreſented them at Hanover and in Holland, 'as being really for the ſucceſſion, and in what matters 'I was of opinion they deſerved to be obliged, they 'would undoubtedly believe me no enemy of theirs, 'how little I might thereby befriend myſelf.' This was our Politician's employment there. Next he lets us know what it was that ſent him upon this errand. 'From theſe ſeveral conſiderations, continues he, you 'may eaſily infer, that in the firſt year of her Majeſty's 'reign, being a ſtranger abroad and friendleſs at home, 'I muſt needs have been in a very uncertain condition, 'were not the high-born perſons, under whoſe protec'tion I then lived, proof againſt all miſrepreſentations, 'and that they judged of things from their own know'ledge, and not by the paſſions of others, to which 'they are not ſo great ſtrangers as they are thought, or 'would ſeem. It was happy for me they had this gene'rous diſpoſition: for, at one and the ſame time, I had 'a Tory Secretary of State [Lord Nottingham] writing 'letters againſt me to foreign courts, as Agent to the 'Whigs, if not obnoxious to the law; and certain lead'ing Whigs were perſuading the ſame Princes that I 'was Mr *Harley's creature*, which was a higher crime 'by far than being a Tory. With relation to the Duke 'of Marlborough, I own, that, having known nothing 'of him but by the report of others, and being miſled 'by appearances of a conjunction between him and the 'moſt violent Tories, from whence I reaſonably ap'prehended danger to the ſucceſſion in the beginning 'of this reign, I gave myſelf, in Holland and Berlin, 'and elſewhere, ſome liberties in ſpeech——'

[*X*] *Who, he aſſures us, was pleaſed to aſk his opinion concerning the ſubjects of them.*] The Title of theſe letters runs thus: *Letters to* Serena, *containing, firſt, the origin and force of prejudices. II. The hiſtory of the ſoul's immortality among the heathens. III. The origin of idolatry, and reaſons of heatheniſm. IV. A letter to a gentleman in Holland, ſhewing Spinoza's ſyſtem of philoſophy to be without any principle or foundation. V. Motion eſſential to matter, in anſwer to ſome remarks by a noble friend on the confutation of Spinoza. To all which is prefixed a preface, being a letter to a gentleman in London, ſent together with the foregoing diſſertations, and declaring the ſeveral occaſions of writing them.* Theſe letters were animadverted on by Mr Wotton in a pamphlet, intitled, *A Letter to Euſebia, occaſioned by Mr Toland's* Letter to Serena; and the Author of the Divine legation of Moſes, B. 3. § 6. gives the third letter ſeveral hard names. Mr Toland's veracity, in aſſerting that the three firſt letters were written and preſented to the Queen of Pruſſia, has been called in queſtion; but, ſince the ſame Author (35) aſſures us, that Mr *l'Enfant* heard Mr Toland read *A diſcourſe concerning prejudices* to that Princeſs, the bare diſappointment of not meeting with any body in that court twenty years after, that could give any further account of the matter, will hardly be deemed ſufficient to juſtify ſo ſevere a cenſure as is paſſed upon it.

(35) Moſhemius de Vita ſatis & ſcriptis J. Tolandi commentatio, printed at Hamburgh, 1722, in 8vo.

[*Y*] *And dedicated it to Anthony Collins, Eſq;*] This piece ſeems to have recommended itſelf to our Author's taſte, particularly by the paradoxical opinion maintained in it, That *Æſop* was an ingenious, eloquent, and comely perſon, a Courtier, and a Philoſopher; contrary to the fabulous relation of the Monk *Planudes*, who makes him a ſtupid ſtammering buffoon, and monſtrouſly deformed. Beſides, the original was then a ſcarce book. In 1697, Dr Bentley (36), though he had heard of it, had not been able to meet with it. And Mr Bayle ſays the ſame of himſelf, in the firſt edition of his Dictionary, publiſhed the ſame year. But he had found it afterwards, and quotes it in the ſecond edition (37) of the Dictionary, which was publiſhed at the time when Mr Toland went to Holland. As to Mr Collins, our Author much courted his friendſhip, which might have been uſeful to him; but, it is well known, that Gentleman had never any opinion of the uprightneſs of his principles.

(36) In his Diſſertation, &c. at the end of Mr Wotton's Reflections on ancient and modern learning, 2d edition, p. 135.

(37) See the article Æſop, notes [*B*] and [*O*]. In the latter he tells us, that Meziriac's book was printed at *Bourg-en-breſſe*, 1632, in 40 pages in 16mo.

State,

State, by whoſe direction, he publiſhed, without any name, the *Memorial of the State of England* [*Z*], *in vindication of the Queen, the Church, and the Adminiſtration.* This being animadverted on by *Thomas Rawlins*, Eſq; an intimate friend of our Author *(mm)*, in a letter which contained ſeveral reflections upon the Duke of Marlborough's conduct the preceding campaign, as well as againſt Mr Harley. They were greatly incenſed at it, and Mr Toland was directed to anſwer it [*AA*]. This he performed, and the defence was immediately put to preſs, but ſuppreſſed after ſix or ſeven ſheets were printed *(nn)*. In 1707, he publiſhed an ancient Latin Oration, exciting the Britons to a vigorous war with France, and about the middle of the ſpring, our Author made a tour into Germany, where he went firſt to the Court of Berlin, and thence to that of Hanover; but a ridiculous incident drove him from the former, and finding, from a manuſcript communicated by Mr Harley [*BB*], his account of the court of Hanover, had given a diſguſt there, by ſome obſervations he had made in it on the territories of a neighbouring Prince, he proceeded to Duſſeldorp, where he was very graciouſly received by his Electoral Highneſs, who, in conſideration of the Engliſh pamphlet he had publiſhed [*CC*], preſented him with a golden chain and medal, and a purſe of a hundred ducats. From Duſſeldorp he went to Vienna, in hopes of engaging the Imperial Miniſters to procure the title of Count of the Empire for an eminent French Banker, then in Holland; but notwithſtanding our Agent was commiſſioned to offer good round ſums of money for this protection, which was greatly wanted by his Principal, yet all his attempts therein *(oo)* proved fruitleſs [*DD*]. Whereupon, leaving Vienna, he made a viſit to Prague in Bohemia, where he ſucceeded much better in procuring a teſtimonial [*EE*] of his birth and family, which was given him by ſome of

(*mm*) See Miſcellaneous Works of John Toland, *ubi ſupra*, Vol. II. p. 433, *et ſeqq.*

(*nn*) Life of Toland, *ubi ſupra*, p. 40.

(*oo*) Ibid. p. 42.

[*Z*] *The memorial of the ſtate of England.*] The title informs us, that this was deſigned to rectify the mutual miſtakes of Proteſtants, and to unite their affections in defence of our religion and liberty. It was written againſt the *Memorial of the Church of England*, by Counſellor *Pooley* and Dr *Drake*, which had been publiſhed with a view of influencing the people in the election of the enſuing parliament; to which end they had repreſented the Church to be in danger under the then Whig adminiſtration. In a letter to Mr Harley, dated December 14, 1705, upon the ſubject of this book, Mr Toland expreſſes himſelf thus: 'It is no ſmall 'ſatisfaction to me, that the judgment of the Queen, 'the Parliament, and the Miniſtry, do ſo unanimouſly 'concur with the book which (under your protection) 'I have publiſhed for their ſervice. As for any thing in 'it not juſt according to your ſentiments, which perhaps 'may happen in a point or two, you will have the 'goodneſs to conſider that I wanted opportunity to 'conſult you perſonally; I having finiſhed it in a very 'few days, without any to adviſe me but Mr P——, 'being in the country, and not maſter of time enough 'to poliſh the very language (38).'

(38) Toland's Miſcellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 354, 355.

[*AA*] *They were greatly incenſed at it, and Mr Toland was directed to anſwer it, which he did.*] Mr *William Stephens*, Rector of Sutton, who was found to be the Publiſher, refuſing to be an evidence againſt Mr Rawlins, was ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory. That ſentence however was afterwards remitted. Mr Toland's anſwer was compoſed under the title of *A Defence of her Majeſty's adminiſtration, particularly againſt the notorious forgeries and calumnies with which his Grace the Duke of Marlborough and the Right Honourable Mr Secretary Harley are ſcandalouſly defamed and aſperſed in a late ſcurrilous Invective*, intitled, *A letter to the Author of the Memorial of the ſtate of England.* Our Author likewiſe publiſhed this year the following pieces: 1. *Socinianiſm truly ſtated, being an example of fair dealing in Theological controverſies. To which is prefixed*, 2. *Indifference in diſputes recommended by a Pantheiſt to an Orthodox Friend*, 1705, in 4to. 3. *An Account of the courts of Pruſſia and Hanover*, ſent to a Miniſter of State in Holland, 1705, in 8vo. dedicated to the Duke of Somerſet. It was tranſlated into French, Dutch, and High Dutch. Two letters were publiſhed againſt it in Dutch. Our Author had ſome intentions to have publiſhed a more correct edition of it. In Vol. II. of his Poſthumous works, there is a tract, intitled, *The primitive conſtitution of the Chriſtian church*, which appears to be wrote about this time from theſe words: 'This, 'ſays he (p. 124.) is ſelf-evident in the diſputes about Occaſional Conformity, which divides our nation at preſent.

[*BB*] *An ancient Latin oration, exciting the Britons to a vigorous war with France, communicated by Mr Harley.*] The title is, *Oratio Philippica ad excitandos contra Galliam Britannos, maxime vero ne de pace cum victis præmature agatur, ſanctiori Anglorum concilio exhibita anno a Chriſto nato* 1514. *Authore Matthæo Cardinale Sedumenſi; qui Gallorum ungues non reſecandos, ſed penitus evellendos eſſe voluit: publica luce, Diatriba prælimiuari & Annotationibus donavit* Johannes Tolandus. He publiſhed it at the ſame time in Engliſh. The manuſcript was found by Mr Harley accidentally amongſt ſome others.

[*CC*] *In conſideration of the Engliſh pamphlet he had publiſhed.*] It was intitled, *The Elector Palatine's declaration lately publiſhed in favour of his Proteſtant ſubjects, and notified to her Majeſty. To which is prefixed an impartial account of the cauſes of thoſe innovations and grievances about religion, which are now ſo happily redreſſed by his Electoral Highneſs.* He publiſhed it at the requeſt of the Elector Palatine's Miniſter, who at that time had ſome particular reaſons to make himſelf acceptable to his maſter, as he wanted to be raiſed from the character of Reſident to that of Envoy. And being informed by Mr Toland, with whom he was intimately acquainted, of his deſign to go into Germany, he encouraged our Author to wait upon the Elector, and gave him inſtructions concerning the management of this affair (39).

(39) Life of Toland, p. 61, 62.

[*DD*] *Yet all his attempts therein proved fruitleſs.*] However, while he was here, he negotiated another affair, which turned to better account. In a memorial to the Earl of Oxford, dated December 17, 1711, he endeavours to recommend himſelf to his Lordſhip for the employ of a private Agent abroad. He has theſe words: 'They who confided to my management affairs 'of a higher nature, have found me exact as well as 'ſecret. My impenetrable negotiation at *Vienna* (hid 'under the pretence of curioſity) was not only applauded 'by the Prince that employed me, but alſo proportion-'ably rewarded (40).'

(40) Toland's Miſcellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 225.

[*EE*] *Procuring a Teſtimonial.*] Mr Toland ſeems to have met with ſome injurious reproaches upon his birth, which put him upon this errand to Prague. The Teſtimonial runs thus: '*Intra ſcripti teſtamur Dom.* '*Johannem Toland ortum eſſe honeſta nobili et antiquiſſima* '*familia quæ per plures centenos annos, ut regni hiſtoria &* '*continua monſtrant memoria, in peninſula Hiberniæ Enis* '*Oën dicta, prope urbem Londino-Derienſem in Ultonia* '*perduravit. In cujus rei firmiorem fidem nos ex eadem* '*patria oriundi propriis manibus ſubſcripſimus. Pragæ in* '*Bohemia hac die* 2 *Januarii*, 1708.

'Johannes o Neill, Superior Collegii Hibernorum.
'Franciſcus o Deulin, S. Theologiæ Profeſſor.
'Radolphus o Neill, S. Theol. Lector (41).'

(41) See Toland's life, p. v.

In a letter (42), dated January, 1708, and ſent to Vienna, Mr Toland makes a handſome mention of this favour as follows:

(42) Miſcellanies, ubi ſupra, p. 381.

'Sir,

'I have nothing to add to what I did myſelf the 'honour to write to your Excellency per poſt, but that 'the Counteſs of Starenburg is not the only perſon at 'Prague to whom I am particularly obliged: For the 'very Reverend Father Guardian, and the reſt of the 'worthy members of the Iriſh convent, were not more 'diſpoſed to do me all the good offices of humanity, 'than they were forward to ſhew me the moſt zealous 'affection of countrymen.' Mr Francis o Deulin was the bearer of this letter, whom our Author, in return,

of his Countrymen, Iriſh Franciſcans, in that city, where we ſee the honeſt Friars did then certify, under their hands and ſeal, that Mr Toland was deſcended from an honourable, noble, and moſt ancient family recorded in the Hiſtory of Ireland for ſeveral hundred years. By this time, his purſe being emptied, it was not without ſome hardſhip that he got back to Holland, in the latter end of the year 1708. Here he preſently ſet his pen to work, and publiſhed the year following, at the Hague, a volume containing two Latin Diſſertations, viz. *Adeiſidæmon ſive Titus Livius a ſuperſtitione vindicatus*, and *Origines Judaicæ ſive Strabonis de Moyſe et Religione Judaica hiſtoria breviter illuſtrata.* In the firſt of theſe diſſertations, he declares Superſtition to be no leſs deſtructive of any government, than downright Atheiſm: and in the latter, he prefers *Strabo*'s account of Moſes, and the Jewiſh Religion, before the teſtimony of the Jews [*FF*]. This year he likewiſe publiſhed, at Amſterdam, a ſecond edition of *Oratio Philippica*, &c. to which he annexed an invective againſt the Authors of a Rhapſody, publiſhed monthly at Paris, under the title of *Mercure Galant (pp)*. In 1710, he publiſhed an anonymous pamphlet in French, relating to the affair of Dr Sacheverel [*GG*]. During this abode in Holland, he had the good fortune to get himſelf introduced to *Prince Eugene* of Savoy, who gave him ſeveral marks of his generoſity *(qq)*. In the latter end of 1710 *(rr)*, he returned to England, where he found Mr Harley, now Earl of Oxford, and Lord Treaſurer, ſtill his friend *(ss)*. It was owing to the liberality of that Patron, that at this time he maintained a handſome poſt, and took a country houſe at Epſom in Surrey; he was greatly delighted with his ſituation at this place (*tt*), and publiſhed a very entertaining hiſtorico-poetical deſcription of it, in 1711 [*HH*]. However, he did not continue long in the favour of Lord Oxford [*II*], and the next year we find him writing ſeveral pamphlets on the ſide of the oppoſition to that Miniſter [*KK*]. At the ſame time he

(*pp*) He calls that Author, *Gallus Aretalogus, odium orbis & ludibrium, ſive Gallantis Mercurii Gallantiſſimus Scriptor Vapulans.*

(*qq*) See his Life, p. 65.

(*rr*) He dates a letter from York-Buildings, Feb. 9, 1710-11. Miſcellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 403.

(*ss*) See Miſcellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 40, et ſeq.

(*tt*) His houſe ſtood upon Woodcote-Green. Ibid. p. 95.

recommends to his Excellency's protection during his ſtay at Vienna.

[*FF*] *A volume containing two diſſertations, &c.*] To the firſt of theſe he prefixed, *Epiſtola quæ præfationis vices ſupplere poſſit ad D.* Antonium Collinium *Armigerum, non magis integritate morum quam ingenii dotibus conſpicuum virum.* He ſent a copy to Mr Leibnitz at Hanover, who returned an anſwer, April 30, 1709, containing ſeveral remarks upon it. He agrees with our Author in aſſerting Livy's freedom from ſuperſtition (43). As to the firſt of theſe poſitions, that Superſtition is worſe than Atheiſm, it is manifeſtly retailed from Mr Bayle, who has ſcattered it up and down in his Dictionary and other writings. Neither was Mr Bayle the Inventor of this Hypotheſis, though he adorned and improved it; Lucretius and other *eſprits bons* had maintained it. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.* Lucretius I. 81.

(43) Tite Live n'etoit-rien moins que ſuperſtitieux. Ibid. p. 283.

Illud in his rebus vereor, ne forte rearis
Impia te inire rationis elementa viamque
Indegredi ſceleris: quod contra ſæpius olim
Religio peperit ſceleroſa atque impia facta. I. 81.

(44) Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, p. 127, et ſeq. Lond. 1751, 8vo.

This ſubject is agreeably enough handled by a late writer (44).

In the latter Diſſertation our Author ridicules *Huetius*, who, in his *Demonſtratio Evangelica*, affirms, that ſome eminent perſons recorded in the Old Teſtament are allegorized in the heatheniſh Mythology. Moſes is underſtood by the name of Bacchus, Typho, Silonus, Priapus, and Adonis. Huetius was greatly provoked at this attack, and expreſſed his reſentment in a French letter, firſt publiſhed in the *Journal of Trevoux*, and afterwards printed with ſome diſſertations of Huetius, collected by the Abbot *Tilladet* (45); but theſe deſcended to perſonal abuſes on account of his illegitimacy. However, Mr Leibnitz agrees with our Author in this laſt aſſertion againſt Huetius, who, he ſays, in applying the Pagan fables to Moſes, hath ſhewn more learning than exactneſs: and Mr Des Maizeaux thinks he is not much in the wrong. On the other hand, in the Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory (46), already cited, the Author obſerves, that a perſon can be produced, who was very like to Moſes, namely Bacchus, who was an Egyptian God. Huetius, in his *Demonſtratio Evangelica*, has with much accuracy and learning, ſays he, drawn up the compariſon, and the reſemblance is ſo great in ſo many particulars, that it cannot be ſuppoſed accidental: but then, continues he, Bacchus is a poetical Deity, and the accounts of him are taken from fabulous hiſtory. *Bacchus is Moſes in diſguiſe.* The ſame Author, from a paſſage in Herodotus, lib. ii. 42. concerning the Egyptian Hercules, compared with Exodus xiii. is inclined to believe this Hercules to have been Moſes.

(45) Preface des diſſertations de Mr Huet ſur diverſes matieres de Religion & de Philologie, p. v.

(46) p. 223, 224.

[*GG*] *Relating to Dr Sacheverel.*] It is intitled, *Lettre d'un Anglois a un Hollandois au ſujet du Docteur Sacheverel, preſentement en arret par ordre des communes de la grand Bretagne, & accuſé des hauts crimes & malverſations a la barre des Seigneurs*, in 4to. Mr Toland ſent this letter the very day it was publiſhed to Mr Leibnitz, which, in a ſubſequent one, dated Feb. 14, 1710, N. S. to that Gentleman, he ſays, was wrote as an antidote againſt Dr Sacheverel's ſeditious ſermon. 'And the articles ſince exhibited againſt that Incendiary 'by the Commons ſhew, that I did not only rightly 'apprehend the ſcope of his writings, but that I no 'where ſtretched his meaning; and that his principal 'view has been the defeating the ſucceſſion in the houſe 'of Hanover. I ſhould have ſent you freely the articles 'at large, whereof I have an authentic copy; but that 'I ſuppoſe your Envoy at our court would not leave 'the Elector to the blundering abſtracts of Gazettes 'in a matter that ſo nearly and eſſentially concerns him-'ſelf and his poſterity (47).'

(47) Miſcellaneous Works, ibid. p. 388, 389.

[*HH*] *A poetical deſcription of Epſom in* 1711.] The title is, *The Deſcription of Epſom, with the Humours and Politicks of that Place, in a Letter to Eudoxa.* There is added a tranſlation of four letters out of Pliny, as a ſpecimen of a tranſlation he was about of *Pliny's Epiſtles.* All the letters he tranſlated are in the collection of his Poſthumous Works, Vol. II. p. 48, et ſeqq; where his *Deſcription of Epſom* is likewiſe inſerted, p. 91, but ſo much corrected, enlarged, and explained, that it is, as it were, a new work, and Mr Toland for that reaſon called it, *A New Deſcription of Epſom.*

[*II*] *He did not continue long in the favour of Lord Oxford.*] Lord Oxford had been a very *uſeful Friend* to him, and he was very unwillingly torn from it. He wrote a memorial to that Miniſter, wherein he lays forth all his former ſervices (*), claims his promiſe, and offers to ſerve him in any capacity that ſhould not be deſtructive of the neceſſary ſupplies he received from Hanover (48). When he found nothing would do, he wrote his Lordſhip a letter, wherein, upon certain (as his Lordſhip thought) ambiguous words he let drop about the houſe of Hanover, I utterly, ſays he, renounced his friendſhip, and conſequently all the advantages one in my circumſtances might hope from his protection. This he relates two years after, as an argument to induce a perſon, in the oppoſition to Lord Oxford's miniſtry, to take him into the like uſeful friendſhip, as one that neither was nor could be any thing but a Whig; 'that ſo by your generous care, ſays he, 'I might be put in a condition of writing as freely as 'I think (49).' In the mean time he did not fail to keep up his correſpondence with the Princeſs *Sophia.* Preſently after his return from Holland, when he applied to the Earl of Oxford to ſerve him with his head, his pen, and his heart, he takes notice to his Lordſhip, that the October club, if rightly managed, would be rare ſtuff to work the ends of any party. 'I ſent, 'ſays he, ſuch an account of thoſe wights to an old 'gentlewoman [Princeſs Sophia] of my acquaint-'ance, as, in the midſt of fears (upon the change 'of the miniſtry and talk of a peace) to make her 'laugh (50).'

(*) Particularly in having poſſeſſed the court of Hanover with an opinion of Mr Harley's abilities, and attachment to that ſucceſſion.

(48) Ibid. p. 220, et ſeq. The Memorial is dated Dec. 11, 1711.

(49) Ibid. 429, 430.

(50) Ibid. 417.

[*KK*] *Several pamphlets againſt the politicks of that Miniſter.*] I. *A Letter againſt Popery, particularly againſt admitting the Authority of Fathers or Councils in Contro-verſies.*

he undertook a new edition of Cicero's Works by ſubſcription, the plan of which he drew up, in a diſſertation intitled, *Cicero Illuſtratus, Diſſertatio Philologico-Critica: ſive Concilium de toto edendo Cicerone, alia plane methodo quam hactenus unquam factum*; but this he never publiſhed, and only printed a few copies at his own charge to diſtribute among his friends and ſubſcribers *(uu)*. He continued writing pamphlets againſt the Miniſtry in the two following years [*LL*]; in the beginning of the latter of which, among others, he publiſhed *The Art of Reſtoring: or the Piety and Probity of General Monk, in bringing about the laſt Reſtoration, evidenced from his own authentic letters; with a juſt account of Sir Roger* [Earl of Oxford], *who runs the parallel as far as he can. In a Letter to a Miniſter of State at the Court of* Vienna. There were ten editions of this pamphlet in a quarter of a year, and he was not without great apprehenſions of a proſecution [*MM*] for it. He was encouraged to take the greater liberty, as the Queen's Death was daily expected at this juncture, which would have placed the Crown upon the head of the Princeſs Sophia, then alive, of whoſe favour he judged himſelf well aſſured [*NN*]; but that Princeſs happening to die before the Queen, who likewiſe deceaſed ſhortly after, our Author, upon the acceſſion of King George I, publiſhed *The Funeral Elegy and Character of her Royal Highneſs the late Princeſs Sophia, with the Explication of her Conſecration Medal: written originally in Latin, tranſlated into Engliſh, and farther illuſtrated by* Mr Toland *(ww)*, *who has added the Character of the King, the Prince and the Princeſs.* Our Author being now more at his eaſe [*OO*], turned his thoughts more particularly

(uu) It is printed in the firſt volume of his Miſcellaneous Works, p. 231, et ſeq.

(ww) The Latin Speech was written by M. Cramer.

verſies of Religion, by Sophia Charlotte, the late Queen of Pruſſia; being an anſwer to a Letter written to her Majeſty by Father Vota, *an Italian Jeſuit Confeſſor to King Auguſtus.* There is prefixed by the Publiſher, a Letter, containing the occaſion of the Queen's writing, and an Apology for the Church of England. II. *Her Majeſty's reaſons for creating the Electoral Prince of Hanover a Peer of this realm, or the preamble to his Patent as Duke of Cambridge, in Latin and Engliſh, with Remarks upon the ſame, in 4to.* III. *The Grand Myſtery laid open; namely, by dividing of the Proteſtants to weaken the Hanover Succeſſion; and by defeating the Succeſſion, to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion.* To which is added, the Sacredneſs of Parliamentary Securities, againſt thoſe who would indirectly this year, or more indirectly the next, if they live ſo long, attack the public funds.

[*LL*] *He continued writing pamphlets the two following years.*] In 1713, he put out *An Appeal to Honeſt People againſt wicked Prieſts, or the very Heathen Laity's Declarations for Civil Obedience and Liberty of Conſcience, contrary to the Rebellious and Perſecuting Principles of the old Chriſtian Clergy, with an Application to the corrupt part of the Prieſts at this preſent time, publiſhed on occaſion of* Dr Sacheverel's *laſt Sermon.* II. Dunkirk, or Dover: *or the Queen's Honour, the Nation's Safety, the Liberties of Europe, and the Peace of the World, all at Stake, till that Fort and Port be totally demoliſhed by the French.* In 1714, beſides thoſe mentioned in the text, he publiſhed, 1. *Reaſons for naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland on the ſame foot with all other nations: containing alſo a Defence of the Jews againſt all vulgar prejudices in all Countries.* He dedicates it ironically to the Archbiſhop and Biſhops of both Provinces. 2. *A Collection of Letters, written by his Excellency,* General George Monk, afterwards Duke of Albemarle, *relating to the Reſtoration of the Royal Family, with an introduction, proving by inconteſtible evidence, that* Monk *had projected that Reſtoration in Scotland, againſt the cavils of thoſe that would rob him of the merit of this action.*

[*MM*] *He was not without apprehenſions of a proſecution.*] He wrote this piece at Epſom, and coming to town to get it printed as ſoon as it was finiſhed, he ſent a copy to a friend of the party he had now choſen, before it was publiſhed, to whom he writes thus: 'I 'flatter myſelf in this book you'll meet with more no- 'velties, than in the ordinary courſe of Poſtage I could 'have ſent in that time. Diſcourſing of Liberty, nay 'aſſerting and maintaining it, I could not but act with 'the greateſt freedom; and indeed it is impoſſible for 'a ſoul that is really fired with the love of his country, 'not to expreſs in the moſt pathetic terms a deteſtation 'for tyranny, a contempt for ſlaves, an averſion to 'traitors, and reſentment of injured truſt. But all 'this while I have not acted without caution likewiſe, 'expecting little aſſiſtance from many of thoſe that will 'be the lowdeſt to applaud me: and therefore the 'coming out of the book being fixed to next Tueſday, 'I have provided myſelf with a privacy, where I fancy 'I may be ſafe enough, till the firſt fury be overpaſt, 'if they think it adviſable to make any proſecution. 'Clipſtone is too far off, or it were the ſecureſt place in 'the world (51).'

(51) Miſcellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 431, 432.

[*NN*] *Of whoſe favour he judged himſelf ſecure.*] Speaking of his proſecution, he goes on thus: 'But 'leaving the event to time, you are to underſtand, 'that without any regard to theſe things, I am in about 'three weeks time bound for Germany, though firſt 'for Flanders, and next for Holland. I believe I ſhall 'be pretty well accommodated for this voyage, which, 'upon many accounts, I expect will be very ſhort. 'Lord! how near was my old woman being a Queen, 'and your humble ſervant being at his eaſe! All is not 'over yet, and ſome ſymptoms are promiſing enough. 'I have been the bolder upon this preſumption; nor 'am I alone, ſince all the Princes in Europe take their 'meaſures upon the ſame foot. You'll receive Mr 'Steel's *Criſis* by the ſame Carrier that delivers you my '*Art of Reſtoring*. I think it a very good book; but it 'does not anſwer the expectation of many others, who 'are good friends to him and the cauſe (52).'

(52) Miſcellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 432, 433.

[*OO*] *He turned his thoughts upon his Hiſtory of the Druids.*] In the ſpecimen of this hiſtory, p. 8, Mr Toland aſſures his Lordſhip, from all Authors, that no Heathen Prieſthood ever came up to the perfection of the Druidical, which was far more exquiſite than any other ſyſtem: as having been much better calculated to beget ignorance, and an implicit diſpoſition in the people, no leſs than to procure power and profit to the Prieſts, which is one grand difference between the true worſhip and the falſe. Afterwards he profeſſes to keep ſtrictly to truth, being the fundamental law of an Hiſtorian: but, ſays he, if in clearing up ancient rites and cuſtoms long ſince extinct, any communities or orders of men ſhould think themſelves touched, they ought not to impute it to deſign in the Author, but to the conformity of things. 'I remember, continues he, 'when complaints were made againſt Sir Robert Howard, 'that in treating of the Heathen Prieſts, he had whipt 'ſome Chriſtian Prieſts on their back; all the anſwer he 'made was only, what made them get up there? which 'anſwer I claim before hand.' Notwithſtanding this, he goes on, and ſays he leaves the Reader to make ſuch applications himſelf, ſeldom making any for him, ſince he that is neither clear-ſighted, nor quick enough of conception to do ſo, may to as good purpoſe read the Fairy-Tales as this hiſtory. Soon after King George the Firſt's acceſſion to the throne, our Author drew up a memorial to a Miniſter of State, containing ſeveral hints for mending the ſtate, the ſubſtance of which, new modelled and enlarged, with ſome additions, he publiſhed in 1717, under the following title, *State Anatomy of Great Britain, containing a particular account of its ſeveral Intereſts and Parties, their Bent and Genius; and what each of them, with all the reſt of Europe, may hope or fear from the Reign and Family of King George. Being a memorial ſent by an intimate friend to a foreign Miniſter, lately nominated to come from the Court of England.* This tract was anſwered by Dr Fiddes, Chaplain to the Earl of Oxford, and by Daniel De Foe; whereupon Mr Toland publiſhed, *The Second Part of the State of Anatomy, &c. containing a ſhort Vindication of the former Part, againſt the miſrepreſentations of the ignorant, or the malicious, eſpecially relating to our Miniſters of State, and to Foreigners, with ſome Reflections on the deſigned Clamour againſt the Army, and on the Swediſh Conſpiracy. Alſo Letters to his Grace the late Archbiſhop of Canterbury,*

cularly upon his *History of the Druids*, of which he drew up a large ſpecimen, and ſent it in three letters to Lord *Moleſworth*, in the year 1718 *(xx)*. About this time, Mr Toland finding himſelf aſthmatical, and beginning to loſe his ſtomach, took a lodging at Putney for the ſake of the country air *(yy)*. However, he uſually ſpent the greateſt part of the winter in town, where this year he publiſhed his *Nazarenus* [*PP*]. In this treatiſe our Author gives what he took to be the Original Plan of Chriſtianity, which was this: *That the Jewiſh Converts were ſtill to obſerve their own Law throughout all generations, which was not however to be obſerved by the converted Gentiles; but that both were to be united into one Body or Fellowſhip, in that part of Chriſtianity particularly, which, better than all the preparative purgations of the Philoſophers, requires the ſanctification of the Spirit, and the renovation of the inward man.* The ſame year he put out a pamphlet, intitled, *The Deſtiny of Rome* (zz) [*QQ*]. He was very much reduced in his fortunes at this time, being entirely ſupported by the bounty of his friends, the narrowneſs of which he complains of (*aaa*). Towards the latter end of the year following, Dr *Hare*, late Biſhop of Chicheſter, then Dean of Worceſter, having given an injurious repreſentation of our Author's conduct in penning ſome parts of *Chriſtianity not Myſterious*, Mr Toland publiſhed an advertiſement in the Poſtman, where vindicating himſelf from the Dean's aſperſion, he makes the charge fall heavy upon the Aſperſor. *The Dean attempted to clear himſelf in an advertiſement printed in the Daily Courant*; but did it in ſuch a manner [*RR*], as occaſioned the publiſhing of a pamphlet with this title, *A Short Eſſay upon Lying*: or *a Defence of a Reverend Dignitary, who ſuffers under the perſecution of Mr Toland for a Lapſus Calami.* About this time out Author, at the requeſt of Lord Southwell *(bbb)*, undertook to defend the Independent Juriſdiction of the Iriſh Houſe of Peers, againſt a bill then brought into the Britiſh Parliament, wherein it was declared, that there lies an appeal from any decree of the Houſe of Lords in Ireland to that of Great Britain, as the Supreme Court of Judicature, and laſt Reſort. Mr Toland, in this affair, had likewiſe the direction and aſſiſtance of Lord *Moleſworth (ccc)*, and this being the fatal South-Sea year, our Author met with a friend among the Directors, who, even without conſulting either of them (which the ſhortneſs of the time would not admit) was ſo kind as to do him the favour of making uſe of this Lord's name in his behalf for a thouſand pound ſubſcription in that fund. Our Author informs his Lordſhip, that he was offered a thouſand pounds advantage three hours after the thing was done, and thirteen hundred the 25th following; *but my benefactor aſſures me*, ſays he, *that at the opening of the books it will be worth a great deal more. You may eaſily gueſs I will be governed by him in this point. Another ſuch job* (continues he) *will make me as eaſy and independent, as I deſire, without ever ſtock-jobbing more (ddd): ſince I may buy an annuity of two or three hundred pounds; though the purchaſe of land is got up to thirty years, and if things go on at this rate, will mount much higher.* Elated with this project, it was about this time that he printed his *Pantheiſticon* (eee) *ſive Formula celebrandæ ſodalitatis Socraticæ* [*SS*]. It is written by way of Dialogue

(yy) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 275.

(aaa) In a letter, dated June 26, 1728-29, in his Miſcellanies, Vol. II. p. 445, et ſeqq.

(xx) It is printed in Vol. I. of his Poſthumous Works, p. 1, et ſeqq.

(zz) An Hiſtorical Account of the Life and Writings of the late eminently famous Mr John Toland, by one of his moſt intimate friends. Lond. 1722. 8vo. p. 90.

(bbb) Ibid. p. 458.

(ccc) Ibid. p. 462.

(ddd) His friend Sir T—— had promiſed him the like favour in the next ſubſcription, which he ſaid was to be about three months afterwards. Miſcellaneous Works, Vol. II. 464, et ſeq.

(eee) This piece is founded upon the Principles of Jordano Bruno.

(53) Mr Des Maizeaux obſerves here, that our Author uſed to prefix long titles to his books, the better, as he ſuppoſes, to recommend them to the Booksellers. Life, p. 70.

(54) The Goſpel of Barnabus is interpolated by the Mahometans. There is but one copy of it in Chriſtendom, accidentally diſcovered by me at Amſterdam, in 1709, in the library of Prince Eugene of Savoy. Miſcellanies, Vol. II. p. 381.

(55) This prophecy has been ſhewn to be a forgery by Father Meneſtrier, a Jeſuit.

(56) In his Life, p. 72.

and to the Diſſenting Miniſters of all denominations, in the year 1705-6, *about a general toleration, with ſome of their anſwers to the Author, who now offers to public conſideration what was then tranſacted for private ſatisfaction; together with a Letter from their High Mightineſſes the States General of the United Provinces on the ſame ſubject* (53).

[*PP*] *His Nazarenus*:] *Or the Jewiſh, Gentile, and Mahometan Chriſtianity; containing the Hiſtory of the ancient Goſpel of Barnabus, and the modern Goſpel of the Mahometans, attributed to the ſame Apoſtle: this laſt Goſpel being now firſt made known among Chriſtians* (54). *Alſo the Original Plan of Chriſtianity occaſionally explained in the Hiſtory of the Nazarenes, whereby divers controverſies about this Divine (but highly perverted) Inſtitution may be happily terminated; with the Relation of an Iriſh Manuſcript of the four Goſpels, as likewiſe a ſummary of the ancient Iriſh Chriſtianity, and the reality of the Keldees (an order of lay Religious) againſt the two laſt Biſhops of Worceſter.* This book was anſwered by Mr (afterwards Dr) Mangey in his *Remarks upon Nazarenus*: by Mr Paterſon, in his *Anti-Nazarenus*: by the Author [Dr Hare] of the *Difficulties and Diſcouragements, which attend the Study of the Scriptures*; and by Dr Brett, in the Preface of his *Tradition neceſſary to explain and interpret the Holy Scriptures.*

[*QQ*] *The Deſtiny of Rome*:] *Or the probability of the ſpeedy and final Deſtruction of the Pope; concluded partly from natural reaſons and political obſervations, and partly on occaſion of the famous Prophecy of Father Malachy* (55), *Archbiſhop of Armagh, in the XIIIth Century, which curious piece containing emblematical characters of all the Popes, from his own time to the utter extirpation of them, is not only here intirely publiſhed, but likewiſe ſet in a much clearer light than has ever hitherto been done.—In a Letter to a Divine of the Church of the Firſt-born.* What made him trifle away his time upon this ſubject, ſays Mr Des Maizeaux (56), I will not pretend to account for: but we have ſhewn the true reaſon in the text, which was no other but the misfortunes that attended the want of a *ſplendid ſhilling.*

[*RR*] *He did it in ſuch a manner*.] In a Poſtſcript to a Viſitation Sermon, intitled, *Church Authority*, ſays Biſhop *Hoadly*, had juſt ſuch a reſemblance to *Chillingſworth*, as Mr *Toland* has to Mr *Locke*, who, in *Chriſtianity not Myſterious*, is often quoted to ſupport notions he never dreamt of. Mr Toland, in the News-paper mentioned above, having defied him to ſhew any ſuch quotation [of which there is none] in that book, the Dean in anſwer to this, publiſhed in the Daily Courant of Feb. 3, 1720, as follows: Juſt publiſhed, the fourth edition of the Dean of Worceſter's Sermon, &c. [In the poſtſcript, l. 9, from the end, inſtead of is often quoted, read makes great uſe of Mr Locke's principles] which occaſioned the abovementioned pamphlet. Our Author, in his *Tetradymus* (57) (of which preſently) relates the whole tranſaction, wherein having produced Mr Locke's own words to falſify the Dean's charge of Mr Toland's making uſe of Mr Locke's principles, he obſerves, that it appears by the whole connexion, that this emendation was not in the Doctor's thoughts at the beginning; or, ſuppoſing it were, that it ſerves his cauſe as little as the other way of ſpeaking, ſince I proceed, ſays he, upon different principles from Mr Locke, and principles that are better, if you believe the then Biſhop of Worceſter (58). In fine, *no ſlip of the pen*, nor any of the methods laid down by an ingenious writer [A ſhort eſſay upon lying] can poſſibly ſalve the Doctor from oblique dealing, as the drawing me by the head and ſhoulders into his *pamphlet* was unneceſſary, if not ſpightful, with regard to me or ſome other. I ſay it again, that it would have been no condeſcenſion below his dignity, ſince he vouchſafed to take notice of me at all, if he had accuſed his memory, or in any other manner owned his miſtake; inſtead of having recourſe to ſhifts that deſerve a courſer name than I am willing to give them, out of the reſpect I pay him on other accounts.

[*SS*] His *Pantheiſticon, ſive Formula celebrandæ ſodalitatis Socraticæ*.] Our Author, while he was in Holland in 1709, wrote a Diſſertation *de genere loco et tempore mortis Jordani Bruni, Nolani*, which was inſcribed to Baron *Hohendorf*, to whom he ſent it at Vienna. He likewiſe ſent another copy afterwards to Mr *Leibnitz* the ſame year.

(57) page 190, et ſeq.

(58) In his third anſwer to Mr Locke.

Dialogue between the Preſident and Members of a Philoſophical Society, who are *Pantheiſts*, that is, ſuch as acknowledge no God but the Univerſe. The piece is made up in the form of Reſponſes, Leſſons, a Philoſophical Canon, and a ſort of Litany; the whole being printed both in red and black, one cannot forbear thinking it was drawn up by way of mockery to ſome Chriſtian Liturgies. It has been obſerved by one of his friends, that the Author himſelf ſeemed to have been ſenſible, that he had too much indulged his looſe imagination; ſince he got it printed ſecretly, under a diſguiſed name, at his own charge, and took off a few copies, which he diſtributed with a view of receiving preſents for them *(fff)*. Some time after, he publiſhed a book, intitled, *Tetradymus*, as containing four tracts; in the laſt of theſe, addreſſed to the Biſhop of London, having inſerted his advertiſement againſt Dr Hare, with the Doctor's anſwer, he here makes a reply to that anſwer, and concludes with an account of his own conduct and ſentiments [*TT*]. The following year, 1721, in May, Dr Hare publiſhed a book, intitled, *Scripture vindicated from the miſrepreſentations of the Lord Biſhop of Bangor*, &c. In the Preface of which, he charged our Author with having, in ſome copies of his *Pantheiſticon*, inſerted a blaſphemous prayer to Bacchus [*UU*]; but he was defended from this heavy charge by Mr Des Maizeaux, who, upon enquiry, aſſures us, Mr Toland never dreamt of writing any ſuch thing *(ggg)*. Some letters of the Earl of *Shaftſbury* to Lord *Moleſworth* having been communicated by the latter to our Author the year before, were publiſhed by him, with that Lord's conſent, this year [*WW*]. To theſe letters, he prefixed a large Introduction, wherein he gives a particular

(fff) See his Life, p. 78.

(ggg) Ibid. p. 86.

year (59). In this tract there is an account of all the works of *Jordano*, the founder of Pantheiſm. However, Mr Toland obſerves to Mr Leibnitz, that this Author's works, particularly his *Spaccio della Beſtia trionfante, ſive Beſtiæ triumphantis expulſio* (i. e. the expulſion of ſuperſtition) is not a ſecret to be communicated to every body *. In the firſt volume of Mr Toland's miſcellaneous pieces, p. 316, et ſeq. is inſerted *an account of Jordano Bruno's book of the Infinite Univerſe and Innumerable Worlds, tranſlated from the original Latin, printed in the year* 1514.

[*TT*] *An account of his own conduct and ſentiments.*] Here he ſolemnly profeſſes, that the religion taught by Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles, but not as ſince corrupted by the ſubſtractions, additions, or other alterations, of any particular man or company of men, is that which he infinitely preferred before all others. 'I do, continues he, over and over again repeat it, Chriſt and his Apoſtles, excluſive of either oral tradition or the determination of ſynods, adding, what I declared before to the world, that religion, as it came out of their hands, was no leſs plain and pure, than uſeful and inſtructive (60).' The title of this book is *Tetradymus*: containing, I. *Hodegus*; or *the pillar of cloud and fire, that guided the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs, not miraculous; but, as faithfully related in Exodus, a thing equally practiſed by other nations, and in thoſe places not only uſeful but neceſſary.* II. Clidophorus; *or, Of the Exoteric and Eſoteric Philoſophy, that is, of the external and internal doctrine of the Antients: the one open and public, accommodated to popular prejudices and the eſtabliſhed religion; the other private and ſecret, wherein to the few capable and diſcreet was taught the real truth, ſtript of all diſguiſes.* III. Hypatia; *or, The hiſtory of a moſt beautiful, moſt virtuous, moſt learned, and every way accompliſhed Lady; who was torn to pieces by the Clergy of Alexandria, to gratify the pride, emulation, and cruelty of their Archbiſhop Cyril, commonly but undeſervedly ſtiled St Cyril.* IV. Mangonentes; *being a defence of Nazarenus, addreſſed to the right reverend John Lord Biſhop of London, againſt his Lordſhip's Chaplain, Dr* Mangey, *his Dedicator, Mr* Paterſon, *and, who ought to have been named firſt, the reverend Dr* Brett, *once belonging to his Lordſhip's church.* The firſt diſſertation was anſwered in a pamphlet, called *Hodegus confuted*; or *a plain demonſtration that the pillar of cloud and fire, that guided the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs, was not a fire of human preparation, but the moſt miraculous preſence of God.* 1721, 8vo. And in *A diſcourſe upon the pillar of cloud and fire which guided the Iſraelites through the wilderneſs, proving it to have been miraculous: occaſioned by a diſſertation of Mr Toland's, called* Hodegus. *Inſerted in the Bibliotheca literaria, &c. 1723, Numb. V. p. 1, et ſeq.*

[*UU*] *A blaſphemous prayer to Bacchus.*] The Doctor introduces it thus: ſpeaking of the *conſtitutions of Carolina*, he obſerves, that by one of the articles none are excluded from ſettling in that country on account of their opinions, but downright Atheiſts, ſuch as the impious Author of the *Pantheiſticon*. To this paſſage, at the bottom of the page [xxi], he inſerts the following note: 'This Atheiſtical writer, not content with what he has dared to print in this profane piece, has, I am told, in ſome copies inſerted a prayer in manuſcript in theſe or the like words, *Omnipotens & ſempiterne Bacche, qui hominum corda donis tuis recreas, concede, propitius, ut qui heſternis poculis ægroti facti ſunt, hodiernis curentur, & per pocula poculorum.* How to fill up the blank I have left I do not remember. Thus prays this impudent Pantheiſt, whoſe impudent blaſphemies loudly call for the animadverſions of the civil power.' And, upon further intelligence, he inſerted this advertiſement in the *Errata*: 'The prayer to Bacchus, p. xxi, being, to the beſt of my remembrance, in the very words in which I have heard it repeated more than once by the ſame perſon; and yet differing much in expreſſion from two written copies I have lately ſeen (which alſo differ from each other) I thought it would not be unacceptable to the reader to give him the following copy, which, whatever the other be, I can aſſure him is from an original: *Omnipotens & ſempiterne Bacche, qui humanam ſocietatem maxime in bibendo conſtituiſti, concede, propitius, ut iſtorum capita, qui heſterna compotatione græventur, hodierna leventur; idque fiat per pocula poculorum. Amen.*'

[*WW*] *Were publiſhed with that Lord's conſent this year.*] This is collected from a letter (61) of Lord Moleſworth to our Author, the firſt paragraph of which runs thus:

'To Mr Toland.

'Brechenſton, near Dublin, June 25, 1720.

'Sir,

'I ſhould be glad that any thing my Lord Caſtleton met with in my Lord Shaftſbury's letters to me would encourage him to try for heirs to his honours and eſtate: I think he owes ſo much to his family and country. I was always of your opinion, that thoſe letters were very valuable for the reaſons you give, and had it in my thoughts that it would be a good thing to publiſh them. But, upon farther conſideration, that my Lord Shaftſbury's relations might take it amiſs that I divulge family ſecrets, and that it would be conſtrued a piece of vanity (now much in uſe) for me to print my own commendations (as you know there are ſuch in ſeveral of thoſe letters), I concluded it better to have ſuch publication deferred till after my death. If you have any good reaſons to think otherwiſe, let me know them. You may, if you think fitting, communicate them to Mr Collins, and take his opinion of them. I own I am proud enough of having been not only ſo intimate with that great man, but to have had a hand in the firſt forming of his mind to virtue. There are other great miniſters now living, for whom I endeavoured as much; but, as they have forgot it, ſo will I. The Lord Shaftſbury was of a different temper, and carried on his friendſhip to my ſons, the eldeſt of whom did him ſignal ſervice in Italy, where at Naples he died.'

To this if we add Lord Moleſworth's extraordinary kindneſs afterwards to Mr Toland in his ſickneſs, there is no room to ſuppoſe the publication was made without that Lord's privity and conſent. This Lord ſent frequent meſſages and billets to Mr Toland, while he lay ill at Putney. In one of the latter (63) he writes thus:

'To

(59) Miſcellaneous Works, Vol. I. p. 304, et ſeq. et Vol. II p. 395.

* This book was ſo ſcarce, that it was ſeldom ſold for leſs than 50 l. This we are told by Niceron, Hom. Illuſt. tome 17. p. 211. However, hence it appears, that Mr Toland's copy was not the only one extant, as he imagined.

(60) Tetradymus, p. 223.

(61) In the ſecond volume of his Poſthumous works, ubi ſupra, p. 461.

(62) Theſe letters turn chiefly upon two points, the love of one's country, and the choice of a wife.

(63) In his Miſcellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 484.

cular account of Lord Shaftſbury's principles and conduct *(hhh)*, with reſpect to public affairs. It was now four years that Mr Toland had been in a declining ſtate of health, and this year, about December, he grew much worſe, and finding little or no relief from the aſſiſtance of his Apothecary, he took the advice of a friend *(iii)*, and ſent for Mr *Woodward*, who, not judging rightly of the true ſtate of his caſe, brought a continual vomiting and looſeneſs upon him, by which he grew a great deal worſe *(kkk)*, and not without difficulty got to his lodgings at Putney on the Saturday before Chriſtmas-day. Here he continued ſo ill, as to be wholly confined to his chamber till the end of January, when he began to grow perceptibly better *(lll)*, and in a few weeks got ſo well, as to entertain hopes of a recovery. In this interval, he wrote his diſſertation, intitled, *Phyſic without Phyſicians*, to ſhew the danger of truſting Phyſicians, while every man may eaſily be his own Phyſician. He likewiſe prepared a Preface to be prefixed before a pamphlet, called *The Danger of Mercenary Parliaments*, which was to be reprinted againſt the approaching Election of a new Parliament; but in the latter end of February *(mmm)*, he relapſed into all his former ſymptoms, being ſeized with his old pains in his thighs, reigns, and ſtomach, with a total loſs of appetite, and hourly reachings, attended with a very high-coloured water, which he took to be occaſioned by the gravel *(nnn)*; but we are told by one of his friends, who attended him in his laſt moments, that a ſevere rhueumatiſm had hung long upon him, which turning to the black jaundice, attended with a fever, proved mortal to him, about three o'clock on Sunday morning, the 11th of March, in the fifty-third year of his age. The ſame Author aſſures us, that 'he behaved, throughout the whole courſe of 'his ſickneſs, with a philoſophical patience, an intire reſignation to the Divine Will, 'and was thoroughly ſenſible of his approaching diſſolution; for upon his appearing ſome-'thing more than ordinary chearful the day before he died, and my telling him I hoped 'he was better, he replied quick upon me, *Sir, I have no hopes but in God.* A few minutes 'before he died, looking earneſtly at ſome friends that were in the room, and being aſked 'if he wanted any thing, he anſwered with the firmeſt reſolution, *I want nothing but 'death (ooo).*' And Mr Des Maizeaux tells us, that 'he looked upon death without 'the leaſt perturbation of mind, bidding farewel to thoſe that were about him, and tell-'ing them he was going to ſleep *(ppp).*' His body was decently interred, on the 13th following, in Putney Church-yard. He wrote an epitaph for himſelf ſome few days before his death, which we ſhall inſert in the note [*XX*]. As to his character, Mr Molyneux declares *(qqq)*, that he was a candid Free-thinker, and a good Scholar; but at the ſame time vain, and addicted to religious diſputes in Coffee-houſes and other public places. We learn from Mr Des Maizeaux *(rrr)*, that he was fond of paradoxes, and affected ſingularity in his opinions; that he might have employed his talents much better; but he had the misfortune to fall into an idle indiſcreet way, which he indulged to his death, notwithſtanding the repeated advices and remonſtrances of his beſt friends. And it was obſerved by the Author of the Freeholder's Journal *(sss)*, that his being known to the world is owing chiefly to the animadverſions of learned men upon his writings, among whom it is a common trick in their diſputes, to charge their adverſary with an agreement to, or reſemblance of Mr Toland's notions, as the greateſt infamy, and the ſureſt criterion of error.

(hhh) There are ſeveral miſtakes in it.

(iii) Lord Moleſworth. See his Letter to Mr Toland, in p. 484, of the Miſcellaneous Works. But our Author had ſome obligations to the Doctor. See his Specimen of the Hiſtory of the Druids, in Vol. I. ibid. p. 105.

(kkk) See Phyſic without Phyſicians, Vol. II. p. 276.

(lll) Ibid. p. 487.

(mmm) See his Life, p. 87.

(nnn) See a Letter to Lord Moleſworth in Miſcellaneous Works, ubi ſupra, p. 492.

(ooo) Hiſtorical Account of the Life of John Toland, p. 90, et ſeq.

(ppp) In his Life, p. 88.

(qqq) In his Letters to Mr Locke, of April 6, and May 26, 1697.

(rrr) In his Life, p. 91.

(sss) This Journal is dated March 21, 1718.

'To Mr Toland.

'Albemarle-ſtreet, Jan. 5, 1721-2.

'Sir,

'Saturday night, about nine, I received yours of that 'day, which gives me ſuch a diſmal account, of your 'ill ſtate of health, that I was extremely concerned at 'the condition I found you were in, I doubt, for want 'of neceſſaries. I cannot forbear wiſhing you were 'in Town; for I doubt you cannot eaſily get ſuch 'broths and bits of eaſy digeſtion as I ſhould take care 'to procure for you. Your landlady may be a very 'good woman, and have a great reſpect for you; 'but her poverty (64) may prevent her from providing 'ſuch ſort of victuals and drinks as are proper for a ſick 'man, reduced to ſo weak a condition as I find you are. 'Indeed I expected you in Town after the letter I wrote 'to you laſt week; not imagining you had been ſo much 'out of order; though I ſaw by your looks that a fit 'of ſickneſs was growing upon you, which I hoped 'your vomits and purges had prevented in a great 'meaſure. I intend to ſollicit the Peer, your old ſtingy 'acquaintance, and my neighbour, and ſee whether a 'letter which I ſhall ſend him will move him once in 'his life to be generous and charitable. Your reflections 'upon the Phyſicians and the Injuſtice of the world are 'very right; but you muſt not indulge melancholy 'thoughts at ſuch a time. Let it ſuffice you to know, 'that, although my circumſtances are narrow enough, 'you ſhall never want neceſſaries whilſt I live. I am 'ſenſible that bare neceſſaries are but cold comfort to a 'man of your ſpirit and deſert; but it is all I dare 'promiſe you. It is an ungrateful age, and we muſt 'bear with it the beſt we may, till we can mend it. 'Adieu, be chearful, and think of going with me for 'Ireland.

'Yours ſincerely,

'Moleſworth.'

(64) Mr Toland lodged at a Carpenter's houſe. See above, in the text.

[*XX*] *An epitaph in the note.*]

H. S. E.
Johannes Tolandus,
Qui in Hibernia prope Deriam natus,
In Scotia & Hibernia ſtuduit,
Quod Oxonii quoque fecit adoleſcens;
Atque Germania plus ſemel petita
Virilem circa Londinum tranſegit ætatem.
Omnium literarum Excultor.
Ac linguarum plus decem ſciens.
Veritatis Propugnator.
Libertatis Aſſertor.
Nullius autem ſectator aut Cliens.
Nec minis nec malis eſt inflexus
Quin, quam elegit viam, perageret.
Utili honeſtum anteferens.
Spiritus cum æthereo patre,
A quo prodiit olim, conjungitur,
Corpus item naturæ cedens
In materno gremio reponitur.
Ipſe vero æternum eſt reſurrecturus,
At idem futurus Tolandus nunquam.
Natus Nov. 30.
Cætera ex ſcriptis pete.

TONSTALL, or TUNSTALL [CUTHBERT], ſucceſſively Biſhop of London and Durham in the ſixteenth century, a man of great learning, integrity, and politeneſs, was a natural ſon of one Mr Tunſtall, a Gentleman of good rank (*a*) [*A*], by a daughter of the Conyers family (*b*). He was born at Hatchford in Richmondſhire, about the year 1474 [*B*]: and became a Student in the Univerſity of Oxford about 1491, particularly, as ſome will have it, in Balliol-College. Being forced to leave it by reaſon of the plague, he went to Cambridge, where he became Fellow of King's Hall (*c*) [*C*]. After ſome ſtay there, he travelled beyond ſea, and ſtudied in the Univerſity of Padua, then in the higheſt repute; and took the Degree of Doctor of Laws, not having, that we can find, taken any Degree in either of our Univerſities (*d*). He ſo well improved himſelf in every place, that 'there was ſcarce any kind of good learning in which he was not excellent; 'being a very good Grecian, well acquainted with the Hebrew, a very eloquent Rhe-'torician, a ſkilful Mathematician, famous eſpecially for Arithmetick, a great Lawyer, 'and a profound Divine (*e*).' And all theſe accompliſhments were crowned with eminent piety, virtue, and regularity (*f*). They ſoon recommended him to the eſteem of all good men, particularly of William Warham, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, a moſt generous Patron of Learning; who conſtituted him his Vicar-General, or Chancellor [*D*], Aug. 25, 1511; introduced him to the King: and alſo collated him, on the 16th of December 1511, to the Rectory of Harrow on the Hill in Middleſex (*g*). On the 15th of April 1514, he was inſtalled in the Prebend of Stow-longa in the Church of Lincoln: and, November 17, 1515, admitted Archdeacon of Cheſter (*h*). May the 12th, 1516, he was made Maſter of the Rolls (*i*), for which he was extremely well qualified on account of his knowledge in the Laws. The ſame year, he and Sir Thomas More were ſent Embaſſadors to the Emperor Charles V, then at Bruſſels; and had the pleaſure and happineſs of living there in the ſame houſe with the moſt excellent Eraſmus (*k*) [*E*], which created a laſting and indelible friendſhip between them (*l*). During this employment, our Miniſter was very ſedulous in his charge, as well as very capable of executing it; and nothing wherein his Majeſty was concerned eſcaped him. He perfectly underſtood the ſtate of the Imperial Court, penetrated into all the deſigns of it, and failed not, as occaſion offered, to impart his advice accordingly, either to the King, or his Officers (*m*). He returned to England in 1517, but had not been at home above ten days, before he was ſent upon a ſecond Embaſſy to the Emperor (*n*). In 1519, he was collated to the Prebend of Botevant in the Church of York (*o*). The 26th of May, 1521, he was alſo made Prebendary of Combe and Hornham in the Church of Sarum;

(*a*) Splendido loco natus, *ſaith J. Bale*, Scriptorum Brytanniæ Cent. X. p. 713. See W. Harriſon's Hiſt. Deſcript. of Britain, l. 1. c. 24. in the firſt volume of Holinſhed's Chron.—and Biſhop Godwin's Catalogue of the Biſhops, under Durham. He ſays, the father was of a very ancient houſe.

(*b*) J. Leland, Itiner. Vol. IV. p. 17. and Collect.

(*c*) Wood, Athenæ, Edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 127. Godwin, Edit. Clar. Richardſoni. Dr Knight's Life of Eraſmus, Cambr. 1726. 8vo. p. 191.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Biſhop Godwin's Catalogue &c. as above, Edit. 1615. 4to. p. 669.

(*f*) Maximas *ingenii & doctrinæ dotes inſigni pietate, virtute, morumſeveritate* cumulavit. *H.* Wharton de Epiſcopis Londi. p. 185.

(*g*) Newcourt Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 25, 637. Tanner, Bibliotheca, p. 724.

(*h*) Survey of the Cathedrals &c. by Dr Browne Willis, Vol. II. p. 244. and Vol. I. p. 414.

(*i*) Pat. 8. Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(*k*) Eraſmi Epiſtolæ, Edit. Lon. fol. 1642. col. 27, 120, 783, 1509.

(*l*) Vide ibid. col. 27, 400, &c. *Mihi jam non videor vivere, adempto Tonſtallo.* Eraſm. ibid. viz. col. 400.

(*m*) Dr Fiddes's Life of Card. Wolſey, fol. p. 130. and Dr Knight's Life of Eraſmus, p. 190.

(*n*) Eraſmi Epiſt. ut ſupra, col. 119.

(*o*) Dr Browne Willis, as above, Vol. I. p. 123.

[*A*] *Was a natural ſon of one Mr Tunſtall, a gentleman of good rank.*] Biſhop Godwin ſays, that he 'was the 'baſe ſon of one Tunſtall, a Gentleman of a very an-'cient houſe. It is reported, (adds he) that their firſt 'anceſtor attended William Conqueror as his Barbor, 'and being raiſed by him unto ſome better fortune, in 'memory of his former eſtate, took for his armes Sable 'three combes Argent. But I take this for a fable. 'The ſpecial uſe of armes is to expreſſe unto poſterity 'the vertues of ſuch as are raiſed unto Gentry, and 'not to remember any thing that may be to the diſ-'grace of the bearer, and make him leſſe honourable. 'Were the firſt of his race, as he is ſuppoſed, becauſe 'he was not advanced for being a Barbor but for his 'faithfull and loyall ſervice, ſuch armes ſhould rather 'have beene given him, as might have regiſtered that 'virtue, then twighted him with the baſeneſs of his 'firſt trade and manner of life. Rather therefore ſhould 'I geſſe ſome other occaſions of theſe armes, which as 'they were born by him, may have many very honour-'able ſignifications.'——It hath been the ſimple vanity of many conſiderable Families in this kingdom, to deduce their pedigree from thoſe plundering Invaders, who attended William the Baſtard in his conqueſt of England. And, poſſibly, that might be the vanity of the Tonſtall-family, who derived their name from the Latin word *Tonſor*, a Barber; and told the ſtory ſet down above in Biſhop Godwin's words. But it is much more likely, that the name of that family was taken from a place in England called *Tunſtal*; there being no leſs than eight pariſhes, or places, of that name in this Kingdom (1). Dr Fuller ſays, that their chief ſeat was at Tonſtal-Thurland in Yorkſhire, from whence unqueſtionably they took their ſurname (2).... In the pedigree of the Holland-family, it is aſſerted (3), that Cuthbert Tunſtal, in his youth, near two years, was brought up in Sir Thomas Holland's kitchen unknown, till being known, he was ſent home to Sir Richard Tunſtall, his father.

(1) See Villare Anglicum.

(2) Worthies in Yorkſhire, p. 197.

(3) Blomfield's Hiſt. of Norfolk, Vol. I. p. 232.

[*B*] *About the year* 1474.] A. Wood ſays, that it was 'in the year 1476, or thereabouts (4).' But, by a memorandum of our learned Author's at the end of his book, *De veritate Corporis & Sanguinis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti in Euchariſtia*, it appears that he was in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age in 1551, when he finiſhed that book; and conſequently muſt have been born about the year 1474. His words are, *Hoc opus ab authore abſolutum eſt, Anno ætatis ſuæ ſeptuageſimo-ſeptimo, qui fuit annus Domini* 1551.

(4) Athenæ Oxon. Vol. I. ed. 1721, col. 127.

[*C*] *Where he became Fellow of King's Hall.*] This Hall is now incorporated with, and made part of, Trinity-College (5). And as to Mr Tunſtall's having been Fellow of that Hall; it appears from an account, given in by the ſeveral Colleges to Queen Elizabeth, when at Cambridge, anno 1564, of men of note in their reſpective ſocieties. The account given in by Trinity-College ſtyles him, *Cuthbertus Tunſtall Aulæ Regiæ quondam Socius, poſtea regnante Henrico VIII. Epiſc. London. tandem Dunelmenſis* (6).

(5) See T. Fuller's Hiſtory of the univerſity of Cambridge, p. 39, 40.

(6) Life of Eraſmus by Dr Knight, p. 191.

[*D*] *Or Chancellor.*] So Eraſmus ſtyles him. *Cuthbertus Tonſtallus, Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopi Cancellarius* (7). But he was more properly the Archbiſhop's Vicar-General in Spirituals, as Archbiſhop Parker calls him; who adds, that Archbiſhop Warham introduced and recommended him to King Henry VIII. and that was the occaſion of his riſe and ſucceſſive greatneſs... *Ejuſque Vicarius in ſpiritualibus generalis fuerat, ab eoque Henrico Regi Octavo quaſi manu deductus, atque traditus* (8).——He was ordained Sub-deacon, March 24, 1508, by Richard Fitz-James, biſhop of London; and Prieſt April 19, 1511, by John Thornton, Suffragan to Archbiſhop Warham (9).

(7) Eraſmi Epiſtol. edit. Lond. 1642, fol. col. 582.

(8) Matthæus, in the Appendix to Mr Strype's life of Archbiſhop Parker, No. XC. p. 361. and in Dr Drake's edit. of Antiquit. Britann.

(9) Tanner, Bibliotheca, ſub *Tunſtalls* p. 724.

[*E*] *And had the pleaſure and happineſs of living there in the ſame houſe with the moſt excellent Eraſmus.*] So Eraſmus relates, in the following words: 'Adeſt hic [viz. Bruxellæ] Cuthbertus Tunſtallus apud Anglos ſcriniis præfectus, ſui Regis nomine apud Carolum Principem noſtrum orator, vir præter utramque literaturam, quâ neminem ſuorum non ſuperat, judicio excuſſo, ac naris emunctiſſimæ, tum modeſtiâ quâdam inauditâ, poſtremo moribus feſtivis, ac citra gravitatis detrimentum, amoenis. Huic (quo fit beatum duco) ὁμοδίαιτος erat (10).' i. e. 'We have here Cuthbert Tunſtall, Maſter of the Rolls in England, Embaſſador from his Prince to our Emperor Charles V. A man, who not only outdoes all his contemporaries in the knowledge of the learned languages, but is alſo of an exquiſite judgment, and clear underſtanding, and likewiſe of an unheard of modeſty; and moreover is a chearful and pleaſant companion, without loſing his proper gravity. I board with him, which is a great happineſs to me.'

(10) Eraſmi Epiſt. edit. ut ſupra, col. 27.

and

and in the ſaid month and year, elected Dean of the ſame Church (p) [F]. He behaved ſo worthily in every ſtation, that in 1522 he was promoted to the Biſhopric of London, of which the temporalities were delivered to him, July the 5th; and again, October 7 (q), he was conſecrated October 9, and inthronized the 22d following (r). In 1523, May 25, he was made Keeper of the Privy-Seal (s). Though he was undeniably a perſon of good ſenſe and learning, yet upon the firſt appearance of Luther's Writings againſt Popery, ſo far was he from being convinced by them, that he very earneſtly ſollicited Eraſmus to write againſt Luther, upon whom he beſtows very hard names: But Eraſmus handſomely excuſed himſelf (t) [G]. In March, 1525, our Biſhop, and Sir Richard Wingfield, Chancellor of the Duchy, went Embaſſadors into Spain, to confer with the Emperor, after the

(p) Newcourt, p. 25. and J. Le Neve, p. 179. He was then in great reputation for his learning and prudence. See M. Barker, AntiquitatesBrit. Edit. Hanov. 1605. p. 312.

(q) Newcourt, ubi ſupra, p. 25. and J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 264.

(r) Rymer, Acta Pub. Tom. XIII. p. 771, 774.

(s) Newcourt, ibid. and Rymer, Tom. XIV. p. 1.

(t) Eraſmi Epiſt. Edit. ut ſupra, col. 1158, &c.

[F] *And in the ſaid month and year elected Dean of the ſame church.*] About the ſame time, he attended Cardinal Wolſey in his ſplendid Embaſſy to the Emperor Charles V. (11).

(11) Eraſmi Epiſt. col. 759.

[G] *He very earneſtly ſollicited Eraſmus to write againſt Luther, upon whom he beſtows very hard names: but Eraſmus handſomely excuſed himſelf.*] He begins his letter by informing Eraſmus, that he was ſuſpected of having aſſiſted Luther in his anſwer to King Henry VIII. His own words are; 'Dici non poteſt, quantopere ſum 'gaviſus, lectis tuis literis, præſertim his quibus tum 'ad Regem tum ad Legatum ſcriptis, his te ſuſpicio-'nibus liberas, quas de libello a *Luthero* in Regem 'edito, *tanquam aliquid ineſſet tuum*, hic ſubortas eſſe non-'nulli tibi retulerunt: non quod animis hominum tam 'alte inſederat hæc ſuſpitio, ut tuis literis fuerit revel-'lenda: quandoquidem ſic totus liber contumeliis ſca-'tet, ſic ſingulis pagellis Lutherianum virus ſpirat, ut 'ex qua officina prodierit, ille ipſe lectus prodat; verum 'ea re ſum lætatus vehementer, quod ex his intellexi 'tibi cum Lutherianis male convenire, teque a Pontifice 'Maximo rogatum, ut congrediendi cum Luthero pro-'vinciam ſuſciperes, jam exoratum prope in procinctu 'eſſe. Id quod omnes amici tui magnopere & ex-'pectant & cupiunt, ut cum illo Proteo, imo verius 'Atheo, tandem congrediare. Cæterum ex Luthero, 'inquis, & Lutherianis male audiam. At non pejus, 'quam Deus ipſe, quem ille malitiæ omnis autorem 'facit, dum liberum tollit ab hominibus arbitrium, 'atque omnia ſtatis neceſſitatis legibus fieri prorſus 'contendit, ut liberum cuiquam non ſit, ſi velit bene-'facere,' &c. i. e. 'I cannot expreſs, how great a joy your letters have given me, eſpecially thoſe you have written to his Majeſty and the Legate (12), by which you free yourſelf from the ſuſpicions entertained here againſt you, as if you had had a hand in Luther's book againſt the King; not that thoſe ſuſpicions were ſo fixed in people's minds, that there was any need of letters from you to remove them; for the whole book is ſo full of railing, and breathes ſo in every page the Lutheran poiſon, that the reading of it ſhews out of what ſhop it comes. But I am extremely glad to find by your letters, that you are upon ill terms with the Lutherans, and have been requeſted by the Pope to engage with Luther; which you are preparing to do. That you would at length attack that Proteus, or rather that Atheiſt, is the earneſt expectation and deſire of all your friends. But you ſay, that it will give you a bad character with Luther, and the Lutherans. Not worſe ſurely than Luther doth to God himſelf, whom he makes the author of all evil, when he takes Free-will from mankind, and maintains that all things are done by the laws of Neceſſity, ſo that every one is not at liberty to do good if he would.' &c.——This letter breathes the true ſpirit of Popery, and not that ſpirit of Meekneſs for which ſome have celebrated our Author. But it is to be remembered, that it was written whilſt Popery was triumphant; and in our Prelate's younger years: Afterwards, age, and the revolutions in the ſtate of religion in this kingdom, cooled his zeal, and taught him more prudence and moderation. Let it be further obſerved, That he was not then a Predeſtinarian, as he became afterwards, witneſs his book *Againſt the impious blaſphemers of God's Predeſtination.* And as to Luther, he at firſt profeſſed that cruel doctrine, but ſoftened ſome of the rigor of it before his death; and his Followers condemn it abſolutely.

(12) i. e. King Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolſey, who was the Pope's Legate.

Eraſmus, in his Anſwer, commends our Biſhop's zeal, but inſinuates that it ought to be according to knowledge. And has theſe excellent paſſages: 'Iſtud tam pium ſtudium, tam flagrantem erga Eccleſiam Dei zelum non poſſum equidem non vehementer probare, præſul cum primis obſervande: nec dubito quin iſtum mentis impetum judicio ſuſceperis: at mihi meique ſimilibus circumſpiciendum eſt, ne, quod ſcribit Apoſtolus, zelum habeamus, ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam; ac, juxta Parmenonis comici dictum, metuendum ne nimium calidum hoc ſit modo. Siquidem video quibuſdam uſu venire, ut dum majore ſtudio quam judicio rem gerunt, non ſolum una cum zizaniis evellant triticum, quod Chriſtus in Evangelio fieri vetuit, verum etiam pro zizaniis evellant triticum; dum vel prius damnant quam intelligunt, vel quod pie dictum eſt interpretatione depravant: idque videri volunt zelum religionis, & hæreſeωv odium, quum hæc præcipua ſit peſtis & pietatis & concordiæ. Sic qui vehementer amant quempiam, nihil in eo non laudant: qui vehementer oderunt, nihil non damnant. In *Lutheri* ſcriptis quædam audio reprobari, quæ, ſi ſobria collatione inter eruditos & integros diſputarentur, nonnihil conferrent ad ſpiritualem & Evangelicum vigorem, a quo mundus nimium profecto degeneravit' . . . . . Then he bewails the diſturbances occaſioned by the Anabaptiſts, and other Sectaries, in Germany, who were running from one extreme into another. . . . 'Utinam de exitu rei tua te fallat divinatio, mihi non admodum ſagaci jamdudum idem ſubolet: quod ſi eveniat, vereor ne pro excuſſis Pontificibus, Epiſcopis, & Principibus, ſordidos quoſdam dominos recipiamus multo illis inclementiores. Nam ἀναρχίαν jampridem muſſant ii quos Anabaptiſtas vocant: aluntur & alia dogmatum monſtra, quæ, ſi proruperint, efficient ut Lutherus propemodum orthodoxus videri poſſit. . . . . Extitit aliud inſaniæ genus, Prophetæ volunt videri, ſed ridentur ab omnibus. Nulla quidem adhuc exorta ſecta, quæ de Chriſto prædicet impie: multis tamen hic opinionum tumultus addidit animos, ut auſint non ſolum de Chriſti Divina natura blaſphema loqui, verum etiam de Scripturæ totius autoritate dubitare. Ita fit, quoties ſemel effractis repagulis ſeſe in licentiæ campum effudit hominum temeritas, nullam facit inſaniendi finem, donec omnia ſecum involvat exitio.' . . . The ſubſtance of which is, 'That he could not but greatly commend his pious affection and flagrant zeal for the church of God, and did not doubt but it was taken up with due judgment; but as for Himſelf and others, they were to beware not to have a zeal without knowledge, as the Apoſtle writes, and according to Parmeno's ſaying, that it ſhould not be too hot. For he ſaw it uſually happen, that when men act with more eagerneſs than judgment, they not only do what Chriſt hath forbidden in the Goſpel, that is, pluck up the wheat with the tares, but inſtead of the tares pull up the wheat; whilſt they condemn before they underſtand, or miſinterpret what hath been piouſly ſaid: and that they would have it paſs for a zeal for religion, and an averſion to hereſies, when it is the chief bane of piety and concord. So they who vehemently admire any one, find nothing but good in him; and they who hate violently, diſlike all. In Luther's writings, ſays he, I hear that ſome things are condemned, which, if they were coolly examined by learned and unprejudiced perſons, would contribute to that ſpiritual and Evangelic Heartineſs and Zeal, which is too much loſt in the world. . . . . The Biſhop had hinted at the Confuſions like to enſue from ſome blind Zealots, upon the alteration of Religion . . . Eraſmus ſays, he apprehended the ſame; and was afraid that, in the room of Popes, Biſhops, and Princes, the Scum ſhould become uppermoſt, and prove more ſevere and unmerciful maſters than the others. The Anabaptiſts were already aiming at Anarchy; and other monſtrous opinions were hatching, in compariſon of which Luther appeared almoſt orthodox. . . . Another kind of madneſs, ſaith he, is that they would paſs for Prophets; but they only expoſe themſelves to ridicule. Some begin already to talk blaſphemouſly about the Divine nature of Chriſt, and to bring the authority of the Scriptures into queſtion. So it comes to paſs, that when Mankind have once broken the bounds, they never ſtop in their madneſs, till they have involved every thing into utter deſtruction.'

King of France's being taken at the battle of Pavia (*u*). We find him employed, in March 1527, in profecuting ſeveral perſons in his Dioceſe, particularly about Colcheſter, that entertained heretical opinions, as they were called, that is, differing from the then eſtabliſhed Popery (*w*). The July following, he attended Cardinal Wolſey in his pompous Embaſſy into France (*x*); being one of his Eminency's moſt able and faithful Counſellors [*H*]. In 1529, he was one of the Engliſh Embaſſadors at the famous Treaty of Cambray; and, at his return from that place through Antwerp, bought up all the copies of William Tindale's Tranſlation of the New Teſtament that remained unſold, in order to burn them at Paul's Croſs (*y*) [*I*]: So firmly attached was he to Popery! However, he had behaved with ſo much faithfulneſs and prudence in his Embaſſies [*K*], and all other public employments, that, in 1530, he was tranſlated to the rich Biſhopric of Durham (*z*) [*L*]. Before his removal from the See of London, he had beſtowed much money in furniſhing a Library in Cambridge, with good books, both printed and manuſcript, which he had collected abroad. And, after his tranſlation to Durham, he laid out great ſums, in adorning that city with public buildings, and in repairing, improving, and beautifying his epiſcopal houſes (*aa*) [*M*]. He declared, and wrote, for King Henry the Eighth's divorce from Queen Catharine of Arragon, when that affair came to be debated: though it ſeems he afterwards altered his mind (*bb*) [*N*]. And when that King took the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, he recommended it, both in his injunctions, and in a ſermon preached at Durham; as he teſtifies in a letter, ſet down in the note below (*cc*) [*O*]: though he had before, in 1531, ſolemnly proteſted againſt that

(*u*) Hall's Chronicle, in Henry VIII. fol. 137. a. Stow's Annales, Edit. 1631. p. 523. and Lord Herbert's Reign of Henry VIII. under the year 1525.

(*y*) Hall, fol. 186. See alſo Lord Herbert, under the year 1529.

(*z*) Biſhop Godwin's Catal. as above. Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Part I. p. 783.

(*bb*) J. Pits, de illuſtribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, &c. Edit. Paris, 1619. 4to. p. 760.

(*w*) See Strype's Eccleſiaſtical Memorials, Vol. I. p. 74, 78, &c.

(*x*) Hall's Chronicle, as above, fol. 160. b.

(*aa*) Ibid. and Dr Richardſon's Edit. of Biſhop Godwin. See alſo Dr Knight's Life of Eraſmus, p. 191. and M. Parker, Hiſt. Academiæ Cantabrig. p. v.

(*cc*) Strype's Eccleſiaſtical Memorials, Vol. I. p. 191. See alſo Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Part I. Collect. of Records, p. 177.

[*H*] *Being one of his Eminency's moſt able and faithful Counſellors.*] Eraſmus, after mentioning him in that capacity, among many of our moſt eminent men, breaks out into this exclamation: *Quid* Cuthbertum Tonſtallum, *cum quovis priſcorum conferendum, quorum non ita multa paria celebravit antiquitas? O domum illam auguſtam ac felicem! O vere ſplendidum Cardinalem, qui tales viros habet in conſiliis, cujus menſa talibus hominibus cingitur!* (13).

(13) Eraſmi Epiſtolæ, ut ſupra, Ep. 3. lib. 16. p. 725.

[*I*] *Bought up all the copies of William Tindale's tranſlation* &c.] This fact is thus related by Biſhop Burnet (14), from the original author Edward Hall (15). 'Tonſtall, then Biſhop of London, being a man of invincible moderation, would do no body hurt, yet endeavoured as he could, to get their [the Reformers] books into his hands: So being at Antwerp, in the year 1529, as he returned from his Embaſſy at the Treaty at Cambray, he ſent for one Packington, an Engliſh merchant there, and deſired him to ſee how many New Teſtaments of Tindal's tranſlation he might have for money. Packington, who was a ſecret favourer of Tindal, told him what the Biſhop propoſed. Tindal was very glad of it; for being convinced of ſome faults in his work, he was deſigning a new and more correct edition; but he was poor, and the former Impreſſion not being ſold off, he could not go about it: ſo he gave Packington all the copies that lay in his hands, for which the Biſhop payed the price, and brought them over, and burnt them publickly in Cheapſide. This had ſuch an hateful appearance in it, being generally called a burning of the Word of God, that people from thence concluded, there muſt be a viſible contrariety between that Book and the Doctrines of thoſe who ſo handled it; by which both their prejudice againſt the Clergy, and their deſire of reading the New Teſtament, was encreaſed. So that next year, when the Second Edition was finiſhed, many more were brought over, and Conſtantine being taken in England, the Lord Chancellor (16) in a private examination, promiſed him that no hurt ſhould be done him, if he would reveal who encouraged and ſupported them at Antwerp; which he accepted of, and told that the greateſt Encouragement they had, was from the Biſhop of London, who had bought up half the impreſſion. This made all that heard of it laugh heartily, though more judicious perſons diſcerned the great temper of that learned Biſhop in it.'

(14) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Pt. i. p. 159.

(15) Under the 21ſt year of King Henry VIII. fol. 186. See the article TINDALE [WILLIAM].

(16) Sir Thomas More.

[*K*] *He had behaved with ſo much faithfulneſs and prudence in his Embaſſies.*] This is acknowledged by Archbiſhop Parker in the following words . . . *Cujus* [Henry VIII.] *crebras legationes ſumma fide & prudentia ad pleroſque Chriſtiani orbis Principes, tanta laude & celebritate obiit, ut fama ubique notus & pervulgatus fuerit* (17). i. e. Whoſe [viz. Henry VIII's] frequent Embaſſies to moſt Chriſtian Princes, he performed with the utmoſt faithfulneſs and prudence, ſo much to his own reputation and honour, that he was known and eſteemed every where.

(17) Matthæus, ut ſupra.

[*L*] *In* 1530, *he was tranſlated to the rich biſhopric of Durham.*] He was tranſlated by a bull, dated Feb. 21, 1529-30. And the Temporalities, which had been committed to his cuſtody the 4th of the ſame month, were reſtored to him the 25th of March following (18).

(18) Rymer, Acta Publ. Tom. XIV. p. 364, 384, 387.

[*M*] *And, after his tranſlation to Durham, he laid out great ſums in adorning that city,* &c.] This is the account given of it by Biſhop Godwin (19): 'Hee built from the ground a moſt beautiful Porch or Gate-houſe (with a Chappel annexed thereunto) of faire ſtone, in the caſtle of Durham, and added to the ſaid caſtle certaine gates with iron bars and portcullises, ſupported with ſtrong wals on each ſide. He brought water thither with a conduit, whereas before time it was ſerved with well-water. He made the gate-houſe at Alnewike, [a chamber at Aukland] and built the Tolebooth in the market of Durham, all of ſtone, with divers edifices neare the hinder part of the ſaid Tolboothe, which he gave alſo to the city of Durham. Laſtly, he repaired with great charge [Norham-caſtle] and the third part of Tine-bridge.'

(19) Catalogue of Biſhops, as above, p. 670. and edit. Cl. W. Richardſon. Leland's Itiner. Vol. I. p. 75.

[*N*] *He declared, and wrote, for King Henry VIIIth's divorce from Queen Catharine,* &c.] Biſhop Burnet ſays, that 'the King having commanded the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to require the opinions of the Biſhops of England, they *all*, in a writing under their hands and ſeals, declared they judged it an unlawful Marriage. Only the Biſhop of Rocheſter refuſed to ſet his hand to it (20).' J. Pits's account is more explicit; being in theſe words (21): *Unicam in tota vita ſibi inuſſit maculam, quod videlicet ab Henrico rege ſeductus & inductus fuerit, ut matrimonium Regis cum Catherina Hiſpana diſſolvi poſſe & debere aſſeruerit, idque libro ſcripto probare conatus fuerit. Cujus facti ita eum poſtea pœnituit, ut in contrariam plane ſententiam deſcenderit, & damnato, quem prius ſcripſerat, libro, Reginæ partes conſtanter tenuerit, fueritque in illa cauſa unus ex Reginæ advocatis*, i. e. 'There was only one blot in his life, namely, his being ſeduced and drawn in by King Henry, to aſſert, that the King's marriage with Catharine of Spain might and ought to be diſſolved, and to write a book wherein he endeavours to prove it. Of which he ſo much repented afterwards, that he went into the quite contrary opinion; and condemning the book he had written, conſtantly took the Queen's part, and was one of the advocates in her cauſe.' This latter part is explained by the following paragraph in Biſhop Fiſher's life (22): 'Cardinall *Campeius* called for Doctour *Cuthbert Tunſtall*, Biſhop of London, and deſired to heare him ſpeak, for he was a man of profound judgement and learning, and one in whoſe wiſdom and honeſty the Cardinall repoſed great confidence. This Tunſtall had written a very learned Treatiſe in defence of the Queene's marriage, which indeed ſhould have been read in the Court, but the King fearing his abilities, purpoſely ſent him upon an Embaſſie into Scotland (at the very time he ſhould have appeared) about a triviall buſineſſe, ſo that he appeared not in Court this ſecond time.'

(20) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Pt. i. p. 38.

(21) De illuſtribus Angliæ Scriptoribus &c. p. 760.

(22) By Thomas Baily, alias Ric. Hall, D. D. Lond. 1655. 8vo. p. 81.

[*O*] *As he teſtifies in a Letter* &c.] That Letter, written to Mr Crumwel, is in theſe words: 'And where now of late I have alſo received the King's moſt honorable Letters ſent unto me by Sir Francis Bygot, Knight, containing the King's Highnes commandment for ſetting forth of his title of *Supreme Head* of the Church of England, and the aboliſhment of the authority of the Biſhop of Rome; I not only myſelf, before the receit of the ſame

that title [*P*]. The ſame point, of the King's Supremacy, he earneſtly vindicated alſo in 1538, in a ſermon preached before his Majeſty, upon Palm-Sunday [*Q*], wherein he zealouſly condemned the uſurpations of the Biſhop of Rome (*dd*). In 1535, he was one of the Commiſſioners for taking the valuation of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, in order to ſettle the Firſt-fruits and Tenths (*ee*). And in 1537, the King commanded him, on account of his learning and judgment, to peruſe Reginald Pole's book of Eccleſiaſtical Union (*ff*); which occaſioned ſome letters between the Cardinal and our Biſhop; particularly a ſevere joint one from him, and John Stokeſley, Biſhop of London, againſt the Pope's Supremacy (*gg*) [*R*]. The year following, he was appointed to confer about the Reformation of Religion, with ſome Embaſſadors from the Proteſtant German Princes; but things were not yet ripe for a proper alteration in this Kingdom (*hh*). In 1541, came out a new edition of the Bible in Engliſh, reviſed by him and Nicolas Heath, Biſhop of Rocheſter [*S*]. He did not approve of every part of Popery; but was of opinion, that old Uſages and Traditions were not to be broken without a great cauſe, and that ſome of them were in no wiſe to be broken (*ii*). In the reign of King Edward the Sixth, he went along with the Reformation [*T*] for ſome years; and was one of the Privy-Council, and of the King's Council in the North (*kk*). At length, ſome of the Courtiers covet-

(*dd*) See an abſtract of that ſermon in Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 336, &c.

(*ee*) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 211. and Appendix, p. 147.

(*ff*) De Unione Eccleſiaſtica.

(*gg*) Strype's Eccleſiaſt. Mem. Vol. I. p. 296—299.

(*hh*) Idem, p. 329, 330. and Append. p. 260.

(*ii*) Idem, Appendix, p. 257.

(*kk*) Strype's Mem. Vol. II. p. 457, 458. 462. J. Collier ſays, he was diſmiſſed the Council-board in 1547. Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 233.

ſame Letters, had don my duty in ſetting forth his title of Supreme Head, but alſo cauſed others to do the ſame. And ſo his Grace was prayed for ever ſince the Proclamation of the Act therupon made. And eftſones upon the receit of the King's ſaid letter, I repaired to Dureſm, and there preached myſelf again in great preſence, as wel in ſetting forth the King's Title, as in declaring the uſurped authority of the Biſhop of Rome, heretofore uſed in this realm. And ſo have done, and ſhall, from time to time accompliſh the King's commandment in my dioceſs, God willing. There were words in the ſaid Letter that ſore grieved me; that the King's Highneſs ſhould repute, that I ſhould *look for a new world, or mutation*. If the King's Highneſs knew my mind, as God doth, ſure I am, thoſe words had not been put in. For I have been as ſore againſt ſuch Uſurpations of the Biſhop of Rome, as dayly did grow, as any man of my degree in this realme. And that I ſhould now look for the renewing of that thing, which I withſtood heretofore, as far as I might, when he flouriſhed moſt, it is not likely. Surely I look for no mutation, nor new world, but one; which is the changing of this life tranſitory to the life eternal in the world to come. Which mutation, whenſoever it ſhall happen, I beſeech Almighty Jeſus of his infinite mercy, that I may leave the King's Highneſs in his moſt proſperous reign many years after my deceaſe, to myche increaſe of his Honour, the wealth of his Subjects, and the propagation of his moſt royal poſterity. And thus Almighty Jeſus preſerve your good Maſterſhip to his pleſure and yours. From Aukland the xxiſt day of July.

(23) Cott. Libr. Cleopat. E. 6. p. 248. b. See Strype's Eccleſ. Memor. Vol. I. p. 191. and Appendix, p. 138.

Your Maſterſhip's humble Bedeman,

Cuthbert Dureſm (23).'

[*P*] *Though he had before ſolemnly proteſted againſt that title.*] It was upon occaſion of the following words, in the preamble to the grant of a ſubſidy to King Henry VIII, in a Convocation for the province of York . . . 'Quamplurimos hoſtes, et maxime Lutheranos, in perniciem eccleſiæ et cleri Anglicani (cujus ſingularem 'protectorem unicum et Supremum Dominum, et, '*quantum per Chriſti legem licet*, etiam *Supremum Caput* 'ipſius majeſtatem recognoſcimus) conſpirantes,' . . . from which, as he obſerves, ſome, lately ſuſpected and accuſed of hereſy, had taken occaſion to decline and deny the juriſdiction of their own Biſhops; therefore he thought the following diſtinctions neceſſary . . . 'viz. 'ut, ſi per ea intelligatur, quod Rex ſit poſt Chriſtum 'Supremum Regni ſui, et Cleri Anglicani in terrenis 'et temporalibus caput, ſicut revera eſt, et omnes re'cognoſcimus, ſic ad vitandum malignorum interpre'tationem exprimenda ſunt verba, ne in alium ſenſum 'ab hæreticis trahantur. Si vero per ea intelligatur 'indiſtincte, prout verba ſonant, quod Rex tam in ſpi'ritualibus, quam in terrenis et temporalibus ſit Su'premum eccleſiæ caput, et quod ita licere per Chriſti 'legem affirmetur, ſicut malignantes quidam illa verba '[ſcilicet, quantum per Chriſti legem licet] tanquam 'aſſertive poſita capere videntur, quia hic ſenſus cum 'ſententia catholicæ eccleſiæ videtur non conveniré; 'idcirco ab hujuſmodi ſententia, verbis ſic intellectis '& poſitis, ne ab eccleſia catholica, extra quam ne'mini Chriſtiano eſt ſalus, diſſentire videar, expreſſe 'diſſentio—(24).' The ſubſtance of which is, he was willing to allow, that the King, after Chriſt, was the Supreme Head of his Kingdom, and of the Clergy of England, in earthly and temporal matters; but would not acknowledge him to be ſuch, both in ſpirituals and temporals, and that it was lawful according to the Law of Chriſt; leſt he ſhould ſeem to diſſent from the Catholic Church, without which there is no ſalvation for any Chriſtian.

(24) Wilkins, Concil. Vol. III. p. 745. See Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 63.

[*Q*] *In a ſermon preached before his Majeſty, upon Palm-Sunday.*] That ſermon is what Archbiſhop Parker refers to (25); when, after ſaying that Biſhop Tonſtall diſowned the Pope's Supremacy in his laſt days, he goes on thus: Id *quod ante, Henrico Rege regnante, qui primus eandem potentiam labefactavit, regnoque ejecit*, vehementiſſimè, *doctiſſimeque pro concione ſuaſit*. . . . The text was Philipp. ii. from ver. 5 to 12. And the ſermon was printed by Thomas Berthelet, at London, 1539. 4to. reprinted in 1633. See below, note [*FF*]. It is upon account of this ſermon, and our Author's ſubſequent relapſe, that Michael Wood thus abuſes him (26).

(25) Matthæus, ut ſupra.

(26) Preface to the Engliſh Tranſlation of Stephen Gardiner's book, *De vera Obedientia*, &c. 1553. 8vo. See Wood, Ath. Vol. I. Edit. 1721. col. 128.

'I have heretofore (ſays he) with no ſmall admiration, 'readde a certain ſermon made in Engliſhe, before our 'late Soveraigne Lorde Kinge Henry the Eight, about 'xiiii years paſt, by Doctour Tonſtall, then Biſhop 'of Dureſme, and ſet furthe in printe, bylike for 'his owne glorie, or rather purgacion, being ſuſpect'ed (and not without cauſe) to be a favourer of the 'pretenſed autoritie, and antichriſtian power of the 'Biſhop of Rome (whereof he is bent at this daye with 'other his complices to ſhew himſelf, that ſermon not'withſtanding, not only to be a friendly favourer, but 'an open diligent proctour)' . . .

[*R*] *Which occaſioned ſome letters between the Cardinal and our Biſhop.*] Reginald Pole was created Cardinal, December 22, 1538 (27). One of the letters that paſſed between them, is printed in Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation (28). Another in Mr Strype's Eccleſiaſtical Memorials (29). And another, in J. Foxe's Acts and Monuments (30), Becon's Reports (31), and the Appendix to Dr Knight's Life of Eraſmus (32).

(27) Strype's Eccleſiaſt. Mem. Vol. I. p. 299.

(28) Part III. Collect. No. 52.

(29) Vol. I. p. 296. and Appendix, No. 83. p. 206.

(30) Vol. II.

(31) Fol. 272.

(32) P. 66, &c.

[*S*] *In 1541, came out a new Edition of the Bible in Engliſh*, &c.] There is, in the beginning, the picture of King Henry VIII, with Crumwel and Cranmer; and the title is, 'The Bible in Engliſh, of the largeſt and greateſt Volume: auctoryſed and appointed, by the Commaundement of our moſt redoubted Prince and Sovereign Lord, King Henry VIII, Supreme Head of this his Church and Realm of England: To be frequented and uſed in every Church within this his ſaid Realm; according to the tenour of his former injunctions given in the behalf. Overſeen and peruſed at the Commaundement of the King's Highneſs, by the Right Reverend Fathers in God, Cuthbert Biſhop of Durham; and Nicolas Biſhop of Rocheſter. Printed by Edward Whitchurch, *Cum Privilegio, ad imprimendum ſolum*. 1541.' . . . The New Teſtament in Engliſh, of William Tindale's tranſlation, was firſt printed in 1526, and the whole Bible by Myles Coverdale, in 1535. fol. (33).

(33) See J. Lewis's Hiſt. of the Engliſh Tranſlations of the Bible. 8vo.

[*T*] *He went along with the Reformation.*] In all points he gave obedience to every Law, and to all the injunctions that were made: but always in Parliament proteſted againſt the changes in Religion; which he thought he might with a good conſcience ſubmit to and obey; though he could not conſent to them. Only in the matter of the corporal preſence, he was ſtill of the old perſuaſion, and writ about it (34).

(34) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Part II. p. 294.

ing the revenues of his rich Biſhopric, took the advantage of an accuſation of miſpriſion of treaſon brought againſt him; for which he was committed to the Tower, on the 20th of December 1551 *(ll)* [*V*]. The Parliament ſitting, on the 28th of March, a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords, to attaint him for miſpriſion of treaſon. Archbiſhop Cranmer ſpoke warmly and freely againſt it [*W*], not ſatisfied, it ſeems, with the charge that was laid: However, the Bill paſt, and the Archbiſhop proteſted. But when it came down to the Commons, they were not ſatisfied with the evidence, which conſiſted of bare depoſitions of witneſſes; but required, that the accuſers might be brought face to face: And ſo it went no farther (*mm*). When he could not be ruined in a Parliamentary way, means were contrived to do it in a more private and effectual manner. For that purpoſe, a Commiſſion was granted, September 21, 1552, to ſeven perſons [*X*]; impowering them to call before them Cuthbert, Biſhop of Durham, and examine him of all manner of conſpiracies &c. And if he were found guilty, to deprive him of his Biſhopric (*nn*). Accordingly he was deprived, either the 11th or 14th of October (*oo*), and remained a priſoner in the Tower all the reſt of King Edward's reign. Upon his deprivation, the Biſhopric was offered to Dr Robert Horne, Dean of the ſame Church, who refuſed to accept of it: Next, to Nicolas Ridley, Biſhop of London. Then a project was formed of dividing the Biſhopric into two, by founding a new one at Newcaſtle: but that deſign did not take effect; nor, very probably, was it ever intended it ſhould. For, though that is mentioned in a private Act of Parliament, in March 1552-3, whereby it was actually diſſolved; yet, in April 1553, being converted into a County Palatine, it was given to the ambitious John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland *(pp)* [*Y*]. Upon Queen Mary's acceſſion to the Throne, in 1553, Biſhop Tonſtall was not only delivered from his impriſonment, on the 5th of Auguſt (*qq*), but alſo reinſtated in his Biſhopric [*Z*]. March 13, 1554, he was put in Commiſſion with Gardiner, Bonner, and others, to deprive Robert Holgate, Archbiſhop of York, and John Bird, Robert Ferrar, and Paul Buſh, Biſhops of St David's, Cheſter, and Briſtol, on account of their being married (*rr*). Otherwiſe he behaved, during this whole cruel reign, with great lenity, moderation, and good nature; no ways embruing his hands in the blood of the faithful and unfortunate Proteſtants [*AA*], who were brought to the ſtake: ſo that his Dioceſe eſcaped the perſecutions, which were too frequent in others at that time (*ss*). When Queen Elizabeth

(*mm*) King Edward's Journal, in Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation. Collect. of Records, p. 42. and Part II. of that Hiſtory, p. 194, 195.

(*nn*) Strype's Eccleſiaſt. Mem. Vol. II. p. 367, 489.

(*pp*) Strype's Eccleſiaſt. Mem. Vol. II. p. 367, 395. and Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 288. and Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Part II. p. 215, 216. and Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 326.

(*qq*) Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Part I. p. 783. note.

(*mm*) Burnet, ibid. p. 194, 195. and Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, by J. Strype, fol. 1694. p. 288, 289.

(*oo*) Ibid. p. 367. and King Edward's Journal, ubi ſupra, p. 64.

(*rr*) Rymer, Act. Publ. Tom. XV. p. 370. Collect. of Records in Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Part II. p. 256, 257.

(*ss*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Part I. p. 33, 159. and Part II. p. 195, 387. Knight's Life of Eraſmus, p. 190.

[*V*] *Took the advantage of an accuſation of miſpriſion of Treaſon brought againſt him, for which he was committed to the Tower,* &c.] The beſt account of that affair is in the following Minutes in the Council-books. 'May 20, 1551. The Biſhop of Durham is commanded 'to keep his houſe. Auguſt 2, He had licence to walk 'in the fields. December 20. Whereas the Biſhop of 'Durham, about July 1550, was charged by Vivian 'Menvile, to have conſented to a conſpiracy in the 'North, for the making a rebellion; and whereas, for 'want of a Letter written by the ſaid Biſhop to the 'ſaid Menvile (whereupon great trial of this matter 'depended) the final Determination of the matter 'could not be proceeded unto, and the Biſhop only 'commanded to keep his houſe; the ſame letter hath 'of late been found in a caſket of the Duke of Somer'ſet's, after his laſt apprehenſion. The ſaid Biſhop was 'ſent for, and this day appeared before the Council, 'and was charged with the Letter, which he could not 'deny but to be his own hand-writing: and having little 'to ſay for himſelf, he was then ſent to the Tower, 'there to abide till he ſhould be delivered by proceſs 'of law (35).'

(35) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, by J. Strype, p. 288. and ſee his Eccl. Memor. Vol. II. p. 366.

[*W*] *Archbiſhop Cranmer ſpoke freely againſt it.*] There was a conſtant good correſpondence between Cranmer and him: Though in many things they differed in opinion; yet Tonſtall was both a man of candour, and of great moderation, which agreed ſo well with Cranmer's temper, that no wonder they lived always in good terms (36). The Bill was greatly hurried through the Houſe of Lords; for it was read three times, on March 28, 29, and 31 (37).

(36) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Pt. II. p. 195.

(37) Lords Journals.

[*X*] *A Commiſſion was granted . . . . to ſeven perſons.*] Namely to Sir Roger Cholmely, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, Sir Richard Rede, John Goſnold, Richard Goodrick, Robert Chidley, ... Stamford, Eſquires, and Richard Liel, Doctor of Law; or to ſeven, ſix, or five of them (38).

(38) Strype's Eccl. Memor. Vol. II. p. 489.

[*Y*] *Was given to the ambitious John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.*] Sir John Harrington's account of this affair may be deemed full ſevere, but it is in theſe words . . . 'Concerning this Biſhoprick it is formerly noted 'by mine Author, that it was once diſſolved by Act 'of Parliament in the Minority of King Edward VI, 'what time the two new Dukes of *Sommerſet* and '*Northumberland*, like the Souldiers that caſt lots for 'Chriſt's garment, divided between them *Patrimonium* '*Crucifixi*, namely the two good Biſhopricks of *Bath* 'and *Durham*, one being deſigned as a Seat for the 'Weſtern Duke, the other for the Northern; and 'whereas by an old metamorphoſis the Biſhop of Dur'ham had been Earle of Northumberland (39), now by 'a new Apotheoſis the Duke of Northumberland would 'have beene Biſhop of Durham: But *qui deſpexit de* '*cælo deridebat eos.* That viſible hand that wrote in the 'wall while Balthaſar was quaffing in the holy veſſels, 'that hand though inviſible weighed theſe petty Mo'narks in the ballance of God's judgements, found them 'too light; and becauſe they ſhould not grow too long, 'they were both cut ſhorter by the head: the Biſhop'ricks reſtored to what they now are by Queene Mary, 'one being in ſubſtance, the other by accident of 'leaden mines, two of the beſt Biſhopricks in Eng'land (40).'

(39) Hugh Pudſey.

(40) A brieſe View of the State of the Church of England, &c. Lond. 1653. 8vo. p. 204.

[*Z*] *But alſo reinſtated in his Biſhoprick.*] 'As it was 'diſſolved by Act of Parliament, and the Regalities of 'it, which had been given to the Duke of Northum'berland, were now by his attainder fallen into the 'Queen's hands, ſhe granted Dr Tonſtall letters patent, 'wherby ſhe erected that Biſhopric anew; mentioning, 'that ſome wicked men, to enrich themſelves by it, 'had procured it to be diſſolved (41).'——Upon his Appeal, a Commiſſion had been granted to ſome perſons to examine it: And in that Commiſſion it is alledged, That the Sentence of Deprivation was given only by laymen; that Tonſtall being kept priſoner long in the Tower, was brought to his trial, without either having counſel aſſigned him, or convenient time given him for clearing himſelf; and that, after divers proteſtations, notwithſtanding his appeal, he had been deprived of his Biſhoprick (42).

(41) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Pt. II. p. 247.

(42) Burnet, ibid. p. 216. and Rymer, Act. Pub. Tom. XV. p. 334.

[*AA*] *No ways embruing his hands in the blood of the Proteſtants.*] David Lloyd, in his uncouth way, ſpeaks thus of him (43): 'In the reign of Queen Mary, he ſpake more harſhly againſt the Proteſtants (calling Biſhop Hooper *Beaſt* for being married) than he acted: being politickly preſumed to bark the more, that he might bite the leſs; and obſerved to threaten much in London, and do little in his own Dioceſs. For I meet with a marginal note in Mr Foxe, which indeed juſtly deſerved even in the faireſt letters to be inſerted in the body of his book: 'Note, that Biſhop *Tonſtal* in Queen Mary's 'days was no great bloody Perſecutor: for Mr Ruſſel 'a preacher was before him, and Dr Hinmer, his 'Chancellour, would have had him examined more par'ticularly; the Biſhop ſtaid him, ſaying, Hitherto we 'have had a good report among our neighbours, I pray 'you bring not this man's blood upon my head.'

(43) State-Worthies, ed. 1679. p. 532.

came

came to the Crown, there were great hopes that a man of his great meekneſs and knowledge (*tt*) would have readily come into the Reformation; but being attached to ſome of the errors of Popery, and being indeed ſo far advanced in years, that he had in all probability but a very little time to live, he conſciencioufly choſe rather to loſe his rich Biſhopric, than act againſt his own judgement (*uu*). Being therefore deprived in July 1559, for refuſing the oath of Supremacy, he was committed to Matthew Parker, Archbiſhop elect of Canterbury [*BB*], in free cuſtody, where he was entertained in a moſt kind, friendly, and brother-like manner (*xx*) [*CC*]. The Archbiſhop, in his frequent converſations with him, brought him off from many of the errors of Popery [*DD*]. He did not continue long in that retired and private condition: for he died November the 18th, 1559, at the age of eighty-five (*yy*); and was very handſomely buried in the chancel of Lambeth-Church, at the charge of Archbiſhop Parker (*zz*). Over his grave a black marble ſtone was ſoon after laid, with an epitaph compoſed by the learned Dr Haddon (*aaa*) [*EE*]. The ſeveral pieces he compoſed, and which were publiſhed either by himſelf or others, are ſet down below [*FF*]. His character hath been repreſented in the moſt advantageous light, by the immortal Eraſmus, and other his contemporaries. They commend his charity, his hoſpitality, and generoſity [*GG*]; his meekneſs, chaſtity, temperance,

(*tt*) Ingenio miti vixque pontificio. Tabula Chronicæ ſub Epiſcop. Dunelm. ad calcem Parkeri de Antiq. Brit. Eccl. Edit. Drake. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Part II. p. 387, 396.

(*uu*) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 127, 128. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Part II. p. 396. and Knight, as above. In Strype's Ann. Vol. I. p. 142. it is ſaid, that he was deprived Sept. 29.

(*xx*) Godwin's Catalogue, as above. Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Parker, p. 47.

(*yy*) Cum annos 85 tranſegiſſet. Antiq. Britann. ut ſupra.

(*zz*) Matthæi ſumptibus honorifice humatus. Matthæus, ubi ſupra, p. 161.

(*aa*) Godwin de Præſulibus, ſub Tonſtallo.

[*BB*] *He was committed to Matthew Parker, Archbiſhop elect of Canterbury.*] Had Antony Wood conſidered every circumſtance, he need not have aſked, 'how that 'could be, ſeeing the ſaid Matthew was not conſecrated 'Archbiſhop till December 17, 1559 (44)?' But Biſhop Tonſtall was 'put in priſon for a little while,' after his refuſing the oath (45). And the *Conge d'elire* for Archbiſhop Parker being dated July 18, and he being actually elected Auguſt 1ſt (46), he might, at leaſt from this laſt period, very properly bear the title of Archbiſhop, even before his conſecration. However, to avoid all ambiguity, we have added above, in the text, the title of Archbiſhop *elect*.

(44) Ath. Vol. I. col. 128.

(45) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Pt. II. p. 396.

(46) Strype's life of Parker, p. 52.

[*CC*] *Where he was entertained in a moſt kind, friendly, and brother-like manner.*] *Non tam cuſtodia obſervandus, quam ſumma excipiendus humanitate, alendusque*; as Dr Drake's words are (47). 'He lived there, ſaith 'Lloyd (48), in ſweet chambers, warm beds, by warm 'fires, with plentiful and wholeſome diet at the Archbiſhop's own table: differing nothing from his former 'grandeur, ſave that that was at his own charges, and 'this at another's; and that he had not his former ſuit 'of ſuperfluous ſervants, that long train that doth not 'warm but *weary* the wearer thereof.'

(47) Tabulæ Chronicæ, ut ſupra.

(48) Ubi ſupra.

[*DD*] *The Archbiſhop . . . . brought him off from many of the errors of Popery.*] So the Archbiſhop himſelf teſtifies. *Hic, opera Matthæi, a multi Papiſticis nugis, quas Maria regnante ſequutus eſt, prorſus abductus fuit, Papalemque tam ambitioſe dilatatam, Potentiam, plane a Chriſtianorum cervicibus depellendam, & ſuæ, nempe Romanæ urbis atque diœceſis finibus concludendam, affirmavit. . . . . In articulis tamen quibuſdam eccleſiaſticis adhuc firmiter hæſit, etſi Clericorum conjugia lege divina licita ac permiſſa ſtatuerit* (49). i. e. 'By Matthew [Parker's] means he was entirely brought off from many Popiſh trifles, which he had adhered to under Queen Mary, and was of opinion, that the Pope's ambitious Power, which was ſtretched ſo far, ought to be ſhaken off from the necks of Chriſtians, and confined within its proper bounds, namely the city and diœceſe of Rome.——However, he ſtuck firmly ſtill to ſome articles of Popery, though he judged that the marriage of Prieſts was allowed by the law of God.'. . . . And, in the point of Juſtification, he was of the ſame opinion as the Reformed (50)—He told Bernard Gilpin, that in the matter of Tranſubſtantiation, Pope Innocent III. had done unadviſedly, in making it an article of faith. And further confeſſed, that the Pope committed a great fault in the buſineſs touching indulgencies; and other thing (*).

(49) Matthæus, ut ſupra, p. 161.

(50) See his book Contra impios Blaſphematores Dei Prædeſtinationis.

(*) Life of Bernard Gilpin by Biſhop Carleton, p. 114, 164. 4th edition.

[*EE*] *With an Epitaph compoſed by the learned Dr Haddon.*] It is in the old black Engliſh letter, and in theſe words:

Anglia Cuthbertum Tunſtallum meſta requirit,
Cujus ſumma domi laus erat atque foris.
Rhetor, Arithmeticus, Juris conſultus et equi,
Legatuſque fuit; denique Preſul erat.
Annorum Satur, & magnorum plenus honorum,
Vertitur in cineres aureus iſte ſenex.
Vixit annos LXXXV. obiit
18 Novemb. MCCCCCLIX.

[*FF*] *The ſeveral pieces he compoſed, and which were publiſhed by himſelf*, &c.] Thoſe publiſhed by himſelf were, 1. *In laudem Matrimonii. Oratio habita in Sponſalibus Mariæ filiæ Hen. VIII. et Franciſci Francorum Regis primogeniti.* Lond. 1518. 4to. i. e. 'In praiſe of Matrimony. An Oration pronounced at the eſpouſals of Mary daughter of King Henry VIII, and Francis eldeſt ſon of Lewis XII. King of France. 2. *De Arte Supputandi libri quatuor, Cutheberti Tonſtalli.* i. e. A Treatiſe of Arithmetic. London, 1522. 4to. Printed by R. Pinſon; reprinted ſeveral times in divers parts. A very beautiful edition was printed at Paris in 1538, 4to, by the excellent Robert Stephens. 3. Sermon on Palm-Sunday before King Henry VIII, on Philippians ii. from ver. 5. to the 12th. London, 1539. 4to. Printed by Thomas Berthelet; reprinted in 1633. 4to. See above, note [*Q*]. 4. *De veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti in Euchariſtia, Authore Cutheberto Tonſtallo Dunelmenſi Epiſcopo.* i. e. Of the Truth of Tranſubſtantiation. Paris, 1554. 4to. *apud Vaſcoſan.* The preface is dated at the end, *Anno Domini* 1551. Biſhop Burnet rightly obſerves, that 'the Latin ſtile of this book 'is much better than the Divinity and Reaſonings in 'it (51).' 5. *Compendium & Synopſis in decem libros Ethicorum Ariſtotelis.* i. e. an Abridgment of Ariſtotle's Ethicks. Paris, 1554. 8vo. *apud Vaſcoſan.* 6. *Contra impios Blaſphematores Dei Prædeſtinationis Opus Cutheberti Tonſtalli Dunelmenſis Epiſcopi.* i. e. Againſt the impious Blaſphemers of God's Predeſtination. Antwerp, 1555. 4to. 7. Godly and devout Prayers, in Engliſh and Latin. 1558. 8vo.

(51) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Part II. p. 195.

(52) 972.

(53) P. 66—96.

(54) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Part I. Collect. of Records, p. 8.

(55) Id. p. 214, &c.

(56) Id. p. 363.

(57) Strype's Eccleſiaſt. Mem. Vol. I. Append. p. 185.

(58) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. Collect. of Records, Part II. p. 106.

(59) Id. p. 133.

(60) Id. Part III. Collect. p. 464.

(61) Vol. II. p. 136.

(62) Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 385. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. Part I. p. 367, and Addenda, No. 8.

(63) J. Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 143, &c.

(64) See above, note [*P*].

(65) Under the 14th and 16th of Henry VIII. fol. 106. 133.

(66) Lib. 2. Ep. 29. Lib. 3. Ep. 2. Lib. 22. Ep. 22.

(67) Lib. 2. Ep. 30. Lib. 3. Ep. 3. Lib. 13. Ep. 24. Lib. 18. Ep. 48. Lib. 22. Ep. 23. Lib. 26. Ep. 59.

(68) P. 437.

(69) P. 476.

(70) Eraſmi Epiſt. col. 582.

His pieces publiſhed by others after his deceaſe, were, I. A Letter written by him and John Stokeſley, ſometime Biſhop of London; and confeſſed to Archbiſhop Parker, and others, to be his, about fourteen days before his death. Imprinted at London by Reginald Woulfe, Anno 1560. Inſerted in Foxe's Vol. II (52); and alſo in the Appendix to Dr Knight's Life of Eraſmus (53). See above, note [*R*]. II. Licence to Sir Thomas More for reading heretical Books (54). III. His Opinion and Reſolutions concerning the Sacraments (55). IV. Arguments for the Divine Inſtitution of Auricular Confeſſion, with ſome Notes written on the margin by King Henry's own hand (56). V. Letter of his to the Lord Crumwel, concerning a book taken at Newcaſtle, called the Souls Garden (57). VI. Letter proving the ſubjection of the Realm of Scotland to the King of England. 1547 (58). VII. Anſwers to ſome Queries concerning the Abuſes of the Maſs, &c. (59). VIII. Letter to Cardinal Pole concerning his book *De Unione Eccleſiaſticâ* (60). An abſtract of it is in Jer. Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (61); and the original is in the Cottonian Library (62). IX. Anſwer to the Embaſſadors of the Proteſtant German Princes (63). X. A Proteſt in the Convocation at York, againſt King Henry's title of Supreme Head of the Church of England (64). XI. His Oration to the Parliament, declaring to the people the office of a King; and his Anſwer to the Embaſſadors from James V, King of Scotland; are in Hall's Chronicle (65). XII. One of his Letters to Budæus, and two to Eraſmus, are inſerted amongſt Eraſmus's Letters (66); and there are, in the ſame Collection, one of Budæus, and five of Eraſmus to him (67). XIII. Two Letters of his are alſo in the Collection of Records, at the end of Part III. of Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation; namely, one upon the King's ordering the Biſhops to ſend up their Bulls (68): And a Conſolatory Letter to Henry VIII. after the death of Queen Jane (69).——Beſides which, we are informed, that he had made a great many Remarks upon the *Jus Cæſareum* (70).

[*GG*] *They commend his charity, his hoſpitality*, &c.] William

perance, prudence, and induſtry [*HH*]. They deſcribe him as a man of incomparable learning, ſagacity, and judgment [*II*], of great probity, good-natured, modeſt, and endowed with rare virtues; of a moſt unblameable life: in a word, as the learneſt, beſt, humaneſt, kindeſt, and wiſeſt man in his time. And withal very chearful and lively in converſation [*KK*]. We ſhall conclude this article with Biſhop Tonſtall's character of Yorkſhire [*LL*].

William De Chambre, in particular, ſpeaks thus of him (71). *Familiam honorificam ſemper ſecum tenuit, honorificeque attendebatur a generoſis & hominibus plebeiis; quocunque enim loco reſidebat, honorificam menſam valdeque largam ſemper ſecum habuit. In elemoſynis erat abundans, in omni vitæ genere Præſul præclarus.* i. e. 'He always 'had a creditable family, and was honourably attended 'by people of all conditions; for wherever he reſided 'he kept a magnificent table. He was very charitable, 'and an illuſtrious Prelate in every reſpect.'

(71) Anglia Sacra, Part I. p. 783.

[*HH*] *His meekneſs, chaſtity, temperance, prudence and induſtry.*] *Erat vir mitis & manſuetus, caſtus, & temperans, prudens, & induſtrius* (72).

(72) J. Pits, ubi ſupra, p. 760.

[*II*] *They deſcribe him as a man of incomparable learning.*] So he is ſtiled by Eraſmus... *vir, præter utramque literaturam, quâ neminem ſuorum non ſuperat, judicio excuſſo, ac naris, emunctiſſimæ*, &c. (73). See the next note; and above, note [*FF*].

(73) Eraſmi Epiſt. col. 27. Ed. 1642.

[*KK*] *Of a moſt unblameable life: in a word, as the learneſt, beſt*, &c. *in his time*, &c.] Such is the character given him by Sir Thomas More, and Eraſmus, two excellent judges. *Is Homo eſt vitæ inculpatiſſimæ, utriuſque Literaturæ ad unguem doctus, nec ullius honeſtæ diſciplinæ rudis* (74).——*Quo ut nemo eſt omnibus bonis literis inſtructior, nemo vita moribuſque ſanctior, ita nemo eſt uſquam in convictu jucundior* (75).——*Quo viro nihil habet hæc Ætas nec eruditius, nec melius, nec humanius* (76).——*Quo viro vix habet orbis hodie quicquam eruditius, prudentius, melius* (77). See alſo Dr Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Part I. Appendix, p. 301. and Part II. p. 396.

(74) Eraſmi Epiſt. col. 783.

(75) T. Mori Epiſto'a, inter Eraſmianas, col. 120.

(76) Eraſmi Epiſt. col. 400.

(77) Tabula affixa ad ſepulcrum T. Mori, inter Epiſt. Eraſmi, col. 1509.

[*LL*] *We ſhall conclude this article with Biſhop Tonſtall's character of Yorkſhire.*] As this Prelate was attending upon King Henry VIII, in his progreſs towards the city of York, upon the hill beyond Barneſley, ſome four miles on this ſide Doncaſter, he took an occaſion to ſhew unto his Majeſty, and ſpeak of the pleaſures of Yorkſhire: requiring his Grace to behold and look upon the country before him there, affirming, that he ſhould ſee the greateſt and faireſt valley there, that was in all Europe, from end to end, and he never ſaw the like as that was for all pleaſures and commodities, which he could well teſtify and witneſs. And therefore deſired his Highneſs to behold upon his right hand the great hills, the Yorkeſwouldes, and Blakemore hills; and likewiſe to behold thoſe great mountains and fells which were upon the left hand; the breadth of which valley is ſome thirty or ſixty miles wide in the moſt places, and in length ſome eighty and one hundred miles: wherein for cities and towns, caſtles and mannor-houſes, famous rivers and brooks, parks and woods, corn, graſs, and cattle, fairs and markets, fiſh and fowl, mines and quarries of coal and ſtone, and likewiſe mines of lead, iron, and other metals, he never ſaw the like in all his travels. And for the truth and verity thereof, as it may and doth plainly appear, ſome miles weſt of Tadcaſter there is within ſome ſeven or eight miles circuit ſeventy-ſeven mannor-houſes, whereof the worſt of them were Eſquires of an antient continuance. There be alſo within the ſame circuit twenty-five woods, thirty-two parks, ſixteen rivers, eight market towns, and in them and other villages there, there be as many fairs in the year as in any other place in England. There be alſo twenty-four coal-mines, and divers fornaces both for melting and drawing forth iron into bars: There be alſo much other metals, if they were ſought for; and for corn, graſs, and cattle, fiſh, and fowl, not inferior to the beſt place in all England. And there is one thing here more worthy to be ſpoken of than all the reſt; which is of the great abundance of free-ſtone and lime, that is there to be found within that circuit; as much lime and free-ſtone as would build as many churches, cities, caſtles, towns, and houſes, as are in all England, if need were. And for the pleaſures of hunting and hawking, fiſhing and fowling, it is as delicate a place as any there is in all England (78). C

(78) Dodſworth's MSS. in the Bodleian Library, vid. Catalog. MSS. Angliæ. Vol. I. p. 222, col. 2, No. 14.

TYRRELL [JAMES], Author of a hiſtory of England, and deſcended from an ancient and conſiderable family [*A*]; was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Timothy Tyrrell of Shotover, near Oxford, Knight, by Elizabeth his wife, ſole daughter and heir of the moſt learned Dr James Uſher, Archbiſhop of Armagh. He was born in Great Queen-Street, in the pariſh of St Giles's in the Fields, Middleſex, in the month of May, 1642, and educated chiefly in the Free-ſchool at Camberwell in Surrey. In the year 1657, he was admitted a Gentleman-Commoner of Queen's-College in Oxford, where he continued three years under the tuition of Mr Thomas Tully and Mr Timothy Halton. Thence he went to the Inner-Temple, to ſtudy the laws of the land (*a*). On the 28th of September, 1663, he was created Maſter of Arts at Oxford (*b*). And, about two years after, was called to the Barr. However, he did not practiſe in that profeſſion; but employed himſelf very diligently in ſtudying the Hiſtory and Conſtitution of this country, as his learned works afterwards ſufficiently evinced. He reſided chiefly upon his eſtate at Oakeley near Brill in

(1) Hiſtoriæ Normannorum Scriptores antiqui, editi ab And. Ducheſne. Paris, 1619. fol. Appendix, p. 1125. Stow's Annales, p. 806, 808. Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. III. p. 5. Hiſtoire du Roy Willaume par Fr. d'Eudemare. Rouen, 1629. 12mo. p. 673.

(2) Florentius Wigorn. ad ann. 1100. But Ordericus Vitalis ſays, he was a brave French knight, an inhabitant of Ponſoiſe, and a renowned warriour, p. 782, 783.

(3) Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722. Vol. II. col. 1322.

(4) Idem, col. 1365.

(5) Idem, col. 1373.

(6) She is ſaid to have brought thirty Manors to that family. The Engliſh Baronetage, edit. 1741. 8vo. Vol. II. p. 76, &c.

(*a*) A. Wood, Athenæ, Edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 972.

(*b*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 155.

[*A*] *Deſcended from an ancient and conſiderable family.*] The Tirel, or Tyrrel, family is of great antiquity in England;..... Tirel being one of thoſe eminent men who came over with William the Conqueror in 1066 (1). And Walter Tirell was the perſon ſaid to have ſhot William Rufus in the year 1100 (2). One of them was the common anceſtor of the numerous family of the Tyrrels, ſeated both in Ireland and England.——Hugh Tirell was one of thoſe brave Engliſh Noblemen, who, in the year 1172, made a conqueſt of Ireland (3). Some of them were Barons of Caſtle-Knoc in the county of Dublin, whoſe eſtate by females was transferred to other families about 1370 (4). And a branch of them is ſeated at Fertulogh, in the county of Weſt-Meath (5)—— In England; the manor of Thornton in Buckinghamſhire, after having paſſed through the families of Barton and Ingleton, became the poſſeſſion of the Tyrrels, deſcended from Jane heir-general of Robert Ingleton (6), the laſt of that name in the beginning of King Henry VIII. From whom are alſo deſcended both the other families of the Tyrrels in this county, of Caſtlethorp and Oakeley: and they all deſcended from one common anceſtor, *Humphrey Tyrrel*, Eſq; nephew of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, one of the coheirs of Sir Humphrey le Bruin, as well as the ſaid Humphrey Tyrrel. That family hath alſo a ſeat at Leckhamſtead, in the ſame county (7). And a branch of the ſame family is ſeated at Heron-gate in Eſſex; Sir Edward Tyrrel, Knt. being created a Baronet, October 31, 1627.——To return to *Humphry* Tyrrell: *George* his eldeſt ſon dyed in 1571, and He, by his ſecond wife, Margaret, daughter of Thomas Aſton of Aſton in Cheſhire, Eſq; had an elder ſon, Sir *Timothy*, Knt. Maſter of the Buckhounds to Prince Henry and King Charles I, who dyed in 1633, leaving iſſue by Eleanor his wife, daughter of Sir William Kingſmill, his eldeſt ſon, Sir *Timothy*, Knt. of Oakeley and Shotover, one of the privy Chamber to King Charles I, a Colonel, Governor of Caerdiffe, and General of the Ordinance under the Lord Gerard, who paid 750l. compoſition for his eſtate. By his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Archbiſhop Uſher, he had *James*, who is the ſubject of this article, and three other ſons beſides ſeveral daughters (8).

(7) Camden, Vol. I. col. 333.

(8) Engliſh Baronetage as above.

Buckinghamſhire, and was made one of the Deputy-Lieutenants and Juſtices of the Peace for that county: in which offices he continued till King James the Second turned him and the reſt out of Commiſſion, for not aſſiſting in taking away the Penal Laws and Teſt (c). Upon the Revolution, he zealouſly eſpouſed King William's intereſt, and writ with great ſtrength in vindication of his Expedition into England, and his title to the Crown; as will be ſhewn preſently. When he began compiling his Hiſtory of England, he came and lived chiefly at Shotover, near Oxford, for the benefit of the Bodleian, and other Libraries in that Univerſity (d). The firſt thing he publiſhed, was a book written by his grandfather, Archbiſhop Uſher [B]; and he wrote alſo a Vindication of that learned Primate [C]. He did not run into thoſe extravagant notions about the Prerogative, and Paſſive-obedience and Non-reſiſtance, which were ſo much eſpouſed and recommended in his time; but was for a limited Monarchy; as appears by his anſwer to Sir Robert Filmer [D], and eſpecially by his fourteen Political Dialogues [E], of which an account is given

(c) Wood, Athi ut ſupra.

(d) From the information of a perſon who knew him.

[B] *The firſt thing he publiſhed, was a book written by his grandfather, Archbiſhop Uſher.*] A. Wood ſays, it was Mr Tyrrell who publiſhed it (9). But, upon inſpection, it appears that it was *publiſhed* by Dr Robert Sanderſon, Biſhop of Lincoln, and *dedicated* by our Author to King Charles II. The title of it is, 'The Power communicated by God to the Prince, and the Obedience required of the Subject. Briefly laid down and confirmed out of the Holy Scriptures, Teſtimony of the primitive Church, Dictates of right Reaſon, and Opinion of the Wiſeſt among the heathen Writers. By the moſt reverend Father in God, James late Lord Archbiſhop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland. Publiſhed out of the original Copy written with his own hand by the reverend Father in God, Robert Lord Biſhop of Lincoln, with his Lordſhip's Preface thereunto, dated London, Dec. 31, 1660. With an Epiſtle Dedicatory to the King by James Tyrrill.' Lond. 1661. 4to. Biſhop Sanderſon, in the Preface, acquaints us, That this Treatiſe was written by the reverend and learned Author, at the ſpecial command of King Charles I. about the time when thoſe unhappy Diſtempers did firſt begin to appear openly in our land. As ſoon as the Treatiſe was finiſhed, the Author cauſed a Copy thereof to be fairly tranſcribed, and, with a Dedicatory Epiſtle prefixed thereunto, to be preſented to his Majeſty; who having read the Book, ſignified his Will and Pleaſure that it ſhould be Printed. Which notwithſtanding, whether by the Negligence or Unfaithfulneſs of the Party to whoſe Care and Truſt it was committed, was not done, &c.

(9) Athen. col. 973.

Mr Tyrrell concludes his Dedication in theſe words... 'I ſhall now make this my moſt humble Suit to your Majeſty, that as the reverend Author in his life-time publickly profeſſed his Loyalty to his Sovereign, and conſtantly prayed for your Majeſty's happy and glorious Return to theſe your Kingdoms, and in all things ſhewed himſelf your loyal Subject, ſo you would be pleaſed to own him as ſuch, by affording your gracious Countenance to this his poſthumous Work, which will eternize the Memory of the deceaſed Author, and thereby confer the greateſt temporal Bleſſing on,

'Your Majeſty's moſt loyal

'And obedient Subject,

'James Tyrrill.'

[C] *And he wrote alſo a Vindication of that learned Primate.*] It contains three and thirty pages in folio, and is printed at the end of *The Life of Dr* James Uſher, *Lord Primate of* Armagh, publiſhed by Richard Parr, D. D. Lond. 1686. with this title, 'An Appendix to the Life of the Lord Primate Uſher, containing a Vindication of his Opinions and Actions in reference to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of England, and his conformity thereunto, from the aſperſions of Peter Heylin, D. D. in his Pamphlet called *Reſpondet Petrus.*'——This *Reſpondet Petrus*, was the Anſwer of Peter Heylin, D. D. to ſo much of Dr Bernard's book, entitled *The Judgment of the late Primate of* Ireland, &c. *as he is made a party by the ſaid Lord Primate in the point of the Sabbath.* Lond. 1658. 4to.

[D] *As appears by his anſwer to Sir Robert Filmer.*] This anſwer is entitled, '*Patriarcha non Monarcha:* or the Patriarch unmonarched; being Obſervations on a late Treatiſe and divers other Miſcellanies, publiſhed under the name of Sir Robert Filmer, Baronet, in which the Falſeneſs of thoſe Opinions that would make Monarchy *jure divino* are laid open, and the true Principles of Government and Property (eſpecially in our Kingdom) aſſerted.' Lond. 1681. 8vo. ——This book was reflected upon by Mr Edmund Bohun, in the Preface to the Second Edition of Sir Robert's *Patriarcha*; 1685. 'In which (as it is ſaid) Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha* is vindicated from the cavils and miſconſtructions of the Author of a piece ſtiled *Patriarcha non Monarcha*, &c.'

[E] *And eſpecially by his fourteen Political Dialogues.*] The nine firſt of theſe Dialogues were publiſhed in 1692; the tenth in 1693; the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth, in 1694; and the fourteenth in 1695. quarto. Afterwards they were collected into one volume folio, with this general title, '*Bibliotheca Politica:* or an Enquiry into the antient Conſtitution of the Engliſh Government, with reſpect to the juſt Extent of the Regal Power, and the Rights and Liberties of the Subject. Wherein all the chief Arguments, both for and againſt the Late Revolution, are impartially repreſented and conſidered. In fourteen Dialogues. Collected out of the beſt Authors, antient and modern.' Lond. 1718.' 1727. That the Reader may judge of the nature of this work, we ſhall give him this ſhort ſummary of it. He enquires, in Dialogue the *firſt*, whether Monarchy be *Jure Divino?* In the *ſecond*, whether there can be made out from the Natural, or Revealed Law of God, any Succeſſion to Crowns by Divine Right? In the *third*, whether Reſiſtance of the Supreme Power, by a whole Nation, or People, in caſes of the laſt extremity, can be juſtified by the Law of Nature, or Rules of the Goſpel? In the *fourth*, whether abſolute Non-reſiſtance of the Supreme Powers be enjoined by the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and was the antient practice of the Primitive Church, and the conſtant Doctrine of our Reformed Church of England? In the *fifth*, whether the King be the ſole Supreme Legiſlative Power of the Kingdom: And whether our Great Councils, or Parliaments, be a fundamental part of the Government, or elſe proceeded from the Favour and Conceſſions of former Kings? In the *ſixth*, and *ſeventh*, whether the Commons of England, repreſented by Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes in Parliament, were one of the Three Eſtates in Parliament, before the forty-ninth of Henry III, or eighteenth of Edward I? The *eighth*, is a Continuation of the ſame Diſcourſe, concerning the Antiquity of the Commons in Parliament; wherein the beſt Authorities for it are propoſed and examined: with an entrance upon the queſtion of Non-reſiſtance. In Dialogue the *ninth*, he enquires, whether by the antient Laws and Conſtitutions of this Kingdom, as well as by the Statutes of the thirteenth and fourteenth of King Charles II, all Reſiſtance of the King, or of thoſe commiſſioned by him, are expreſsly forbid upon any pretence whatſoever: And alſo, whether all thoſe who aſſiſted his Majeſty, King *William*, either before, or after his coming over, are guilty of the breach of this Law? In the *tenth*, 1. whether a King of England can ever fall from, or forfeit his Royal Dignity for any breach of an original contract, or wilful violation of the fundamental laws of the Kingdom? 2. Whether King William, the Norman, did by his Conqueſt acquire ſuch an abſolute unconditional Right to the Crown of this Realm for himſelf and his heirs, as could never be lawfully reſiſted or forfeited for any male-adminiſtration or tyranny whatever? In the *eleventh*, 1. In what ſenſe all Civil Power is derived from God, and in what ſenſe it may be alſo from the people. 2. Whether his Majeſty King William, when Prince of Orange, had a juſt cauſe of war againſt King James II? 3. Whether the proceedings of his Majeſty, before he was King, as alſo of the late Convention, in reſpect of the ſaid King James, is juſtifiable by the Law of Nations, and the conſtitution of our Government? In the *twelfth*, 1. Whether the vote of the late Convention, wherein they declared the Throne to be vacant, can be juſtified from

given below. Subjects of a religious nature did likewise sometimes employ his thoughts; for he drew up a clear and elegant Abridgment, in English, of Bishop Cumberland's Philosophical Disquisition, or Enquiry, into the Laws of Nature [F], which was published in 1692. But his capital work was, 'The General History of England, both Ecclesiastical and Civil; from the earliest Accounts of Time;' which he intended to bring down to the reign of King William III [G]; but which was compleated, and published, only as far as the end of King Richard the Second [H]. In that work, he makes it his business to oppose and confute Dr Brady's History of England (e); especially these two favourite notions of the Doctor's, 'that all the Liberties and Privileges the People can 'pretend to, were the Grants and Concessions of the Kings of this Nation, and were de-'rived from the Crown (f) [I]. And, that the Commons of England represented by 'Knights,

(e) See above, the article BRADY [ROBERT].

(f) See preface to Vol. I. of Dr Brady's Complete History of England, p. 1.

the antient constitution and customs of this Kingdom? 2. Whether the said Convention, declaring King William and Queen Mary to be lawful and rightful King and Queen of England, may be justified by the said Constitution? 3. Whether the act passed in the said Convention, after it became a Parliament, whereby Roman-Catholick Princes are debarred from succeeding to the Crown, was according to Law? In the *thirteenth*, 1. Whether an oath of Allegiance may be taken to a King or Queen *de facto*, or for the time being? 2. What is the obligation of such an oath; whether to an actual defence of their Title against all persons whatsoever, or else to a bare submission to their power? 3. Whether the Bishops, who refused to take the oath of Allegiance to their Majesties, could be lawfully deprived of their Bishopricks? In the *fourteenth* Dialogue he shews, that the Arraigning and Murther of King Charles I, can by no means be justified by the proceedings of the Convention-Parliament against King James II, upon his Abdication; the grounds and manner thereof being wholly different. Proved by an exact relation of the beginning, progress, and issue of the late Civil War.——The chief books our Author cites, and animadverts upon; are, Dr Brady's, and Sir Robert Filmer's several pieces, Dr Hickes's Jovian, P. Heylin's Stumbling-block of Rebellion, Dr Johnston's Excellency of Monarchical Government, L'Estrange's Observators, Bishop Sanderson's Preface to Archbishop Usher's Power of the Prince, Digges's Unlawfulness of Subjects taking up arms, &c. To which he opposes the Authorities of Grotius, Puffendorf, William Petyt, Esq; ... Cooke's *Argumentum Anti-Normannicum*, Rushworth, &c. And in this work he shews a very extensive reading, and thorough knowledge of our Constitution.

[F] *For he drew up a clear and elegant Abridgment, in English, of Bishop Cumberland's Philosophical Disquisition, or Enquiry, into the Laws of Nature.*] The Bishop's book was written in Latin, with this title, *De Legibus Naturæ Disquisitio Philosophica: in qua earum Forma, summa Capita, Ordo, Promulgatio, & Obligatio è rerum natura investigantur; quinetiam Elementa Philosophiæ Hobbeianæ, tum moralis, tum civilis, confiderantur & refutantur.* Lond. 1672. 4to (10). Our Author's Abridgment of it was intitled, 'A brief Disquisition of the Law of Nature, 'according to the Principles and Method laid down in 'the reverend Dr Cumberland's (now Lord Bishop of 'Peterborough's) Latin Treatise on that Subject. As 'also his Confutations of Mr Hobbs's Principles, put 'into another method. With the right reverend Author's 'approbation.' Lond. 1692. 8vo. A Second edition corrected, and somewhat enlarged, came out in 1701. The right reverend Author's approbation was contained in a Letter to the Bookseller, wherein he thus speaks of Mr Tyrrell's performance .... 'I found that he had 'not only well translated and epitomized in some 'places what I had written in Latin, but had fully 'digested the chief things of my Design in a well-chosen 'Method of his own, with great perspicuity, and had 'added some Illustrations of his own, or from other 'learned Authors, with a Philosophical Liberty, which 'I must needs allow. For this reason I judged that the 'then unknown Author had given too low a title to his 'Book, and that I was to esteem him a good *Hyperaspistes*, or able Second, in this combat for Truth and 'Justice, rather than a Translator or Epitomizer of 'what I had written..... And I hope that since this 'Learned Gentleman hath conquered the Difficulties 'of the Search into the Rise of the Laws of Nature, 'now many of our younger Gentry will be encouraged 'to follow him in the way which this his Treatise makes 'plain before them (11). For from thence they may 'receive assistance, not only to discern the Reasonable-'ness of all Vertue and Morality, which is their duty 'and ornament as they are Men, but also they may 'here see the true foundations of civil Government and 'Property, which they are most obliged to understand, 'because, as Gentlemen, they are born to the greatest 'intereſt in them both.'——

(10) See above, the article CUMBERLAND [RICHARD].

(11) The Bishop's Book had been complained of for Obscurity; though it was more in the subject itself, than in the manner of treating it. See the abovesaid Article.

[G] *The General History of England, both Ecclesiastical and Civil,* &c.] The rest of the title will inform us with what it further contains: .. being as follows ... 'Taken from the most Ancient Records, Manuscripts, 'and Printed Historians. With Memorials of the most 'eminent Persons in Church and State. As also the 'Foundations of the most noted Monasteries, and both 'Universities.' What he published of it, is comprised in Five Volumes folio: sometimes bound in Three. And printed at London 1700. 1704.

[H] *But which was compleated, and published, only as far as the end of King Richard II.*] It is said that Mr Tyrrell had brought that History down lower; but was prevented by death, or otherwise, from making it public (12).

(12) Vide T. Hearne's Præf. ad Tho. de Elmham, p. 17.

[I] *That all the Liberties and Privileges the People can pretend to, were the Grants and Concessions of the Kings of this Nation.*] The patrons of that Opinion grounded it upon the Conquest of William I, or the Bastard; alledging, that by his subduing of Harold and the whole English Nation at the battel of Hastings, he thereby put an end to the old *Saxon Government* and *Laws*; so that no man at this day can claim any right to their Liberties, or any kind of property, but what must be owned as wholly derived from the Laws, Concessions, and Charters that have been from time to time granted by Him and the Succeeding Kings of this realm (13). What the Liberties and Privileges of this Nation were under the Saxons, our Author had shewn, in the Introduction to the first Volume of his History (14); wherein he observes, among other things, That their Government was rather Aristocratical, than Monarchical; and that their Kings were at first no better than Generals in war, and in time of peace had little or no power: Moreover, that their succession to the Crown was not lineal, or hereditary, but mostly elective, &c. (15).——As to the supposition, of all the Liberties and Privileges of the people being annihilated by the Conquest; he cannot rest satisfied with it. For they who make it, 'being greater friends to the arbitrary 'Power of Kings, than to the Laws and Liberties of 'their country, lay down this hypothesis, thereby to 'confer on the Prince an absolute power to break all 'our Laws, and seize upon our Liberties and Properties 'at his pleasure, and thereby reduce this kingdom to 'the same miserable state of Slavery with some of our 'neighbouring Nations; upon the aforesaid pretence, 'That all the Liberties and Privileges we now enjoy, 'being at first derived from the Concessions of *former* 'Kings (and those in great part wrested from them by 'force) their Successors may, whenever they shall think 'it conducing to the greater safety of the kingdom, '(of which they are to be the sole judges) reassume 'them, and thereby make themselves absolute masters 'of the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes of their Subjects, 'as they suppose their Conqueror and his son William 'Rufus to have been during their times. Nor may 'any body question or resist such Princes if they shall 'think fit so to do, since they have by this supposed 'Conquest of their predecessors, an absolute and in-'defeasible right to the Crown of England, paramount 'to all Laws, Compacts, and Coronation-oaths, the 'interpretation of which must lie wholly in their breasts, 'as being responsible to none but God, if they either 'wrest, or wilfully break and transgress them (16).' These arbitrary Maxims our Author opposes all along; shewing by many instances, that King William I. did not claim and exercise an absolute Dominion over the Lives and Liberties of all his Subjects.——The same point is also professedly handled by Mr Cooke, in his 'Argumentum Anti Normannicum: or an Argument 'proving,

(13) Filmer, Brady, &c.

(14) p. 34, 38, 39, &c.

(15) p. 42, &c.

(16) Introduction to Vol. II. of his History. See also Bibliotheca Politica, Dialog. 5th and 10th.

'Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of Parliament, were not introduced, nor were one of 'the three Eſtates in Parliament, before the forty-ninth of Henry III [K]. Before which 'time,

'proving, from ancient Hiſtories and Records, that 'William, Duke of Normandy, made no abſolute 'Conqueſt of England by the Sword; in the Senſe 'of our modern Writers (17).'

(17) Lond. 1682. 8vo.

[K] *That the Commons of England, repreſented by Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of Parliament, were not introduced, nor were one of the Three Eſtates of Parliament, before the 49th of Henry III.*] There being, in none of our Offices, any precepts to the Sheriffs, to cauſe Two Knights out of each Shire, and Citizens and Burgeſſes out of the reſpective Cities and Burghs, to be choſen and returned for Parliament, before the 49th of Henry III. A. D. 1265. Dr Brady (18), and others, inferred from thence, That before that time, the body of the Commons of England, or Freemen collectively taken, had not any ſhare or votes in making of Laws for the Government of the kingdom, nor had any communication in Affairs of State, unleſs they were repreſented by the Tenants *in capite*.—Now the ſaid year 1265 happening during the Barons wars, and while the King was their priſoner; it was intended thereby to inſinuate, That the Houſe of Commons was the Offspring of Rebellion.——Before that period, according to the opinion of the beſt Antiquaries (19), the Parliaments conſiſted of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, and Barons. Of theſe Barons there were two ſorts, *the greater Barons*, or the King's chief tenants, who held of him *in capite* by Barony: And the *leſſer Barons*, who held of the King by military ſervice, *in capite*. The former had ſummons to parliament by ſeveral writs: and the latter (that is, all thoſe who were poſſeſſed of thirteen Knights-fees and a quarter) had a general ſummons from the Sheriff in each county. This is quite plain from the following clauſes in King John's *Magna Charta* . . . 'Et ad habendum Commune Conſilium 'regni de Auxilio aſſidendo, aliter quam in tribus caſi- 'bus predictis, vel de Scutagio aſſidendo, ſummoneri 'faciemus Archiepiſcopos, Epiſcopos, Abbates, Comi- 'tes, & majores Barones ſigillatim per literas noſtras: '& preterea faciemus ſummoneri in generali, per vice- 'comites & ballivos noſtros, omnes illos qui de nobis 'tenent in capite, ad certum diem, ſcilicet ad termi- 'num quadraginta dierum ad minus, & ad certum locum; 'et, in omnibus literis illius ſummonitionis, cauſam 'ſummonitionis exprimemus.' i. e. 'And in order to have [or hold] a Common Council of the kingdom for aſſeſſing an Aid, (otherwiſe than in the three caſes aforeſaid) (20) or for aſſeſſing a Scutage, we ſhall cauſe to be ſummoned the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, and greater Barons *ſeverally* by our letters; and, moreover, we ſhall cauſe to be ſummoned *in general*, by our Sheriffs and Bailiffs, all thoſe who hold of us *in capite*, to a certain day, namely at the end, or expiration, of forty days at the leaſt (21), and to a certain place; and, in all the letters of ſuch ſummons, we ſhall expreſs the cauſe of the ſummons.'——Here being no mention of Knights of Shires, or other Repreſentatives of the Commons, for ſo important an affair as the granting of Money, we may very juſtly conclude, that there were then none. ——In this ſtate things continued till the 49th of Henry III; when, inſtead of keeping the old form, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leiceſter, and his party, thought fit to ſummon, not all, but thoſe of the greater Barons who ſided with them. And, inſtead of the leſſer Barons, who came with large retinues, they ſent their writs to the Sheriff in each county, to cauſe two Knights in every Shire to be choſen, and one, two, or four Burgeſſes for each Burgh, to repreſent the body of the people, reſiding in thoſe Counties and Burghs: leſt they ſhould be in no ſmall danger from ſuch unlimited and tumultuous aſſemblies. If that form had been obſerved before, it is amazing there ſhould not be the leaſt remains of it in our Records or public Offices. Unleſs we ſuppoſe, with the learned Biſhop Squire (22), that there were not any formal Summons even to the Lords before the 49th of Henry III; becauſe they were to come to the Parliament *ſuo jure*, in their own right, by preſcription, and conſequently there was no occaſion for any Summons.

(18) Introduction to the old Engliſh Hiſtory, p. 130, &c.

(19) Sir W. Dugdale's Origines Juridic. p. 17, 18.

(20) Viz. for redeeming the King, if taken priſoner; making his eldeſt Son a Knight; and marrying his eldeſt Daughter once.

(21) From the date of the Summons.

(22) Enquiry into the foundation of the Engliſh Conſtitution; or an Hiſtorical Eſſay upon the Anglo-Saxon Government. Lond. 1745. 8vo. p. 258. note.

But to trace this matter higher up, even to its origin: It is univerſally allowed, that our Conſtitution is founded upon the Saxon Government once eſtabliſhed in this iſland. And it is certain, that Power and Authority naturally follow Property. Government and Legiſlation therefore muſt be veſted of courſe in the richeſt perſons in the ſtate, and thoſe that are put in places of truſt and dignity. Among the ancient Germans indeed, of whom the Saxons were a branch, all had a right to be preſent at the public Aſſemblies (23); that is, all the Land-holders, but not thoſe whoſe chief buſineſs it was to cultivate the land, and to be employed in mechanic arts; for theſe were ſuppoſed to be preſent, and to give their conſent to the Laws, by their Lords, or thoſe whoſe lands they occupied (24). And, after the Saxons were ſettled here, every Land-holder of the Kingdom, whether of the Clergy or Laity, who was of an approved age, and had not forfeited this privilege by ſome previous miſdemeanor, had originally a right to be preſent there in perſon, whenever he pleaſed to make uſe of that right (25). But, in proceſs of time, the leſſer Freeholders finding it an intolerable burthen to attend the Witena-gemot twice a year, even from the remoteſt parts of the Kingdom; they left the burthen of that attendance to the Richer, who had better means, and more leiſure: or they ſent Deputies out of the ſeveral Tithings to repreſent them; as trading Communities afterwards did (26). And there is all the reaſon to believe, that this method continued with very little alteration, after the Conqueſt, and even in King John's time. For, the confirmation of *Magna Charta*, in a great Council, or Parliament, holden in Runnemede, A. D. 1215, is not only a good evidence of what was uſually done (27): but is alſo an emblem of the *Champs de Mars*, or *May*, among the old Franks, which were in effect the ſame Aſſemblies as were afterwards called Parliaments; they being held in a large open field, capacious of the greateſt company, and moſt commonly by the ſide of a river, for the conveniency of water (28).

(23) De minoribus rebus principes conſultant, de majoribus omnes; ita tamen ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium eſt, apud principes pertractentur. *Taciti* Germania, c. 11.

(24) Biſhop Squire, as above, p. 174, 177.

(25) Idem, p. 167.

(26) Idem, p. 240, 244, 245.

(27) Vide Matt. Weſtmonaſt. ad ann. 1215.

(28) Biſhop Squire, as above, p. 170—173. note.

Now if we examine further, wherein the difference between Mr Tyrrell and Dr Brady conſiſts, it will appear from the following particulars. Upon examining the Saxon Laws (29), and the ancient Gemots, Councils, and Synods (30); it is manifeſt, that the Legiſlative Power was lodged in the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots; and in other perſons that are denoted by the following names: *Witum*, *Witan*, *Witena*, or *Witenan*, *Sapientes*, Wiſemen; *Ealdormen*, *Aldorat*, *Seniores*, *Senatores*, Aldermen, Elders, or Senators; *Eadigan*, *Optimates*, *Magnates*, *Primates*, *Proceres*, *Principes*, the great or chief men; *Æthelum*, the Nobles; *Thegen*, or Thains; *Conſiliarii*, Counſellors; *Satrapæ Præfecti*, Governors; *Duces*, Commanders; *Comites*, Governors of Counties; *Tam Clerus quam Populus*, Clergy and People; *Lege eruditi*, learned in the Law.—Who are meant by all theſe names? is the queſtion. Dr Brady contends (31), that *Witen*, or *Sapientes*, moſtly ſignifies Noblemen, or great Lawyers: That *Optimates*, *Magnates*, &c. denote only Chief, Great, or Noble Men (32): That *Clerus* and *Populus* ſignify only Clergy and Laity (33): That the Saxon *Witena-gemotes* conſiſted only of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Maſſe-Thegnes, or dignified and great Clergymen, Aldermen, or *Comites*, King's Gereves, or *Præpoſiti*, King's Thegns, Miniſters, or Officers, his Counſellors, Judges, or Magiſtrates (34). —In oppoſition to this, Mr Tyrrell affirms, that the general or great Council of Eſtates, conſiſted of the Clergy, Nobility, and Deputies of Cities and great Towns (35): That Dr Brady brings no good authority for the word *Sapientes* ſignifying only Noblemen, or great Lawyers (36): That the word *Nobilis* includes not only Noblemen of title, ſuch as Dukes, Marquiſes, &c. but alſo all Gentlemen of families, who are well born, and do not exerciſe mechanick trades (37): [But it is to be remembered, that there was no Duke in England till King John's reign, and no Marquis till Richard the Second's. And that it was not the title as now, but the eſtates, or high poſts and offices, that were qualifications for ſitting in Parliament.] To proceed; Mr Tyrrell goes on with obſerving, that *Proceres* does not ſignify only men noble by birth, but the chieſeſt of ſubjects or citizens: And *Primates*, no more than principal or chief men, however born: That *Optimates* ſignifies no more than the better ſort of men and great Lords, and is not confined to the King's Thanes, or Tenants *in capite* only: And *Principes* doth not always ſignify Princes, or men noble by birth, but any chief or principal man, remarkable by place, office, or dignity (38).

(29) As publiſhed by W. Lambarde, Abraham Wheloc, and Dr Wilkins.

(30) Publiſhed by Sir Henry Spelman, and Dr Wilkins. See alſo our ancient Engliſh Hiſtorians.

(31) Gloſſary at the end of his Introduction to the old Engliſh Hiſtory, p. 66.

(32) Ibid. p. 57.

(33) Introduction to Eng. Hiſt. p. 26.

(34) Ibid. p. 10.

(35) Tyrrell's General Introduction to his Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. p. 87.

(36) Ibid. p. 88.

(37) Ibid. p. 91.

(38) Ibid. p. 92. See Right of the Commons aſſerted &c. by William Petyt, Eſq; Lond. 1680. 8vo.

'time, the body of the Commons of England, or Freemen collectively taken, had not 'any ſhare or votes in making Laws for the Government of the Kingdom, nor had any 'communication in affairs of State, unleſs they were repreſented by the Tenants *in ca-* '*pite* (*g*).' Our Author, Mr Tyrrell, is chiefly valuable for his copious tranſlation of all our old Engliſh Hiſtorians, and his methodical arrangement of them under the reſpective years: By which means, the Reader ſees their different accounts at one view. But, as it is not ſo agreeably digeſted, nor ſo well interwoven, as ſome more modern, though leſs faithful, Hiſtories; therefore it is not ſo much ſought after by the indolent and thoughtleſs, that is, the generality of Readers: who look into books more for amuſement than real improvement. However, it hath an intrinſic value, and deſerves a place in the Libraries of all lovers of the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Great Britain. Though it muſt be owned, that it is not free from faults and miſtakes [*L*]. This learned and induſtrious Author died in 1718, aged ſeventy-five, and upwards, and was buried in Oakley church (*b*). He married Mary, daughter and heir of Sir Michael Hutchinſon of Fladbury in Worceſterſhire, Knight; by whom he had the late Lieutenant-General James Tyrrell, of Shotover, Eſq; (*i*) [*M*].

(*g*) See his Introduction to the Old Engliſh Hiſtory, in the beginning.

(*b*) From an account ſent to us.

(*i*) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. II. Edit. 1741. p. 79.

One common Miſtake there is running among all thoſe who have writ upon this ſubject; which is, That they judge of the ancient times by the preſent, and think that the Number of Freeholders then, bore any proportion to what they do now. Whereas it appears from Domeſday-book, that the Holders of all the Lands, in 1087, were under 1200. So that the majority of them might, without any great inconvenience, be ſummoned to, and appear at, the great Councils of the Nation; ſuppoſing that they were all qualified by having Thirteen Knights-fees and a quarter, which there is great reaſon to queſtion: Or rather they may reaſonably be ſuppoſed not to have been above five, or ſix hundred.

A pretty exact account of the ſeveral Times, and Places, wherein our Kings, after the Conqueſt, uſed to keep their Courts, either *de more*, according to cuſtom, or otherwiſe, may be ſeen in the Folio Edition of Rapin's Hiſtory, at the end of each King's reign. At thoſe times, the *great Councils* of the Nation were commonly holden, as hath been ſhewn by the learned Mr T. Madox (39). ——It is to be obſerved, That the firſt time the word *Parliamentum* occurs in our ancient Hiſtorians, Bromton, and the reſt (40), is under the year 1164. And according to W. Prynne, in his Animadverſions, the firſt Record wherein *Parliamentum* is uſed for Parliament, is clauſe 28 Hen. III. memb. 12. *dorſo*. See Spelman's Gloſſary, under *Parliamentum*.

(39) Hiſtory of the Exchequer, p. 2——6. See alſo Spelman's Conc. Tom. I. p. 347. ed. 1639.

(40) Bromton apud Sciptores X. col. 1058.

[*L*] *Though it muſt be owned, that it is not free from faults and miſtakes.*] He hath committed ſeveral Miſtakes in his Tranſlations from the ancient Hiſtorians, as I have obſerved in many inſtances; and he hath alſo ſuffered himſelf to be overbyaſſed by the notion, That the Norman Conqueſt had brought little or no Alteration in the Engliſh Conſtitution: which it certainly did in many inſtances; eſpecially in that very material point of Tenures, as hath been ſhewn by the beſt judge in thoſe affairs, the very learned Sir Henry Spelman, in his treatiſe of the Origin of Feuds and Tenure by Knights Service.

[*M*] *By whom he had the late Lieutenant-General James Tyrrell, of Shotover, Eſq;*] That gentleman was Colonel of a regiment of foot; and his Commiſſion, as Colonel, bore date April 21, 1709, as Major-general, December 18, 1735, and as Lieutenant-general, July, 1739. He was one of the Grooms of the bed-chamber to his late Majeſty, when Prince of Wales, and repreſented the Corporation of Boroughbridge, in Yorkſhire, in the third parliament of King George I, and the firſt and ſecond of King George II. He was alſo Governor of Graveſend and Tilbury-fort; appointed, in May 1742, Governor of Berwick and Holy-iſland; and dyed the 30th of Auguſt following, aged ſixty-eight (41). His body was buried in Oakley church; where is a monument, erected to his memory, by his *kinſman* Auguſtus Schutz, to whom he left his eſtate from the Tyrrell-family.

(41) Engliſh Baronetage, as above, p. 79. and London Magazine, in May and September, 1742.

C

V.

ANE [Sir HENRY], the Younger, a man of a very ambiguous character in the laſt century; eldeſt ſon of Sir Henry Vane of Hadlow in Kent, Knight [*A*], was born about the year 1612. His education was at Weſtminſter-School, with Sir Arthur Haſlerigg, Thomas Scot, and others of that ſtamp (*a*); at which time, the livelineſs of his temper rendered him acceptable company to thoſe called good fellows; and yet he abſtained from that lewdneſs, which intemperance ſometimes leads into. At the age of fourteen, or fifteen, he became altered in his diſpoſition (*b*); though he is not pleaſed to tell us by what means. About the ſixteenth year of his age, he was admitted a Gentleman-Commoner of Magdalen-hall in Oxford; but when he ſhould have been matriculated as a Member of the Univerſity, and taken the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, he quitted his gown, put on a cloak, and ſtudied notwithſtanding for ſome time in that Hall (*c*); where, we are told, that though he was under the care of a very worthy Tutor, he lived not with great exactneſs. After that, he ſpent ſome little time in France, and more in Geneva; from whence he imported a full prejudice and bitterneſs, both againſt the Government, and the Liturgy, of the Church of England. His father, then Controller of the Houſ-

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon, Vol. II. Edit. 1721. col. 291.

(*b*) The Life and death of Sir Henry Vane, Edit. Lond. 1662. 4to. p. 8. and his laſt ſpeech.

(*c*) Wood, as above.

. [*A*] *Son of Sir Henry Vane of Hadlow in Kent.*] The family is ſaid to have been originally of the dioceſe of Durham (*1*). They derive themſelves from Howel ap Vane of Monmouthſhire; whoſe ſon, Griffith ap Howel Vane, had to wife Lettice, daughter of Bledwin ap Kenwyn, Lord of Powis.——The 6th in deſcent from him, was Henry Vane, knighted for his valiant behaviour at the battle of Poictiers, in 30 Edw. III, whoſe deſcendant, in the fifth generation, named——John, altered his name from *Vane* to *Fane*; and by his wife Iſabel, daughter of John Darell, of the county of Kent, Eſq; had four ſons, and three daughters: Henry——*Richard*, anceſtor to the preſent Earl of Weſtmorland; Thomas; and——*John*, anceſtor to the Lords Bernard, and the now Earl of Darlington (*2*). This John had the manor of *Hadlowe*, and other eſtates in Kent, and elſewhere, of the gift of his elder brother Henry, who dyed without iſſue. By Joan his wife, daughter and co-heir of Edward Hault, Eſq; he had ——*Henry*; and Richard; and Thomas. Henry was unwarily drawn into Sir Thomas Wyat's inſurrection, but pardoned by Queen Mary, on account of his youth. He was twice repreſentative in parliament, in 1559, and 1563, in the time of Queen Elizabeth. He dyed in 1582, leaving, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Godſalve, Eſq; his only ſon and heir——*Henry*, who was twice married: firſt, to Mary, daughter and heireſs of Thomas, Fane of Buſton, who brought him no child; ſecondly, in 1585, to Margaret, daughter of Roger Twiſden, of Eaſt Peckham in Kent, Eſq; He dyed at Roan, October 14, 1596, leaving iſſue by his ſecond wife——HENRY, born February 18, 1589, and Ralph. Henry was father of Sir *Henry*, who is the ſubject of this article. He reſumed the ancient name of his anceſtors, writing himſelf Henry *Vane*, and his poſterity have continued to do ſo ever ſince. In the 22d year of his age, March 28, 1611, he received the honor of knighthood from King James I; after which he improved himſelf by travel, and in learning foreign languages. He was elected one of the burgeſſes for the city of Carliſle, in the parliaments which began in 1614, in 1620, in 1625; and ſerved in every parliament after, to the time of his deceaſe, being elected for Thetford in Norfolk, Wilton in Wiltſhire, and for the county of Kent (*3*). In the firſt parliaments, his abilities, and his affection to the royal family, were ſo conſpicuous, that King James I. made him Cofferer to his ſon Prince Charles; who continued him in the ſame office after his acceſſion to the throne, and made him one of his Privy-Council. In Sept. 1631, he was appointed Embaſſador extraordinary, to renew the treaty of friendſhip and confederacy with Chriſtian IV. king of Denmark; and alſo to treat and conclude on a firm peace and confederacy with Guſtavus Adolphus, King of Sweden. He came back to England in Nov. 1632 (*4*). In May 1633, he nobly entertained King Charles I. at Raby-caſtle, on his way to Scotland to be crowned: as he did again, April 30, 1639, in his Majeſty's expedition to Scotland, when Sir Henry commanded a regiment of 1099 men (*5*). He was made Treaſurer of the Houſhold, in September 1639, upon the death of Sir Thomas Edmondes; and, on the 5th of February following, conſtituted Principal Secretary of State for life, in the room of Sir John Coke: And was generally in the moſt important commiſſions. But on his appearing in the proſecution of the Earl of Strafford, the King was ſo offended with him, that he removed him from his place of Treaſurer of the Houſhold, and alſo from being Secretary of State. It does not appear that he was concerned in any meaſures againſt the King, but continued in London without acting in the rebellion. And, on the 1ſt of December, 1645, the Parliament debating on propoſitions of peace with the King, voted, that it be recommended to his Majeſty, to create Sir Henry Vane, ſenior, a Baron of this kingdom. He was not in any commiſſion or employment under the Parliament, or Commonwealth; but lived retired till the latter end of the year 1654, when he departed this life, at his Seat at Raby-caſtle, in the ſixty-ninth year of his age. By his wife, Frances, daughter of Thomas Darcy, of Tolleſhunt in the county of Eſſex, Eſq; he had four ſons, and five daughters. Thomas, and John, who dyed infants; Sir *Henry*; Sir George, knighted November 22, 1640, and ſeated at Long Melton in the county palatine of Durham. The five daughters were, 1. Margaret, married to Sir Thomas Pelham, Bart. anceſtor to the preſent Duke of Newcaſtle; 2. Frances, wedded to Sir Robert Honeywood, of Pet in Kent, Knt. 3. Anne, wife of Sir Thomas Liddal, of Ravenſworth in the biſhoprick of Durham, Bart. 4. Elizabeth, wife of Sir Francis Vincent, of Stoke-Dabernon in Surrey, Bart. and 5. Catharine (6).

(1) Ludlow's Mem. Vol. III. 8vo. p. 110. But the author of Regicides no Saints, ſays, The family had nothing to do in the North, till old Sir Henry got Raby under a grant of King Charles I. p. 99.

(2) Ar. Collins's Peerage of England, ed. 1756. Vol. II. p. 256, &c.

(3) See Dr Br. Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria.

(4) See Ruſhworth, Vol. II. p. 107, 129, &c. 166—171, &c.

(5) Ibid. p. 178. and Vol. III. p. 925, 926.

(6) This account is chiefly extracted from Arthur Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 290, &c.

hold, and a Privy-Counſellor, was extremely angry at this (d): And, it being ſuggeſted to King Charles I, that the heir of a conſiderable family about his Majeſty, was grown into diſlike of the diſcipline and ceremonies of the Church, and that his Majeſty might do well to take ſome courſe about him; upon that, Biſhop Laud took him to taſk, and ſeemed to handle him gently in the conference, but concluded harſhly enough againſt him in the cloſe (e), though we are not told in what manner. Thus made uneaſy at home, his giddineſs led him, in 1634, with ſome Non-conformiſts, to the infant colony of New England, then a receptacle of all ill humours, and a medley of every thing called Religion (f). His father was againſt his taking that voyage, but the King being informed of the ſon's inclination, obliged him to conſent to it for three years; his deſign, as he pretended, was, to begin a ſettlement upon the banks of the river Connecticut (g). No ſooner was he landed, but his parts made him quickly taken notice of, and very probably his quality, being the eldeſt ſon of a Privy-Counſellor; inſomuch, that when the next election of Magiſtrates for the colony of Maſſachuſets came, he was choſen their Governor (h). But being a warm, hot-headed, unexperienced young man (i), and an enthuſiaſtic rigid Puritan (k), his working and unquiet fancy raiſed and infuſed amongſt them a thouſand ſcruples of conſcience, which they had not brought over with them, nor heard of before (l). He openly eſpouſed the Antinomian Doctrines [B], and gave ſuch encouragement to the Preachers and Spreaders of them, that it raiſed their vanity, and gave them ſuch an intereſt among the people, as the very next year had like to have proved fatal both to the Church and Commonwealth. But the ſober part obſerving his conduct, concerted ſuch meaſures among themſelves, as put an end to his Government the next election. Some time after, about 1639, he returned privately to England (m). He ſeemed then to be much reformed from his extravagancies, and, with his father's approbation and direction, married a Lady of a good family (n). Alſo through his father's credit with Algernoon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, then High-Admiral of England, he was joined with Sir William Ruſſel in the office of Treaſurer of the Navy, a place of great truſt and profit (o), which he equally ſhared with the other, and ſeemed a man well ſatisfied and compoſed to the Government (p). Being a perſon of great natural parts, of a quick conception, and very ready, ſharp, and weighty expreſſion [C]; and withal of very profound diſſimulation (q), which gave him a great advantage over the reſt of mankind; he came to be much conſidered. So that the town of Kingſton upon Hull choſe him one of their Repreſentatives, in the Parliament which met at Weſtminſter April 13, 1640, and again in the Long Parliament which began the 3d of November in the ſame year (r). In June 1640, he received the honour of Knighthood from King Charles I. But thinking both his father, and himſelf, ill uſed by the Court; his father, in that Sir Thomas Wentworth had with great earneſtneſs oppoſed his being made Secretary of State, and prevailed for above a month's delay; and himſelf, for that the ſaid Sir Thomas would needs be created (s) Baron of Raby, in the Dioceſe of Durham, a houſe and eſtate belonging to the Vane family, and an honour Sir Henry made account ſhould belong to himſelf [D]; from thenceforth he oppoſed, with great bitterneſs, and the utmoſt virulence, King Charles, and all his meaſures (t) [E]. During the Earl of

(d) Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. Edit. 1732. 8vo. Vol. I. p. 187.

(e) Life, &c. as above.

(f) Lord Clarendon, ibid. and Life.

(g) D. Neal's Hiſt. of New England, Edit. 1720. Vol. I. p. 144.

(h) Douglaſſe's Summary, &c. Vol. I. p. 428.

(i) Neal, as above.

(k) Lord Clarendon, p. 187.

(l) Lord Clarendon, p. 187.

(m) D. Neal, as above, p. 144, 145. and Ludlow's Memoirs, 8vo. Edit. Vol. III. p. 110.

(n) Frances, daughter of Sir Chriſtopher Wray, of Aſhby in Lincolnſhire, Bart. Ar. Collins, Vol. IV. p. 304.

(o) It was reckoned worth at leaſt 6000 l. a year in time of war. Myſtery of the good old Cauſe.

(p) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 188.

(q) Idem, p. 187. and Vol. III. p. 379. See Ludlow's Mem. Vol. III. p. 111.

(r) Dr Willis's Notitia Parliam. Vol. III. Part II. p. 238, 252. and Wood, Ath. as above, col. 292.

(s) The Earl of Strafford's Patent bore date Jan. 12, 1639-40.

(t) Lord Clarendon, p. 150, 188.

[B] *He openly eſpouſed the Antinomian doctrines, &c.*] The author of his Life relates (7), that 'his honourable Birth, long hair, and other circumſtances of his 'perſon, rendered his fellow-travellers jealous of him, 'as a ſpye to betray their liberty, rather than any way 'like to advantage their deſign. But He, that they 'thought at firſt ſight to have too little of Chriſt for 'their company, did ſoon after appear to have too 'much for them. For he had not been long in New 'England, but he ripened into more knowledge and 'experience of Chriſt, than the Churches there could 'bear the teſtimony of. Even New England could not 'bear all his words, though there were no King's court 'or King's chapel.'——The late Author of the 'Account of the European ſettlements in America (8),' gives this character of him, and of his behaviour there: 'The famous Sir Henry Vane the younger, an enthuſiaſtic, giddy, turbulent man, of no very good diſpoſition, came hither [to New England] with ſome 'of the Adventurers; and rather than remain idle, 'plaid at ſmall games in New England, where the 'people had choſen him governor. It is not hard to 'conceive, how ſuch a man, at the head of ſuch a people, and engaged in ſuch controverſy [about Grace and 'Works] could throw every thing into confuſion.'—— Mr Vane's election, ſays another author (9), will remain a blemiſh to their judgment who did elect him, 'while New England remains a nation; for coming 'from England a young unexperienced gentleman, by 'the induſtry of ſome who thought to make a tool of 'him, he was elected Governor, and before he was 'ſcarce warm in his ſeat fell in with the Sectaries, 'and ſacrificed the peace of the State to them, leaving 'us a caveat, that all good men are not fit for Government.' R. Baxter ſays, he was fain to ſteal away by night, and take ſhipping for England, before his year of Government was at an end (10).

(7) p. 8.

(8) Lond. 1758. 8vo. Vol. II. p. 148.

(9) Mather, Book III. p. 77. See Neale, as above, p. 144.

(10) Abridgment of R. Baxter's life, p. 98.

[C] *Being a perſon of great natural parts, &c.*] Mr Ludlow gives much the ſame character of him, in theſe words: 'In the beginning of the great Parliament, 'he was elected to ſerve his country among them, 'without the leaſt application made on his part to that 'end: And in this ſtation he ſoon made appear how 'capable he was of managing great affairs, poſſeſſing, 'in the higheſt perfection, a quick and ready apprehenſion, a ſtrong and tenacious memory, a profound 'and penetrating judgment, a juſt and noble eloquence, 'with an eaſy and graceful manner of ſpeaking. To 'theſe were added a ſingular zeal and affection for the 'good of the commonwealth, and a reſolution and 'courage, not to be ſhaken or diverted from the public ſervice (11).'.... The Lord Clarendon ſays, 'He was of a temper not to be moved, and of rare 'diſſimulation, and could comply when it was not 'ſeaſonable to contradict, without loſing ground by 'the condeſcenſion; and if he was not ſuperior to Mr 'Hambden, he was inferior to no other man, in all 'myſterious artifices (12).'

(11) Ludlow, Vol. III. p. 110.

(12) Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 379.

[D] *An honor Sir Henry made account ſtould belong to himſelf.*] The Lord Clarendon obſerves (13), that 'it 'was unluckily caſt upon the Earl [of Strafford] purely 'out of contempt of Vane.'——And he ſays elſewhere (14), it 'was an act of the moſt unneceſſary 'provocation (though he [the Earl of Strafford] contemned the Man with marvellous Scorn) that I have 'known, and I believe was the chief occaſion of the 'loſs of his head.'

(13) Vol. I. p. 188.

(14) p. 151.

[E] *He oppoſed, with great bitterneſs, and the utmoſt virulence, King Charles, and all his meaſures.*] A. Wood ſays (15), that, 'in the beginning of the Long Pa[rliament]

(15) Vol. III. col. [illegible]

of Strafford's tryal, he communicated a very material paper, privately taken by him out of his father's ſtudy, of which an account is given in the note [F]. The 26th of February, 1640-1, he carried up to the Houſe of Lords the articles of impeachment againſt Archbiſhop Laud (u). In June, 1643, he was nominated one of the Aſſembly of Divines (w). The following month he was appointed one of the Parliament's Commiſſioners, ſent into Scotland, to negotiate a treaty with that nation; and engage them in the Parliament's ſervice and aſſiſtance. Theſe Commiſſioners embarked on their voyage July the 20th, and arrived at Leith the 7th of Auguſt (x). Sir Henry, on his return to London, made a report of all their proceedings to the Houſe of Commons (y). He took the Covenant, among the reſt, on the 22d of September [G], and ſubſcribed it next to Oliver Cromwell (z): indeed it was in the main his own contrivance. About that time, he found means to ſupplant Sir William Ruſſel, and to be appointed ſole Treaſurer of the Navy (aa); which place he held till the firſt wars between the Engliſh and Dutch. In that office, we are told, he ſhewed a rare example of honour and integrity: For the fees were, at that time, four-pence in the pound, which, by reaſon of the war, honeſtly amounted to little leſs than 30,000 l. a year (bb). Sir Henry looking on it as too much for a private ſubject, very generouſly gave up his Patent (cc), which he had for life from King Charles I, to the then Parliament, deſiring but 2000 l. a year, for an Agent he had bred up to the buſineſs, and the remainder to go to the public. This was done, and the method of a fixed ſalary has continued ever ſince in that office (dd). About the beginning of the year 1645, he was one of the Parliament's Commiſſioners at the Treaty of Uxbridge (ee). As he was again at the Treaty in the Iſle of Wight, in 1648 (ff) [H]: but he was always an enemy to Peace. Having always appeared unſettled in matters of Religion, when the Independents ſprung up, he declared himſelf one of their Leaders (gg): and veered afterwards with every wind of new Doctrine, being ſucceſſively Preſbyterian, Independent, Anabaptiſt, Fifth-Monarchy-man, &c. [I]. In June, 1647, he was one of the Commiſſioners ſent to the

(u) The Archbiſhop's Diary in his Troubles and Tryal, by H. Wharton, and in Ruſhw Vol. III. p. 1087.

(w) Scobell's Collection of Acts, June 1643, p. 43.

(x) Ruſhworth, Vol. V. p. 466, &c.

(y) Whitelock, p. 76.

(z) Ruſhworth, p. 480. See Echard's Hiſt. Edit. 1720. p. 585.

(aa) Wood, as above, col. 292. Myſtery of the good old Cauſe.

(bb) This is hardly credible.

(cc) Decemb. 23, 1646, an Ordinance paſſed, at his requeſt, to enable him to make a ſurrender of his place of Treaſurer of the Navy. Whitelock, p. 232.

(dd) A. Collins's Peerage, Vol. V. p. 303. See Ludlow, Vol. III. p. 111.

(ee) Ruſhworth, Vol. V. p. 846. &c. Whitelock, p. 125.

(ff) Whitelock, p. 334.

(gg) Rapin's Hiſt. Edit. 1733. Vol. II. fol. p. 514. and Echard's, p. 606, 607.

'ment, he was a promoter of the Rebellion, a frequent 'committee-man, a ſpeech-maker, a preacher, an un-'derminer, a juggling fellow, and a plotter to gain the 'eſtates of other perſons that adhered to his Majeſty 'in the worſt of times.' And another writer tells us, that 'he was born to diſquiet the world, and to be a 'firebrand of communities, yet ſtill carrying his deſigns 'of confuſion under a feigned meeknes and ſimplicity 'of the Goſpel (16).'

(16) Perinchief's Life of King Charles I. Lond. 1676. 8vo. p. 174.

[F] *During the Earl of Strafford's tryal, he communicated a very material paper, &c.*] That paper contained notes, taken by his father, Secretary Vane, of ſome opinions delivered at the Council-table, May 5, 1640. And Mr Whitelock gives us the following account, how they came to be diſcovered . . . 'Secretary Vane being out of town, ſent a letter to his ſon, Sir Henry 'Vane the younger, then in London, with the key of his 'ſtudy, for his ſon to look in his cabinet; for ſome papers 'there to ſend to his father. The ſon looking over many papers, among them lighted upon theſe notes, which being of ſo great concernment to the publick, and declaring ſo much againſt the Earl of Strafford, he held himſelf bound in duty and conſcience to diſcover them. He ſhewed them to Mr Pym, who urged him, and prevailed with him, that they might be made uſe of in the evidence againſt the Earl of Strafford, as being moſt material, and of great conſequence, in relation to that buſineſs. Accordingly they were produced, April 12, 1641, to the Houſe of Commons, and in the afternoon at a conference with the Lords; and the next day the Earl being brought to Weſtminſter, and both houſes being met, the notes were openly read. The title of them was,—*No danger of a war with Scotland, if offenſive, not defenſive.*——Then followed the opinions interlocutory. [King Charles] 'How can we under-'take offenſive war, if we have no more money.' [Sir Thomas Wentworth, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.] 'Borrow of the city 100000l. go on vigorouſly to levy 'ſhip-money; your Majeſty having tried the affection 'of your people, you are abſolved and looſe from all 'rule of Government, and to do what power will admit. 'Your Majeſty having tried all ways, and being refuſed, 'ſhall be acquitted before God and man. And you 'have an *Army* in Ireland, that you may employ to 'reduce *this Kingdom* to obedience: for I am confident 'the Scots cannot hold out five months.' [Archbiſhop Laud] 'You have tried all ways, and have always been 'denied, it is now lawful to take it by force.' [Lord Cottington] 'Leagues abroad there may be made for 'the defence of the kingdom; the lower houſe are 'weary of the King and Church: all ways ſhall be juſt 'to raiſe money by, in this inevitable neceſſity, and 'are to be uſed, being lawful.' [Archbiſhop Laud] 'For an offenſive, not any defenſive war.' [Lord Lieutenant of Ireland] 'The town is full of Lords, put the 'commiſſion of Array on foot, and if any of them ſtir, 'we will make them ſmart.'——What was accounted the moſt criminal, and no leſs than treaſon, in theſe words, was the propoſal, of bringing an *Army* out of Ireland, *to reduce this Kingdom to obedience*; by which the Earl's enemies underſtood England. But if he ſpoke any ſuch words, he plainly meant Scotland, which was in rebellion. For, as he ſaid in his own defence, the word *this* cannot rationally imply England; becauſe England was not out of the way of obedience, and becauſe there never was any the leaſt intention of landing the Iriſh Army in England, as the Lords of the Council were able to atteſt (17).

(17) Whitelock's Memorials, ed. 1732. p. 43.

[G] *He took the Covenant, among the reſt, &c.*] Whilſt he, and his fellow-commiſſioners, were ſettling it with the Scotiſh parliament; the laſt finding fault with theſe two clauſes, concerning——'the preſervation of the 'King's perſon'——and, 'reducing the Doctrine and 'Diſcipline of both Churches to the pattern of the 'beſt Reformed.'——Sir Henry found out a ſoftening expedient, by adding to the firſt clauſe theſe or the like words . . . 'in preſervation of the Laws of the Land, 'and Liberty of the Subject——and to the ſecond—— 'according to the Word of God (18).'

(18) Ludlow's Memoirs, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 79.

[H] *As he was again at the Treaty in the Iſle of Wight.*] We are told, that he acted perfidiouſly upon that occaſion; in that he perſuaded his Majeſty, not to be prodigal in his conceſſions; alledging, that He had already yielded more than was fit for them to aſk, or Him to grant: yet afterwards did moſt fiercely inveigh againſt the conceſſions, as deſigned by his Majeſty, under the appearance of peace, to ruin the Parliament and Commonwealth (19).——The reaſon of this odd conduct is explained by Biſhop Burnet (20), who tells us, that 'Sir Henry Vane, and others who were for a change 'in the government, had no mind to treat any more. '—They went to the Treaty on purpoſe to delay mat-'ters; and therefore ſtudied to draw out the treaty to a 'great length, till Cromwell had ſettled Scotland and 'the North, and could bring up the Army to London.' '. . . In the mean time, Sir Henry flattered the Epiſ-'copal party to the King's ruin, as well as their own.'

(19) Wood's Ath. as above, col. 292.

(20) Hiſtory, as above, Vol. I. p. 60, 61.

[I] *And veered afterwards with every wind of new Doctrine, &c.*] The Lord Clarendon ſays of him, in this reſpect, that 'Vane was a man not to be deſcribed 'by any Character of Religion; in which he had 'ſwallowed ſome of the fancies, and extravagancies 'of every Sect, or Faction; and was become (which 'cannot be expreſſed by any other language than was 'peculiar to that time) *a Man above Ordinances*, un-'limited or unreſtrained by any rules, or bounds pre-'ſcribed to other men, by reaſon of his perfection. 'He was a perfect Enthuſiaſt; and, without doubt, 'did believe himſelf inſpired; which ſo far corrupted 'his reaſon and underſtanding, (which in all matters

'without

the Army, to acquaint them what the Parliament had done in satisfaction of their desires, and to persuade them to a compliance with the Parliament *(bb)*. He doth not appear to have had any share in the King's Tryal or Death *(ii)*; but was after that one of the most zealous Commonwealth's-men. In 1649, 1650, 1651, and 1652, he was appointed one of the Council of State *(kk)* [*K*]: and, in 1652, was for a time President of the same Council, being then also one of the Commissioners of the Navy *(ll)*. The 9th of January 1649-50, he made the report to the House of Commons, from the Committee appointed to consider of the manner of electing future Parliaments *(mm)*. Towards the end of the year 1651, he was nominated one of the Commissioners, that were to be sent into Scotland; in order to introduce the English Government there, and effect an union between the two Kingdoms *(nn)*: but Sir Henry, for his own part, only sowed dissention between the opposite parties in the Kirk [*L*]. To embroil affairs, and have every thing unsettled; except perhaps a Commonwealth, with great latitude and libertinism; seems indeed to have been his natural disposition, and earnest endeavour. Therefore, when Oliver Cromwell went about to usurp and ingross the Supreme Authority, he became one of his most violent opposers; and left no stone unturned to supplant, and even to ruin him *(oo)*. He was one of the great opposers of the dissolution of the Long Parliament [*M*]. And continuing his practices against Cromwell [*N*], the latter summoned him, in 1656, to appear before him in Council. After some delays, he appeared, when he was charged by the Protector with disaffection to the Government; which he had demonstrated in a late book, published by him with a seditious intention, called, A Healing Question proposed and resolved [*O*]. Sir Henry did not disown his dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs; and owned the

(bb) Whitelock, p. 351.
(ii) Sec his Tryal, p. 45, 46, 47.
(kk) Whitelock, p. 381, 441, 488. and Parliamentary Hist. Vol. 19. p. 459. and his Tryal, p. 28, &c.
(ll) Wood, Ath. col. 293.
(mm) Parl. Hist. p. 244.
(nn) Whitelock, p. 512, 517, 527. Parliam. Hist. Vol. 20. p. 82, 85, 101.
(oo) Siding with, and preaching among Anabaptists and Fifth-Monarchy-men. Wood, Ath. col. 293.

'without the verge of religion was superior to that of 'most men) that he did at some time believe, he was 'the person deputed to reign over the Saints upon earth 'for a thousand years (31).'—A. Wood says of him (22), as follows, in yet harsher terms; 'In sum, he was the 'Proteus of the times, a meer hotch-potch of religion, 'chief ring-leader of all the frantick Sectarians, of a 'turbulent spirit and working brain, of a strong com-'position of choler and melancholy, an inventor not 'only of whimseys in Religion, but also of crotchets in 'the State, (as his several Models testify) and composed 'only of treason, ingratitude, and baseness.'——It seems, there was a sect, from him called *Vanists* (23).

(21) Lord Clarendon's History, Vol. VI. p. 695, 696.
(22) Athen. as above, col. 293.
(23) R. Baxter's Life fol. 74. and Abridgment of it p. 100, 101.

[*K*] *He was appointed one of the Council of State.*] The powers of this Council were, To command and settle the Militia of England and Ireland: To set forth such a Navy as they should think fit: To appoint magazines and stores, and to dispose them &c. To fit and execute the powers given them, for a year (24).

(24) Whitelock, p. 381.

[*L*] *Only sowed dissention between the opposite parties in the Kirk.*] The Kirk was then divided into two parties, denominated the Protestors, and the Resolutioners, which, like all other religious factions, acted with great fierceness against one another. To calm them, these Commissioners were sent: Some of them 'moved, that 'pains should be taken to unite these two parties. 'But Vane (says Bishop Burnet) opposed this with 'much zeal: He said, would they heal the wound 'that they had given themselves, which weakened them 'so much? The setting them at quiet could have no 'other effect, but to heal and unite them in their oppo-'sition to their authority: He therefore moved, that 'they might be left at liberty to fight out their own 'quarrels, and be kept in a greater dependence on the 'temporal authority, when both sides were forced to 'make their appeal to it: So it was resolved to suffer 'them to meet still in their Presbyteries and Synods, 'but not in general Assemblies, which had a greater 'face of union and authority. This advice was followed: 'so the division went on (25).'——It may not be amiss to hear what the Lord Clarendon says of Sir Henry Vane upon this occasion (26). 'There hath been scarce any 'thing more wonderful throughout the progress of these 'distractions, than that the Covenant did with such 'extraordinary expedition pass the two Houses, when 'all the leading persons in those Councils were at the 'same time known to be as great enemies to Presbytery '(the establishment whereof was the main end of this 'Covenant) as they were to the King or the Church. 'And he who contributed most to it, and in truth was 'the principal contriver of it, and the man by whom 'the Committee of Scotland was entirely and stupidly 'governed, Sir Harry Vane the younger, was not after-'wards more known to abhor the Covenant, and the 'Presbyterians, than he was at that very time known 'to do, and laughed at them then, as much as ever 'he did afterwards..... There need no more be said 'of his ability, than that he was chosen to couzen and 'deceive a whole nation which was thought to excel in 'craft and cunning: which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity, and prevailed with a people, 'that could not otherwise be prevailed upon, than by 'advancing that idol Presbytery, to sacrifice their peace, 'their interest and their faith, to the erecting a power 'and authority, that resolved to persecute Presbytery 'to an extirpation; and, in process of time, very near 'brought their purpose to pass.'

(25) Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time, ed. 1753. 8vo. Vol. I. p. 85.
(26) Vol. III.

[*M*] *He was one of the great opposers of the dissolution of the Long Parliament.*] By this Dissolution, we mean Oliver Cromwell's forcibly and irregularly turning them out of the House. For by Statute XVI. Caroli I. c. 7. the Parliament then assembled could not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, unless by Act of Parliament; nor could they be adjourned, unless it was by themselves, or by their own order.——When therefore Lieutenant-Colonel Worsley entered the House of Commons with two files of musqueteers, to drive out the members, on April 20, 1653, Sir Henry Vane said aloud, 'This is not honest, yea it is against morality 'and common honesty.' Upon which Cromwell fell a railing at him, crying out with a loud voice, 'O Sir 'Henry Vane, Sir Henry Vane, the Lord deliver me 'from Sir Henry Vane (27).'

(27) Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 457.

[*N*] *And continuing his practices against Cromwell.*] Henry Cromwell, in a letter to Secretary Thurloe (28), gives this account of him, in 1655: 'Sir Henry Vane, 'and such like, who are rotten in their principles, 'can make good use of such delusions as these [Fifth-'Monarchy] and the like, to carry on their designs. '... Sir Henry goes up and downe amongst these 'people and others, endeavouringe to withdraw them 'from their submission to the present Government.... 'If he be not prevented, he will be a sad scourge to 'England.'——We find him again, in 1656, caballing against the Protector; and, when writs came out for a new parliament, 'was one of those who said, they 'would have no swordmen, no decimator, or any that 'received salary from the State to serve in parliament; 'and were resolved to give a lift to the Government, 'and doubted not of carrying all before them.' He then endeavoured to be elected for Boston in Lincolnshire, and afterwards for that County; but was disappointed. He polled in three places, and miss it in all (29).

(28) Thurloe's State-Papers, Vol. IV. p. 503.
(29) Idem, Vol. V. p. 296, 299, 342.

[*O*] *A Healing Question proposed and resolved.*] The further title of it was, 'A healing Question propounded 'and resolved, upon occasion of the late public and 'seasonable call to Humiliation, in order to Love and 'Union amongst the honest Party &c.' Lond. 1656. four sheets, quarto. It was written upon an invitation given, in a declaration published by Cromwell, for a general Fast, that the people would apply themselves to the Lord, to discover the Achan which had so long obstructed the settlement of these distracted nations: And contained, says Ludlow (30), the state of the Republicans controversy with the King, the present deviation from that cause for which they engaged, and the means to unite all parties in the accomplishment of it. When it was finished, Sir Henry shewed it to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, who seeming to approve it, desired to take it with him, and promised to communicate it to Cromwell upon the first opportunity.

(30) Vol. IV. p. 576.

writing

writing of the book, and alſo the publiſhing, though in terms dark and myſterious enough, as his manner was. Whereupon Cromwell ordered him to give ſecurity, by a day limited, not to diſturb the peace of the nation, or elſe to ſtand committed. The time being expired, he appeared again before the Council, and delivered into Cromwell's own hand another Paper, containing the Reaſons of his diſapproving the preſent uſurpation, and a friendly advice to him to return to his duty, with ſome juſtification of his own conduct with regard to the publick. But notwithſtanding all this, and divers reaſons alledged by him to excuſe himſelf from giving the demanded ſecurity; one of which was, the ſummons ſent him to appear in Parliament; he was ſent priſoner to Cariſbrook-Caſtle, in the Iſle of Wight (*pp*). From whence being releaſed, December 31, 1656 (*qq*), he came to London, where he met with another kind of perſecution: For Cromwell perceiving that the impriſoning of him had proved unſucceſsful, he privately encouraged ſome of the Army to take poſſeſſion of certain foreſt-walks belonging to him, near Raby-Caſtle, and alſo gave orders to the Attorney-General, on pretence of a flaw in his title to a great part of his eſtate, to file a bill againſt him in the Exchequer. This was deſigned to oblige him to produce his title, which if he had done, they doubted not, by the craft of the Lawyers, to find ſome defect in it, whereby it was hoped he would be forced into a compliance: Yet, at the ſame time, he was privately informed that he ſhould be freed from this, or any other inquiſition, and have whatever elſe he could deſire, in caſe he would comply with the preſent authority (*rr*). But he remained inflexible all Oliver's time: And ſo he did under his ſucceſſor, Protector Richard; againſt whom there were many meetings of the chief ſticklers for a Commonwealth, at Sir Henry's houſe near Charing-croſs (*ss*). Great endeavours were uſed to keep him out of Richard's Parliament in 1659 (*tt*); and by direction, the returning officers at Hull and Briſtol would not return him, though he is ſaid to have had the majority; yet at laſt he was choſen for Whitchurch in Hamſhire, through the intereſt of Robert Wallop, Eſq; (*uu*). In that Aſſembly, he and other Republicans laboured to overturn the ſettlement of a Protector and two houſes of Parliament, and to introduce a Commonwealth: By their abilities, they ſoon leſſened Richard's power, and gained an aſcendent over his party, to which a warm ſpeech of Sir Henry's [*P*] is ſaid to have not a little contributed (*ww*). After Richard's abdication, the Long Parliament that had been reſtored by a general council of the officers of the army, conſtituted Sir Henry one of the Committee of Safety the 9th of May; and the 13th of the ſame month, one of the Council of State (*xx*). The 26th of the ſaid month, he was appointed the firſt of the ſeven Commiſſioners for managing the affairs of the Admiralty; and in September, Preſident of the Council: About which time he propoſed a new model of Government [*Q*]. Upon the Council of the Army's excluſion of the Parliament, which was on the 13th of October, he was nominated, four days after, one of the Committee of Ten from the Council of State, to conſider of fit ways to carry on the affairs of the Government; and alſo one of the Committee to nominate officers of the army. The 26th, when the Committee of Safety was framed [*R*], he was one of them; and their deſign

(*qq*) In Sept. 1656. Ludlow's Mem. Vol. II. p. 568, 576, 577. and Thurloe's State-Papers, Vol. V. p. 328, 349, 407. He remained priſoner four months. Tryal, p. 47.

(*pp*) Wood, Ath. col. 293.

(*rr*) Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 594.

(*tt*) See Thurloe's State-Papers, Vol. VII. p. 588, 704.

(*tt*) Oldmixon. Vol. I. p. 428.

(*uu*) Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 618. Sir Edw. Mountague affirms, he, and other Commonwealth's-men were let in, upon their fair promiſes not to overturn the Government. See Kennett's Regiſter, p. 5.

(*ww*) Whitelock, 677. and Oldmix. p. 430.

(*xx*) Whitelock, p. 677, 678. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 656.

[*P*] *A warm ſpeech of Sir Henry's.*] It was in theſe words: 'Mr Speaker, Among all the people of the 'univerſe, I know none who have ſhewn ſo much zeal 'for the liberty of their country, as the Engliſh at this 'time have done: They have, by the help of Divine 'Providence, overcome all obſtacles, and have made 'themſelves Free. We have driven away the Here'ditary Tyranny of the houſe of Stuart, at the expence 'of much blood and treaſure, in hopes of enjoying 'Hereditary Liberty, after having ſhaken off the yoke 'of Kingſhip; and there is not a man amongſt us, 'who could have imagined that any perſon would be 'ſo bold as to dare to attempt the raviſhing from us 'Freedom, which coſts us ſo much blood and ſo much 'labour. But ſo it happens, I know not by what mis'fortune, we are fallen into the error of thoſe who 'poiſoned the Emperor Titus to make room for Domi'tian, who made away Auguſtus that they might have 'Tiberius, and changed Claudius for Nero. I am 'ſenſible theſe examples are foreign from my ſubject, 'ſince the Romans in thoſe days were buryed in Lewd'neſs and Luxury; whereas the People of England are 'now renowned, all over the world, for their great 'vertue and diſcipline; and yet ſuffer an Idiot, with'out courage, without ſenſe, nay without ambition, 'to have dominion in a country of Liberty. One could 'bear a little with *Oliver Cromwell*, though, contrary 'to his oath of fidelity to the Parliament, contrary to 'his duty to the Publick, contrary to the reſpect he 'owed to that venerable body from whom he received 'his Authority, he uſurped the government. His merit 'was ſo extraordinary, that our judgments, our paſſions 'might be blinded by it. He made his way to Empire 'by the moſt illuſtrious actions; he had under his com'mand an Army that had made him a Conqueror, and 'a People that had made him their General. But as 'for *Richard Cromwell* his ſon, who is he? what are 'his titles? We have ſeen that he had a ſword by his 'ſide, but did he ever draw it? And, what is of more 'importance in this caſe, Is he fit to get obedience from 'a mighty Nation, who could never make a footman 'obey him? Yet we muſt recogniſe this Man as our 'King, under the ſtile of Protector! a man without 'birth, without courage, without conduct. For my 'part, I declare, Sir, it ſhall never be ſaid that I made 'ſuch a Man my Maſter (31).'

(31) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 430, 431.

[*Q*] *He propoſed a new model of Government.*] The ſubſtance of it was, That the ſupreme Power, delegated by the People to their Truſtees, ought to be in ſome fundamentals not diſpenſed with: That it is deſtructive to the People's Liberties (to which by God's bleſſing they are fully reſtored) to admit any earthly King or ſingle Perſon to the legiſlative or executive Power over this Nation: That the ſupreme Power, delegated, is not entruſted to the People's Truſtees, to erect matters of Faith and Worſhip, ſo as to exerciſe compulſion therein (32). —— Mr Baxter informs us (33), that 'Vane was for a Fanatick Democracy. When Crom'well was dead, he got Sir Arthur Haſlerigge to be his 'cloſe adherent on civil accounts, and got the Rump ſet up again, and a Council of State, and got the power much into his own hands. When in the height of his power, he ſet upon the forming a New *Commonwealth*, and with ſome of his adherents drew up the model, which was for *Popular Government*; but ſo that men of his confidence muſt be the people.'

(32) See Tryal, p. 30.

(33) Abridgment of his Life, p. 99.

[*R*] *When the Committee of Safety was framed.*] This Committee was authorized to ſeize and ſecure ſuch as might juſtly be ſuſpected of any deſign to diſturb the publick Peace, and alſo to remove ſuch Officers of the Army as they ſhould think fit, and to fill their places with others, till the Parliament ſhould take farther order therein. The time appointed for the duration of their power was Eight Days, by which time it was ſuppoſed the Houſe of Commons would be able to conſtitute a Council of State, to take care of affairs of that nature (34).

(34) Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 651, 652.

was apprehended to be the overthrowing of Magiſtracy, Miniſtry, and the Law (*yy*). We find him alſo, November 1, one of the Committee to conſider of a Form of Government for the three Nations as a Commonwealth. In that caſe, 'he was hard to be ſatisfied, 'but did much ſtick to his own apprehenſions, or notions (*zz*).' The proceedings of General Monk were very diſpleaſing and alarming to him, with the reſt of the Republicans; and new Commiſſions being ordered for raiſing of freſh forces, he was nominated Commander of a Regiment of Horſe, which was the only military employment he ever had (*aaa*). November 16, he was appointed one of the Committee of Nineteen, to determine the qualifications of Members of Parliament. Upon the re-aſſembling of the Long Parliament, being ſent for, he came and took his place in the Houſe, January 9, 1659-60. Then he was queſtioned for his compliance with the Army during the late interruption; and, though he anſwered ingenuouſly, it was voted, that he ſhould forthwith repair to his houſe at Raby, and remain there during the pleaſure of the Parliament: At the ſame time, he was diſcharged from being a Member of the Parliament (*bbb*). Delaying to remove from London, on account of illneſs, real, or pretended, and endeavouring to ſtir up the enemies of the then Government to riſe and take up arms; an order was made, February 1, for his being taken into cuſtody, and ſent to Raby; and another order, on the 13th, for the Serjeant at Arms to carry him to his houſe at Bellew in Lincolnſhire (*ccc*); in the way to his houſe at Raby (*ddd*). The month following, the Jeſuit provincial Bradſhaw, who came over from Spain with above a hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, was treating with him, and General Lambert (*eee*). After the King's Reſtoration, being, as he thought, conſcious to himſelf of having done nothing in relation to public affairs, for which he could not willingly and chearfully ſuffer, he came up, and continued at his houſe in Hamſtead near London (*fff*). But, June 11, 1660, the Houſe of Commons reſolved [*S*], that he ſhould be one of the Twenty Perſons to be *excepted* out of the act of General Pardon and Oblivion, for and in reſpect only of ſuch pains, penalties, and forfeitures, not extending to life, as ſhould be thought fit to be inflicted on him. And he never applying to the King, but lurking up and down, without giving any account of himſelf, and being looked on as a perſon of a miſchievous activity (*ggg*); engaged, with ſome of the Army, to drive the King out of England again (*hhh*); he was therefore committed to the Tower in July (*iii*). Upon the inſurrection of the Fifth-monarchy-men, in January 1660-1, Sir Henry, the only perſon of parts and figure who had formerly countenanced them, and writ in favour of their principles [*T*]; being now looked upon by the Court with a jealous eye,

(*yy*) Whitelock, p. 678, 685.

(*zz*) Whitelock, p. 686, 689.

(*aaa*) Whitelock, p. 686. His regiment was ordered to be diſbanded Jan. 14, 1659-60. Idem, p. 693. It is there called a regiment of foot. See his Tryal, p. 33, 49. and Life, p. 9.

(*bbb*) Whitelock, p. 693. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 805. and Tryal, p. 48.

(*ccc*) Whitelock, p. 694, 696. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 823, 826, 827, 828. Wood, Ath. col. 294.

(*ddd*) Mercurius Politicus, No. 605.

(*eee*) Woodrow's Introduct. to his Hiſt. of Scotland. fol. p. 13.

(*fff*) Ludlow, Vol. III. p. 111.

(*ggg*) Printed Journals of the Houſe of Commons, in 1660, p. 61, 126.

(*hhh*) Ludlow, Vol. III. p. 43, 112.

(*iii*) Wood, as above, col. 294.

[*S*] *But, June* 11, 1660, *the Houſe of Commons reſolved.*] The ſeveral Reſolutions and Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, with relation to Sir Henry, will appear by the following extracts from their Journals.

"June 11, 1660. Reſolved, that Sir Henry Vane, Knight, be one of the Twenty Perſons to be excepted out of the act of General Pardon and Oblivion, for and in reſpect only of ſuch pains, penalties, and forfeitures (not extending to life) as ſhall be thought fit to be inflicted on him by another act, intended to be hereafter paſſed for that purpoſe (35)."——The clauſe of the act of Indemnity, in purſuance of that reſolution, was in theſe words. 'Provided always, that this act, or 'any thing therein contained, ſhall not extend to the 'pardoning, or to give any other benefit whatſoever, 'to Sir *Henry Vane*, John Lambert, or either of them, 'but that they, and either of them, are and ſhall be out 'of this preſent act wholly excepted and foreprifed.'— Auguſt 17, 1660, Sir Heneage Finch reports, . . . That 'to the exception of the Four Perſons that fol- 'low in the clauſe concerning *Vane*, Lambert, &c. 'they alſo adhere, that they ſhould ſtand excepted 'for life: The Lord Finch (who managed the confe- 'rence for the houſe of Lords) ſaid, indeed they were 'not excepted as Murderers; but he took notice, that 'the King, of whoſe Wiſdom none will or can doubt, '. . . . . thought fit, ſitting the Parliament, to commit 'theſe perſons to the Tower of London. . . . But he ſaid 'withal, if they were capable of mercy, no queſtion 'but the King, the Fountain of Mercy, he would ex- 'tend it to them. In the mean time, their Lordſhips 'thought it fit to leave them to the Mercy of the King; 'and ſo he hoped this Houſe will too (36).'——

Auguſt 23. At a conference between the two Houſes, the Lord Chancellor Clarendon obſerved, that Heſilrigg and Vane were perſons, whom the ſecluded Members, after their reſtitution, and when they were preparing the way for the *Reſtoration*, looked upon as fit to be ſecured and confined: That, after the King was come in, thoſe Gentlemen, notwithſtanding the cenſure on them by the ſecluded Members, and the bleſſed end of the Long Parliament, returned to town; never applying themſelves to the King, but lurked up and down, without giving any account of themſelves: and his Lordſhip added, that they look on them as perſons of a miſchievous activity: And therefore their Lordſhips deſire to leave them to the Mercy of the King; with this further intimation, that they would be ready to join with the Houſe of Commons in a *Petition* to the King, that Mercy might be ſhewed them; and that his ſeverity might not extend to their Lives: And he did not doubt, but the interceſſion of the Houſe would be effectual for that (37).—— Auguſt 24, 1660. Reſolved, that this Houſe doth agree with the Lords, as to Sir Henry Vane's ſtanding excepted in the act of General Pardon and Oblivion; in the ſame ſort, as is offered in the amendments from the Lords.——Reſolved, That this houſe doth agree with the Lords, in the expedient offered by them, at the laſt conference, as to Sir Henry Vane and Colonel Lambert, for petitioning his Majeſty for their Pardon, as to their Lives (38).——Auguſt 28. Ordered, that it be referred to the Committee, who managed the laſt conference with the Lords, to draw a petition to his Majeſty, in the name of both Houſes, for his Majeſty's pardoning of Sir Henry Vane and Colonel Lambert, as to Life; according to what was offered by the Lords in that behalf, at the late conference (39).

(35) Journals of the Houſe of Commons, p. 61.

(36) Ibid. p. 126.

(37) Ibid. p. 133.

(38) Ibid. p. 135.

(39) Ibid. p. 140.

[*T*] *And writ in favour of their principles.*] Their principles are well known to have been, that our Saviour was coming down to erect a *Fifth-Monarchy* upon earth, which would laſt a thouſand years. Sir Henry's 'enthuſiaſtick Treatiſe on that ſubject, was intitled, 'The retired man's Meditations: or the Myſtery and 'Power of Godlineſs ſhining forth in the living world, 'to the unmaſking the Myſtery of Iniquity in the moſt 'refined and pureſt Forms. And withal preſenting 'to view, 1. The Riches and Fullneſs of Chriſt's Per- 'ſon as Mediator. 2. The Natural and Spiritual Man 'in their proper diſtinctions. 3. The Reign and King- 'dom of Chriſt in the nature, limits and extent there- 'of, as well in his Saints as over his Enemies. In 'which old Light is reſtored, and new Light juſtified, 'being the Witneſs which is given to this Age by 'Henry Vane, Knight.' Lond. 1655. 4to. In the Preface, he begins with ſome Prophecy of himſelf and of his party. 'There is not any thing which lies more 'croſs to the buſy and boundleſs Spirit of man, than 'that which takes him off the wing of his natural de- 'ſire, and is a bar unto that activity in him, which, 'if permitted to run its courſe, makes his feet ſwift to 'ſhed

eye, was removed from one priſon to another, and at laſt to the Iſle of Scilly (*kkk*) [*V*]. The Lords and Commons had, in Auguſt, 1660, joined in a petition to the King, that if he were attainted, yet execution as to his life might be remitted [*W*]: to which his Majeſty gave a favourable anſwer, though in general words; ſo that he reckoned he was ſafe (*lll*). But in July 1661, the Commons had ſo far altered their ſentiments, as to order, that he ſhould be proceeded againſt according to Law [*X*]. And, for that purpoſe, be ſent for back to the Tower of London (*mmm*). In Eaſter term, 1662, he was indicted of High-Treaſon; and the Grand-Jury having found the bill, he was arraigned the 2d of June following, at the King's-Bench Bar. The ſubſtance of the charge againſt him, was, that he did compaſs and imagine the death of the King; contrived totally to ſubvert the ancient Frame of Government; and to keep out the ſaid Sovereign Lord from the exerciſe of his Regal Government: To effect which, he had traiterouſly and maliciouſly aſſembled, and conſulted, with other falſe Traitors; had appointed Officers; and arrayed a multitude, to the number of a thouſand perſons, with guns, &c. June the 6th, the day of his tryal, he pleaded ſtrongly, that no Treaſon could be committed againſt a King *de jure*, and not *de facto*, ſuch as King Charles II. was, from 1648 to 1659, when the crimes againſt him were laid: And that he acting then by authority of Parliament, the ſupreme Court of the Nation, could not be queſtioned by any inferior Court (*nnn*) [*Y*]. His enemies affirm, his whole behaviour was ſo aſſuming and inſolent, that the Court and King's Council told him, that his own defence was a freſh charge againſt him, and the higheſt evidence of his inward guilt, had there not been ſuch a cloud of witneſſes to prove the particulars (*ooo*). His friends maintain, on the contrary, that he behaved with great eloquence, ſoundneſs of judgment, and preſence of mind (*ppp*) [*Z*]. On the 11th of June, he

(*kkk*) Ludlow, Vol. III. p. 112.

(*lll*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, Edit. 1753. 8vo. Vol. I. p. 228.

(*mmm*) Journals, as above, p. 287.

(*nnn*) See his Tryal.

(*ooo*) Echard, as above, p. 802.

(*ppp*) Ludlow, Vol. III. p. 108.

'his own deſtruction.' In Chap. I. is ſhewed, 'that 'the foundation and firſt rule of all true and right 'knowledge of God is ſeated in Chriſt the living Word, 'as the bleſſed Trinity by their own immediate opera-'tions do make themſelves perſonally viſible therein'— The 26th and laſt Chapter treats of 'the time of the 'Manifeſtation of the Sons of God, their ſitting with 'Chriſt on his Throne, ruling and influencing all 'things on earth, during the ſpace of a thouſand 'years.'

[*V*] *And at laſt to the Iſle of Scilly.*] The Letter he wrote from thence to his Lady, and which is printed at the end of his *Face of the Times*, is dated March 7, 1661-2.

[*W*] *The Lords and Commons . . . joined in a petition*, &c.] That petition was in theſe words.

"To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty: The humble Petition of the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled.

Sheweth, that your Majeſty having declared your gracious pleaſure to proceed only againſt the immediate Murderers of your Royal Father: We your Majeſty's moſt humble ſubjects, the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, not finding Sir Henry Vane, or Colonel Lambert, to be of that number, are humble ſuitors to your Majeſty, if they ſhall be attainted, yet execution, as to their Lives, may be remitted: and, as in duty bound, we ſhall ever pray for your Majeſty's long and happy reign over us." This petition was preſented by the Lord Chancellor, who reported, that he had preſented the petition of both Houſes to the King concerning Sir Henry Vane and Colonel Lambert, and his Majeſty grants the deſires in the ſaid petition (40).

(40) Journals, p. 252. Sir Henry Vane's Tryal, p. 74. and Thurloe's State-Papers, Vol. 7. p. 914.

[*X*] *As to order, that he ſhould be proceeded againſt according to law.*] Their orders upon that occaſion were as follow——July 1, 1661. Ordered, That Sir Henry Vane and John Lambert, that are wholly excepted and forepriſed out of the Act of Indemnity, be left to be proceeded againſt according to law: And it is recommended to Mr Attorney-general, to take care of the proceeding againſt them.——July 23. Upon information that the Fanaticks make mention of Lambert and Sir Henry Vane in their Meetings; and have great hopes to diſturb the publick peace, if they could procure their eſcape; Ordered, that Mr Attorney-general have notice to ſpeed the proſecution againſt Vane and Lambert, and prepare the evidence againſt them.—Nov. 22. Ordered, That the King's Majeſty be deſired to ſend for John Lambert and Sir Henry Vane back again to the Tower of London, in order to their Tryal. . . . Upon which application, his Majeſty returned this anſwer, That he would take care, that Vane, and Lambert, and Waller, ſhould be brought in ſafe cuſtody (41).——It is ſaid, that this Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons againſt Sir Henry, was 'either upon the account of his own behaviour, 'or that of his party, or ſome private reſentment (42).'

(41) Journals of the Houſe of Commons, p. 287, 308, 317, 318.

(42) Echard's Hiſtory, p. 802.

[*Y*] *Could not be queſtioned by any inferior Court.*] He laid it down as a maxim, That none are judges of the Power and Privileges of *Parliament*, but themſelves. For, admit once, that their judgment may be called in queſtion, and diſputed by private perſons, or by inferior Courts (whoſe Votes are included in theirs) the *Fundamentals* of Government are plucked up by the roots. *Par in pares non habet imperium, multo minus in eos qui majus imperium habent*; An equal has no command over his equal, much leſs over thoſe that have a greater command or authority (43). He alſo offered theſe points to the conſideration of the Court, and prayed earneſtly to have counſel aſſigned him to ſpeak to them: 1. Whether the collective body of the Parliament can be impeached of high-treaſon? 2. Whether any perſon acting by authority of Parliament, can (ſo long as he acteth by that authority) commit Treaſon? 3. Whether matters acted by that Authority, can be called in queſtion in an inferior Court? 4. Whether a King *de jure*, and out of poſſeſſion, can have Treaſon committed againſt him, he not being King *de facto*, and in actual poſſeſſion (44)? No council was aſſigned him.——And as to the pretence of the Power, or Authority, of Parliament; Sir Heneage Finch, the Sollicitor-general, ſaid, 'It is to be known, 'that it was not the eighth part of the Houſe of Com-'mons, ſuch as were let in, to do all that hath been 'complained of; and the acting under Authority of 'ſuch an End of a Parliament, under ſuch a violation, 'was no excuſe, but an aggravation; but that the 'Parliament was in law ended by the death of the late 'King, notwithſtanding that act of 17 Caroli I.—— 'As to the queſtion, Whether an Houſe of Parliament 'can commit treaſon? If they depart from that alle-'giance which they have ſworn, at their firſt meeting, 'they are impeachable for it.——And as to the que-'ſtion, Whether the King, being out of actual poſſeſſion, 'can have treaſon committed againſt him? He affirmed 'it (45).'——Juſtice Windham alſo held, 'That if 'the Houſe be under a force, and ſome kept out, ſome 'let in, to ſerve a turn, whatever they act is a nullity 'in law.'——Juſtice Twiſden held the ſame opinion, That it is not the ſitting of a few members within thoſe walls that will continue it a Parliament. And ſaid, Whether a Parliament may commit treaſon, is not the queſtion: but, Whether a few of the Houſe, ſhutting out their fellows, and uſurping the government, were not Traitors (46)?——In a word, the Reſolutions of the Court were: 1. That by the death of King Charles I. that Long Parliament was actually determined, notwithſtanding the Act, that it ſhould not be diſſolved but by the conſent of both Houſes. 2. That though King Charles II. was *de facto* kept out of the exerciſe of the Kingly office by Traytors and Rebels, yet he was King both *de facto* and *de jure*, and all the acts which were done to the keeping him out were high-treaſon. 3. That the very conſultation and adviſing together of the means to deſtroy the King and his Government, was an overt-act to prove the compaſſing of the King's death (47).

(43) Tryal, p. 38.

(44) Ibid. p. 32.

(45) Ibid. p. 34.

(46) Ibid. p. 35.

(47) Kelyng's Reports, Folio, p. 14.

[*Z*] *His friends . . . maintain, that he behaved with great eloquence*, &c.] Ludlow ſays (48), 'That he be-'haved himſelf on all thoſe occaſions [his Trial, Sen-

(48) Vol. III. p. 108.

'tence,

he received ſentence to be hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn: which, at the requeſt of his friends (*qqq*), was changed to beheading on Tower-hill. Some perſuaded him to make his ſubmiſſion to the King, and to endeavour by that means to ſave his life; but he ſaid, 'If the King did not think himſelf more concerned for his Honour and 'Word, than *he* did for his life, he was very willing they ſhould take it. Nay, he de- 'clared, that he valued his life leſs in a good cauſe, than the King could do his pro- 'miſe (*rrr*) [*AA*].' The warrant therefore for his execution being ſigned, he was drawn on a ſledge to Tower-hill, on the 14th of June, and beheaded in the very ſame place where the Earl of Strafford, whoſe victim he was, had been ſacrificed before to popular fury (*sss*). The Sheriff had beforehand ſignified to him, that he muſt not ſpeak any thing againſt his Majeſty, or the Government: and he beginning to reflect upon them, in his laſt ſpeech upon the ſcaffold, as the Lieutenant of the Tower apprehended [*BB*], he was interrupted by drums and trumpets placed about the ſcaffold on purpoſe to drown his voice (*ttt*). He was naturally a very fearful man; but he compoſed himſelf ſo, that he died with a reſolution that ſurpriſed all who knew how little of that was natural to him. We are told, that he had a head as darkened in his notions of Religion, as his mind was

(*qqq*) Whoſe ſufferings for his Majeſty and his Father had been eminent. Wood, Vol. II. col. 294.

(*rrr*) Tryal, p. 51, 52, 81.

(*sss*) Echard's Hiſt. p. 802.

(*ttt*) Tryal, &c. p. 84, 86, 87. and Burnet, Vol. I. p. 229.

'tence, and Death] in ſuch a manner, that he left it 'doubtful, whether his Eloquence, ſoundneſs of Judg- 'ment, and preſence of Mind, his gravity and magna- 'nimity, his conſtant adherence to the cauſe of his 'country, and heroick carriage during the time of his 'confinement and at the hour of death; or the malice 'of his enemies and their frivolous ſuggeſtions at his 'trial, the breach of the publick Faith in the uſage he 'found, the incivility of the bench, and the ſavage 'rudeneſs of the Sheriff, who commanded the trumpets 'ſeveral times to ſound, that he might not be heard by 'the people; were more remarkable.'——He adds a little lower, from a letter he had received . . . 'Sir 'Henry Vane was long in his defence, but not tedious: 'He much perplexed both Court and Council, and has 'acquired eternal reputation by nobly pleading for the 'dying liberties of his country; it being clear, that all 'the party which ſeemed to be indemnified by the act 'of Amneſty, ſhall be puniſhed in his perſon; and that 'for this cauſe only, That in his pleading he undertook 'by the Authority of the ſaid Parliament to juſtify what 'he had done.'

[*AA*] *Than the King could do his promiſe.*] Biſhop Kennett obſerves, 'Though the King gave a favourable 'Anſwer to the Addreſs of the two Houſes, yet it was 'in general words only, and could not be called a 'promiſe of ſparing his life (49).'——The ſubſtance of the Addreſs of the two Houſes was, That if Sir Henry ſhould be attainted, yet Execution as to his Life might be remitted: And his Majeſty granted the deſires in the ſaid petition. See note [*W*]. But, in leſs than a year, the Parliament ordered, that He ſhould be proceeded againſt according to Law . . . . . So that his Majeſty complied both ways with the Deſires of the great Council, or Wiſdom, of the Nation. . . . . Biſhop Burnet inſinuates, that the putting him to death was contrary to the Declaration from Breda. For, ſays he, that declaration 'being full for an Indemnity to all, 'except the Regicides, he was comprehended in that; 'ſince, though he was for changing the government, 'and depoſing the King, yet he did not approve of the 'putting him to death, nor of the force put on the 'parliament, but did for ſome time, while theſe things 'were acted, withdraw from the ſcene (50).'—In oppoſition to which, the Reader will be pleaſed duly to conſider this paſſage in that declaration . . . 'We do by theſe 'preſents declare, that we do grant a free and general 'Pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to paſs 'under the great Seal of England, to all our Subjects, 'of what degree or quality ſoever, who, within forty 'days after the publiſhing hereof, ſhall lay hold upon 'this our grace and favour, and ſhall by any publick act 'declare their doing ſo, and that they return to the 'loyalty and obedience of good ſubjects; excepting 'only ſuch perſons as ſhall hereafter be excepted by 'Parliament.' . . . It is alſo to be remembered, as hath been obſerved above, that Sir Henry never applied to the King, but lurked up and down, without giving any account of himſelf.

(49) Regiſter and Chronicle, p. 711. marg. See alſo Burnet, Vol. I. p. 228.

(50) Vol. I. p. 228.

[*BB*] *And he beginning to reflect upon them in his laſt Speech*, &c.] The words were theſe: 'I ſuppoſe you 'may wonder when I ſhall tell you that I am not brought 'hither according to any known Law of the land. It 'is true, I have been before a Court of Juſtice (and am 'now going to appear before a greater Tribunal, where 'I am going to give an account of all my actions) 'under their ſentence I ſtand here at this time. When 'I was before them, I could not have the liberty and 'privilege of an Engliſhman, the grounds, reaſons, 'and cauſes of the actings I was charged with, duly 'conſidered; I therefore deſired the Judges, that they 'would ſet their Seals to my bill of Exceptions; I preſſed 'hard for it again and again, as the right of myſelf, 'and every free-born Engliſhman, by the law of the 'land, but was finally denied it.'——Here Sir John Robinſon, Lieutenant of the Tower, interrupted him, ſaying, Sir, you muſt not go on thus, and in a furious manner ſaid, that he railed againſt the Judges, and that it was a lye, and I am here, ſays he, to teſtify that it is falſe. . . . Sir Henry replied, 'God will judge between 'me and you in this matter. I ſpeak but matter of fact, 'and cannot you bear that? It is evident, the Judges 'have refuſed to ſign my Bill of Exceptions.'——Then the trumpets were ordered to ſound in his face, to hinder his being heard. At which Sir Henry (lifting up his hand, and then laying it on his breaſt) ſaid, 'What 'mean you, Gentlemen? is this your uſage of me? 'did you uſe all the reſt ſo? I had even done (as to 'that) could you have been patient; but, ſeeing you 'cannot bear it, I ſhall only ſay this, That whereas 'the Judges have refuſed to ſeal that with their hands, 'that they have done; I am come to ſeal that with my 'blood, that I have done.'——He then proceeded to give ſome account of his life; and mentioning *the Solemn League and Covenant*, the trumpets ſounded again, and the Sheriff catched at the Paper in his hand. Upon which, Sir Henry only ſaid, 'It was hard he might not 'be ſuffered to ſpeak; but, ſays he, my uſage from man 'is no harder than was my Lord and Maſter's: And all 'that will live his life this day, muſt expect hard dealing 'from the worldly Spirit.'——The trumpets ſounded again, to hinder his being heard. Then, a ſecond time, Sir John Robinſon, and two or three others, endeavoured to ſnatch the paper out of Sir Henry's hand, but he kept it for a while, now and then reading part of it; afterwards, tearing it in pieces, he delivered it to a friend behind him, who was preſently forced to deliver it to the Sheriff. They alſo ſearched his pocket for papers (51).——Biſhop Burnet accounts for this 'new and very indecent practice,' as he calls it, in the following manner: 'It was obſerved, that the dying 'Speeches of the Regicides had left impreſſions on the 'hearers, that were not at all to the advantage of the 'government. So ſtrains of a peculiar nature being 'expected from him, to prevent that, drummers were 'placed under the Scaffold, who, as ſoon as he began 'to ſpeak of the publick, upon a ſign given, ſtruck up 'with their drums. This put him in no diſorder. 'He deſired they might be ſtopped, for he underſtood 'what was meant by it. Then he went through his 'devotions. And, as he was taking leave of thoſe 'about him, he happening to ſay ſomewhat with re- 'lation to the times, the drums ſtruck up a ſecond time: 'So he gave over, and died with ſo much compoſed- 'neſs, that it was generally thought, the government 'had loſt more than it had gained by his death (52).' R. Baxter alſo obſerves, that 'no man could die with 'greater appearance of a gallant reſolution and fearleſs- 'neſs than he did, though before ſuppoſed a timorous 'man. Inſomuch, that the Manner of his death pro- 'cured him more applauſe than all the Actions of his 'life (53).'

(51) Tryal, p. 86—89.

(52) Burnet, Vol. I. p. 229.

(53) Abridgement of Baxter's Life, p. 192.

clouded

clouded with fear (*uuu*) [*CC*]. Beſides the ſeveral pieces already mentioned, what was publiſhed as his, is ſet down below [*DD*]. There appear not in his compoſitions that wiſdom, that judgment, extraordinary parts, and great underſtanding, for which he is extolled by ſome (*wwww*); for they are an unaccountable medley of enthuſiaſm, and incomprehenſible nonſenſe. So that, as one obſerves (*xxx*), ſo much diſſimulation and enthuſiaſm, ſuch vaſt parts and ſuch ſtrong deluſions, ſo much good ſenſe and ſo much madneſs, can hardly be believed to meet in any one man in the world. What hath been ſaid further of him by way of character, is ſet down below [*EE*]. As to his perſon; he had an unuſual aſpect, which, though it might naturally proceed both from his father and mother, neither of which were beautiful perſons, yet made men think there was ſomething in him extraordinary; and his whole life made good that imagination (*yyy*). It is ſuggeſted, that the cauſe of his deſtruction was, becauſe his adverſaries knew his

(*uuu*) Burnet, p. 228.

(*wwww*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 187. Vol. III. p. 379. Vol. VI. p. 695. and Ludlow, Vol. III. p. 110.

(*xxx*) Echard, p. 802.

(*yyy*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 287.

[*CC*] *He had a head as darkened in his notions of Religion*, &c.] Theſe are Biſhop Burnet's own words, who adds, 'For though he ſet up a form of religion in a 'way of his own, yet it conſiſted rather in a withdraw-'ing from all other forms, than in any new or parti-'cular opinions or forms; from which he and his party 'were called Seekers, and ſeemed to wait for ſome 'new and clearer manifeſtations. In theſe meetings he 'preached and prayed often himſelf, but with ſo *peculiar* 'a darkneſs, that though I have ſometimes taken pains to 'ſee if I could find out his meaning *in his works*, yet I 'could never reach it. And ſince many others have ſaid 'the ſame, it may be reaſonable to believe he hid ſome-'what that was a neceſſary key to the reſt. His friends 'told me, he leaned to Origen's notion of an univerſal 'ſalvation of all, both of devils and the damned, and 'to the doctrine of pre-exiſtence.'——The Lord Clarendon's judgment of our Author's book *Of the Love of God*, and *the Union with God*, is much to the ſame purpoſe ... 'Which, ſays he, when I had read, and 'found nothing of his uſual clearneſs and ratiocination 'in his diſcourſe, in which he uſed much to excel the 'beſt of the company he kept, and that the ſtyle thereof 'was very much like that of *Sancta Sophia* (55); and 'that in a crowd of very eaſy words, the ſenſe was too 'hard to find out: I was of opinion that the ſubject-'matter of it was of ſo delicate a nature, that it required 'another kind of preparation of mind, and it may be 'another kind of diet, than men are ordinarily ſupplyed 'with (56).'

(55) Publiſhed by S. Creſſy.

(56) Animadverſions on Mr Creſſy's Anſwer to Dr Stillingfleet's Fanaticiſm of the Church of Rome, p. 59.

[*DD*] *Beſides the ſeveral pieces already mentioned, what was publiſhed as his*, &c.] *The retired Man's Meditations*; and *The Healing Queſtion*, &c. are all the publications of his we have mentioned. The reſt were, 'The Pro-'ceedings of the Protector (ſo called) and his Council 'againſt Sir Henry Vane, Knt. as touching his im-'priſonment in the iſle of Wight, &c.' Lond. 1656, four ſheets in 4to. 'A Letter from a true and lawful 'Member of Parliament &c. to one of the Lords of his 'Highneſs's Council, upon occaſion of the laſt *Decla-'ration, ſhewing the Reaſons of their proceedings for ſecuring 'the Peace of the Commonwealth*, October 31, 1655.' Printed in 1656, 4to. 'Of the Love of God, and 'Union with God.' Lond. 1657. 'A needful Cor-'rective or Balance in popular Government:' In a Letter to James Harrington, Eſq; Lond. one ſheet and a half, 4to. 'The People's Cauſe ſtated. The Valley 'of Jehoſaphat, conſidered and opened, by comparing '2 Chron. xx. with Joel iii. Meditations concerning 'Man's Life. Concerning Government. Concerning 'Friendſhip. Concerning Enemies. Meditations on 'Death.' Penned during his impriſonment, and printed at the end of his Tryal. Lond. 1662, 4to.—'An 'Epiſtle general to the Myſtical Body of Chriſt on earth, 'the Church univerſal in Babylon, who are Pilgrims 'and Strangers on the earth, deſiring and ſeeking after 'the Heavenly Country.' It is addreſſed, To the ſcattered Seed and Sheep of Chriſt in all Nations, the true Iſrael by Faith, unknown for the moſt part to themſelves, but more to the world and worldly Chriſtian: Yet, in this their unknown or diſperſed Eſtate, owned of the Lord, as the Church that are in God the Father, truly pure, Catholick, and Chriſtian, of which Chriſt Jeſus is the alone and immediate Head.—'The Face 'of the Times: Wherein is briefly diſcovered by ſeveral 'Prophetical Scriptures, from the beginning of Geneſis 'to the end of the Revelation, the Riſe, Progreſſe, 'and Iſſue of the Enmity and Conteſt, between the 'Seed of the Woman and Seed of the Serpent, to the 'final breaking of the Serpent's head, in the total and 'irrecoverable ruin of the Monarchies of this World, 'which have been ſpirited, influenced, and headed all along by him, for the bruiſing of the Saints heel (or 'killing of their Bodies) for the Teſtimony of Jeſus, 'which by them hath been given forth in the true Spirit 'of Propheſie. The deſign of this writing is to alarm 'the world, and awaken up the preſent Generation 'of God's people in it, to a more diligent and curious 'obſervation of the preſent ſigns of the near approach-'ing day of the Lord, that they may be more carefully 'minding and doing what moſt concerns them, by way 'of preparation thereunto.'——'A Letter to his Lady 'from the iſle of Scylly.' Theſe three laſt were writ-ten during his impriſonment, and printed together in 1662, 4to.——'Paper towards the defence of his cauſe 'and life, preparatory to his Tryal (57).'—Memorandums for, and towards his defence (58). Memorandums as to his main defence, in relation to matter of fact, and as a narrative thereof (59). Reaſons for an arreſt of Judgment (60). His Bill of Exceptions (61). Occaſional Speeches before his Tryal, and Execution (62). His Prayer in his Chamber; and his Speech and Prayer on the Scaffold (63).——The following Speeches of his are alſo in print: Speech in the Houſe of Commons, at a Committee for the Bill againſt Epiſcopal Government, June 11, 1641.——In the Guildhall, London, November 8, 1642, concerning his Majeſty's refuſal of a Treaty of Peace.——At a Common Hall, October 27, 1643, wherein is ſhewed the readineſs of the Scots to aſſiſt the Kingdom and Parliament of England.——Several Speeches in a Common Hall at London, in January, 1643, in examination of the Plot to divide and deſtroy the Parliament and the City of London.——In the Guildhall, London, concerning the Treaty at Uxbridge, 1644.——Speech to the citizens at Guildhall, April 9, 1644, to advance men and money (64).

(57) See his Tryal, p. 11.

(58) p. 21.

(59) p. 36.

(60) p. 55.

(61) p. 64.

(62) p. 77.

(63) p. 82, &c.

(64) Printed in Ruſhworth, Part III. Vol. I. or Vol. IV. p. 658.

[*EE*] *What hath been ſaid further of him by way of character.*] It may be ſummed up in theſe obſervations of well-meaning R. Baxter: At his return from New England, Sir Henry 'proved an inſtrument of greater 'calamity to a ſinful people. Being choſen a Parlia-'ment-man, he was very active at firſt for bringing 'delinquents to puniſhment. He was the principal man 'that drove on the Parliament with that vehemence 'againſt the King. Being of ready parts, great ſub-'tilty, and unwearied induſtry, he laboured, and not 'without ſucceſs, to win others in parliament, city, 'and country, to his way..... To moſt of the Changes 'that followed, he was that within the Houſe, that 'Cromwell was without. His great zeal to inflame the 'war, and to cheriſh the Sectaries, and eſpecially in 'the army, made him above all men to be valued by 'that party. His unhappineſs lay in this, That his 'doctrines were ſo cloudily formed and expreſſed, that 'few could underſtand them; and therefore he had but 'few true diſciples... His obſcurity was by ſome im-'puted to his not underſtanding himſelf; but by others 'to deſign, becauſe he was able to ſpeak plain, when 'he pleaſed. The two things in which he had moſt 'ſucceſs, and ſpake moſt plainly, were his Earneſt Plea 'for Liberty of Conſcience, and againſt the Magiſtrates 'intermeddling with Religion, and his teaching his 'followers to revile the Miniſtry, calling them ordina-'rily Black Coats, Prieſts, and other names which 'ſavoured of reproach..... When King Charles came 'in, he was queſtioned with others by the Parliament, 'but ſeemed to have his life ſecured. But, being 'brought to the Bar, he ſpake ſo boldly in juſtifying 'the *Parliament's Cauſe*, and what he had done, that it 'exaſperated the King, and made him reſolve upon his 'death (65).' The great ſhare Sir Henry had in the Troubles of the Nation, expoſed him to the Satires and Lampoons of the Royaliſts, as may be ſeen in the *Rump*, or Collection of Poems (66).

(65) Abridgment of Baxter's Life, p. 98, 99, 100.

(66) Edit. 1662. 8vo. Part I. p. 347. and Part II, p. 64, 83, 100, 133.

(zzz) Ludlow, Vol. III. p.112.

Integrity, and feared his Abilities (zzz). But we are perſuaded, that he rather fell a ſacrifice to the Earl of Strafford; and was taken out of the way, for being one of the moſt able and active Members of the Republican Party [*FF*], which the Court, and the Generality of the Nation, were then reſolved to cruſh. Sir Henry Vane left only one ſon, named *Chriſtopher*, who was knighted by King Charles II, and advanced by King William, July 8, 1699, to the title of Lord Bernard of Bernard-caſtle. By his wife Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Gilbert Holles, Earl of Clare, he left two ſons, *Gilbert*, and *William*. Gilbert ſucceeded him in honour and eſtate, and dying April 27, 1753, left, among many other children, *Henry*, his eldeſt ſon, who was created, April 3, 1754, Viſcount Barnard and Earl of Darlington. *William* was advanced, June 1720, to the titles of Viſcount Vane and Baron of Duncannon in the county of Tirone in Ireland (*).

(*) See Ar. Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p.305, &c.

[*FF*] *He fell a ſacrifice to the Earl of Strafford*, &c.] Biſhop Burnet concurs in the ſame opinion, as appears from this paſſage . . ' The great ſhare he had in the ' attainder of the Earl of Strafford, and in the whole ' turn of affairs to the total change of government, ' but above all, the great opinion that was had of his ' parts and capacity to embroil matters again, made ' the Court think it neceſſary to put him out of the ' way (67).' He was often nick-named Sir Humorous Vanity. C

(66) Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 228.

VERE [Sir FRANCIS], or DE VERE, ſecond ſon of Geffrey de Vere [*A*], a branch of the noble and moſt ancient family of the De Veres, Earls of Oxford [*B*], was born in the year 1554 (*a*). Applying himſelf early to the art of war, he became one of the moſt famous Generals in his time. His firſt entrance on a martial life, was when he went to the aſſiſtance of the States of Holland, among the forces ſent by Queen Elizabeth, under the command of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leiceſter. They arrived at Fluſhing the 10th of December (*b*), 1585; and continuing in thoſe parts, he gave early proofs of a warlike genius, and undaunted courage. In 1587, the town of Sluys being beſieged by the Prince of Parma, the Earl of Leiceſter was ſent for out of England to its relief: and our young Officer, Mr *Vere*, with Sir Roger Williams, and a garriſon of Engliſh and Walloons, bravely defended it; though, the place being furiouſly battered with 17000 great ſhot, and a large breach made, they were obliged to ſurrender it to a ſuperior force (*c*). In 1588, he was part of the Engliſh garriſon, which gallantly defended Berghen-op-Zoom againſt the Prince of Parma, who had laid ſiege thereto. They gave him ſuch warm entertainment, by ſeveral brave repulſes, frequent ſallies, and other-well applied arts of war, that he quitted all hopes of blocking up the harbour, or gaining the town; and, winter approaching, he broke up the ſiege, after it had been carried on for two months. And ' that true cou-

(*a*) He was aged fifty-four, at the time of his death, in 1608, from whence it is plain, that he was born in 1554. See his epitaph.

(*b*) Stow's Ann. P. 711, 712.

(*c*) Camden's Annals, under the year 1587.

[*A*] *Second ſon of Geffrey de Vere.*] This Geffrey was the third ſon of John de Vere, the fifteenth Earl of Oxford, of this noble family: which Geffrey de Vere, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Sir Richard Hardekyn of Colcheſter, he had four ſons, and a daughter; viz. 1. John Vere of Kirkby-hall in Caſtle-Hedingham, Eſſex, Eſq; who by Thomaſine his wife, daughter of William Carew, of Stone-caſtle in the county of Kent, Eſq; had two ſons, John and Robert, who both dyed without iſſue. 2. Sir *Francis Vere*, the ſubject of this article. 3. Robert, who dyed young. 4. Horace, created Baron Vere of Tilbury, July 25, 1625.—— Elizabeth, the daughter, was married to Sir Robert Harcourt of Stanton-Harcourt, anceſtor of the preſent Lord Harcourt (1).

(1) Vincent's Baronage MS. B. 20. in Offic. Arm. and Epitaphs in Caſtle-Hedingham church.

[*B*] *A branch of the noble and moſt ancient family of the De Veres, Earls of Oxford.*] The De Vere family may juſtly be ſtyled one of the moſt ancient, noble, and illuſtrious in the world. Alberic de Vere, the firſt of the family who ſettled in England, came over with William the Conqueror; and was enriched by him with ſeveral fine Lordſhips; particularly with that of Caſtle-Hedingham in Eſſex, where he fixed his reſidence, and that became the head of his Succeſſors Barony. From him proceeded a numerous race of noble perſons, which obtained the higheſt Honors, and became eminent in the arts of peace and war. His ſon Alberic was, by King Henry I, made Lord great Chamberlain of England: his grandſon, Alberic de Vere, was created, in 1137, by the Empreſs Maud, Earl of Oxford; a title confirmed unto him by her ſon, King Henry II. And a dignity enjoyed by his deſcendants and ſucceſſors, of the ſame ſurname, for *Twenty* Generations, from the year 1137 to 1703, a circumſtance attending, as far as we can remember, no other Britiſh noble family whatſoever. Beſides the great office of Lord High Chamberlain, and the Earldom of Oxford, hereditary dignities in this family; ſome of them diſcharged the offices of Port-reve of London, of Lord Chief Juſtice, Chancellor, High-Admiral, Lord High-Steward, and Conſtable of England. William de Vere, ſon of the firſt Earl, was Biſhop of Hereford in 1186. And this family hath produced ſeveral renowned Warriors and Generals, and four Knights of the order of the Garter. Robert, the ninth Earl, was by King Richard II. created Marquiſs of Dublin, (being the firſt who was honoured with the title of *Marquiſs* in this kingdom) and Duke of Ireland.

Immenſe, for a long time, have their Riches and Poſſeſſions been. John, the ſeventh Earl, who dyed 34 Edw. III. A. D. 1360, had, in Eſſex, forty-nine Knights-fees; in Suffolk, ſeventeen; in Cambridgeſhire, eighteen; in Huntingtonſhire, ſeven; each of which Knights-fees may juſtly be computed to be equal to two hundred pounds a year of our preſent money (2): Beſides the large perſonal eſtate. And, firſt and laſt, they had about Seventy Knight-fees in the county of Eſſex alone. John, the fourteenth Earl, when he came to the Earldom, in 1512, was offered Twelve thouſand pounds a year for his Eſtates: leaving in his occupation all manors, houſes, caſtles, parks, woods, foreſts, and all the demeſne lands thereto belonging; the yearly value of which laſt might be worth more than many preſent Earldoms. . . . Some of them ſuffered for their adherence to the Houſe of Lancaſter. And Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerſet, unjuſtly deprived John, the ſixteenth Earl, of his Eſtates, which were however reſtored. But the greateſt waſter of them was Edward, the ſeventeenth Earl. Having a very intimate acquaintance and friendſhip with Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, condemned for his indiſcreet adherence to the Queen of Scots; He moſt earneſtly interceeded with his father-in-law, William Lord Burghley, to ſave that Duke's life. Which not being gratified in, he declared he would do all he could to ruin his own wife, a daughter of Lord Burghley; accordingly, he not only forſook her bed, but ſold and conſumed very nearly all his noble inheritance. But it was finely repaired by the great fortune which Aubrey, the twentieth Earl, had with his wife Anne, eldeſt daughter and one of the co-heireſſes of Paul Viſcount Bayning. For this Lord Bayning appears, by the authentic account of one of his ſtewards, now before us, to have been poſſeſſed of One hundred and ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſeven pounds, clear; without reckoning the jewels, plate, and houſhold ſtuff. And this was in 1637, the year before that Lord's deceaſe (3).

(2) According to Sir Edward Coke, a Knight's fee contained 480 acres.—2. Inſt. 596.

(3) This account we have extracted from the MS. Hiſtory of Eſſex, and from other MSS. and from Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 188, &c. and other authorities.

rage might not want its due reward or diſtinction, the Lord Willoughby, who was 'General of the Engliſh after Leiceſter's departure, conferred the honour of Knight-'hood on Sir Francis Vere, whoſe great fame commenced from this ſiege (d).' In 1589, Count Mansfeldt having paſſed with part of his army into the Iſle of Bommel, was endeavouring to make himſelf maſter of that place. Count Maurice, General for the States, had not above eight hundred men to oppoſe the Spaniards, and the whole force he could draw together did not exceed 1500: whereas, the enemies troops were then reckoned about twelve thouſand men (e). In thoſe circumſtances, Count Maurice thought it beſt to abandon the place. But Sir Francis Vere, who commanded ſix hundred Engliſh, part of the aboveſaid corps of eight hundred, repreſented, that conſidering the importance of the iſland, and the reputation of Count Maurice, whoſe firſt command in chief this was, the place could not be abandoned, with honour, without the knowledge and order of the States General. Whilſt a meſſage was ſent to them, Sir Francis undertook the defence of the place, and uſed ſuch induſtry in entrenching it, and planting artillery, that the enemy deſiſted from the enterpriſe.

(d) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1588. Tho. Churchyard ranks him among thoſe Engliſh warriors, 'who deſerved 'moſt worthie 'and memorable 'commenda-'tions.' The Civil Warres in the Netherlands. Lond. 1602. 4to. p. 98.

(e) The Commentaries of Sir Francis Vere. Cambr. 1657. fol. p. 1.

The ſame year, the town of Bergh, upon the Rhine, being beſieged by the Marquis of Warrenbon, and diſtreſſed for want of proviſion, he was ſent by the States General to Count Meurs, Governor of Gelderland, with nine companies of Engliſh; to concert with him meaſures for the relief of that town. At his coming to Arnheim, the Governor being greatly hurt by the blowing up of gunpowder, and the States of the Province repreſenting to Sir Francis the importance of the place, and the great extremity it was reduced to; at their earneſt deſire, he haſtened to its relief, with ſeven companies of foot of their own nation, and twelve troops of horſe. With theſe, and the carriages laden with proviſions, he marched towards Bergh, through a heathy and open country, with ſuch diligence, that having ſurprized the enemy, who lay diſperſed in their forts about the town, in full view of them, he put proviſions therein, and returned without loſs (f). After ſome days refreſhment, the States, who had received advice how matters paſſed at Bergh, ordered a freſh ſupply of proviſions to be put therein under the command of Sir Francis. When he came within two Engliſh miles of the town, the way they were to take being very narrow, and leading by the caſtle of Loo, the enemy from the caſtle galled his men and horſes in their paſſage with ſuch reſolution, that Sir Francis perceived they were not the ordinary garriſon. Yet, by his military ſkill and valour, he beat them back to their caſtle, and was no further interrupted by them in his paſſage through the narrow way: But, before he could well form his men on a plain adjoining, he was again attacked by a freſh body of the enemy. At the firſt encounter, his horſe was killed under him by a pike, and falling upon him, he could not riſe preſently, but lay between the two armies, receiving a hurt in his leg, and ſeveral thruſts with pikes through his clothes, till the enemy was forced to give way. Though his forces conſiſted only of the two Engliſh troops under his command, and did not exceed 400 men, yet by his valour and conduct, the enemy was diſcomfited, and loſt about 800 men. And he threw in proviſions into Bergh, and exchanged the garriſon, notwithſtanding Count Mansfeldt was near with thirteen or fourteen thouſand foot, and twelve hundred horſe (g). In 1590, he bravely relieved the caſtle of Litkenhooven in the fort of Recklinchuſen, with the dioceſe of Cologne, in which the States had a garriſon that was beſieged by ſome of the neighbouring inhabitants; and recovered the town of Burick in Cleves, and a little fort on that ſide of the Rhine, which had been ſurpriſed by the enemy. He took by ſtratagem, in 1591, a fort near Zutphen [C], in order to facilitate the ſiege of that town. And aſſiſted Count Maurice at the ſiege of Deventer, being the chief inſtrument in the taking of the place (h). Through his conduct and management alſo, chiefly, it was, that the Duke of Parma received a ſignal defeat before Knodſenburgh-fort, near Nimmeghen; which obliged him to retire from thence, with more diſhonour than in any action that he had undertaken in thoſe wars (i). In 1592 we find, that he was elected one of the Repreſentatives in Parliament for the burgh of Leominſter in Herefordſhire (k). How he employed himſelf the three following years, doth not appear; though he was undoubtedly all that time in the ſervice of the States. When the expedition againſt Cadiz was reſolved, he was ſent for into England; and returned ſpeedily into the Low-Countries, with letters from Queen Elizabeth to the States, to acquaint them with her deſign, and haſten the preparation of the ſhips they had promiſed to attend her fleet: And withal, to deſire to have two thouſand of her own forces, as well of thoſe in their pay, as her own, to be employed in that ſervice. This being obtained, he ſailed to the appointed rendezvous before Boulogne on the coaſt of France; but finding no Engliſh ſhips there, he croſſed to Dover, where he found the whole fleet, and the Generals, the Earl of Eſſex, and Earl of Nottingham High-Admiral, who received him

(f) Commentaries, p. 3, 4.

(g) Commentaries, p. 6, 7, &c.

(h) Commentaries, p. 10—19.

(i) Commentaries, p. 20, &c.

(k) Br. Willis's Notitia Parliam. p. 127, 130.

[C] *He took by ſtratagem, in* 1591, *a fort near Zutphen.*] Becauſe he wanted ſtrength to work by open means, he put the following ſleight in practice; which he pleaſed to take in his own words ... 'I choſe a good number 'of luſty and hardy young Soldiers, the moſt of which 'I apparrelled like the countrey-women of thoſe parts, 'the reſt like the men; gave to ſome baſkets, to others 'packs, and ſuch burthens as the people uſually carry 'to the market, with piſtols, and ſhort ſwords, and 'daggers, under their garments, willing by two or three 'in a company, by break of day to be at the ferry of 'Zutphen, which is juſt againſt the fort, as if they 'ſtayed for the paſſage-boat of the town; and bad them 'to ſit and reſt themſelves in the mean time as near the 'gate of the fort as they could for avoiding ſuſpition, 'and to ſeize upon the ſame as ſoon as it was opened. 'Which took ſo good effect, that they poſſeſſed the entry 'of the fort, and held the ſame till an officer with two 'hundred ſouldiers (who was laid in a covert not farre 'off) came to their ſeconds, and ſo became fully Maſter 'of the place. By which means the ſiege of the town 'afterwards proved the ſhorter (4).'

(4) Commentaries, p. 17, 18.

with

with much joy and favour, being then choſen to ſupply the place of Lieutenant-General of the army by the title of Lord-Marſhal. The fleet ſailed ſhortly after, and the Earl of Eſſex leaving his own ſhip, embarked in that which Sir Francis was in, on purpoſe to confer with him, fully and at eaſe, about the voyage. After two days ſailing, they landed near Rye, and the Earl taking Sir Francis along with him to Court, diſpatched him thence to Plymouth, where moſt of the land-forces were to march, to ſee them lodged, provided with neceſſaries, and exerciſed, which he accordingly did, to the great ſatisfaction of the Generals. During their ſtay at Plymouth, the Earl of Eſſex gave Sir Francis much countenance, and had him always near him; which drew upon him the envy of Sir Walter Raleigh, the Rear-Admiral, and Sir Coniers Clifford, the Sergeant-major General. But to allay it, the Earl ordered, that, in all meetings at land, Sir Francis ſhould have the precedence of Sir Walter; and Sir Walter of him at ſea. And, by Sir Francis's advice, what belonged properly to every office in the field was ſet down in writing, and delivered ſeverally to the officers, which prevented all ſubſequent diſputes. About the 10th of June, the fleet ſet ſail, and arrived before Cadiz July 1; Sir Francis acting as Vice-Admiral of the Earl of Eſſex's ſquadron *(l)*. We ſhall not enter here into a detail of this expedition, of which a particular account may be ſeen in Hakluyt *(m)*, in Camden's Annals *(n)*, and our other Hiſtorians. We ſhall only obſerve, that he was one of the foremoſt, and the readieſt, to approach the enemy's ſhips *(o)*]*D*]. And equally active, induſtrious, and ſucceſsful was he, in getting poſſeſſion of the town of Cadiz [*E*]. He returned to England about the middle of Auguſt; and, after diſmiſſing the land-forces and ſhipping, and ſending back into the Low-Countries the troops he had brought from thence, he came to Court, where he remained the moſt part of that winter *(p)*. However, he was again in Holland in January 1596-7, and the 24th of that month had a very great ſhare in the action near Turnhout, of which he hath given a fine and particular relation *(q)* [*F*]. This ſame year, he was engaged in a ſecond expedition with the Earl of Eſſex. The deſign of this expedition was, to deſtroy the fleet that lay in Ferrol, and other places on the coaſt of Spain, threatning to invade England; and, for that purpoſe, if occaſion was, to land troops: as alſo to intercept the Spaniſh fleet in their return from the Indies. Our armament conſiſted of the Royal Navy; ſome merchant-ſhips; ſeveral

(l) Commentaries, p. 24.

(m) Navigations, Voyages, &c. Vol. I. p. 607, &c.

(n) Under the year 1596.

(o) Commentaries, p. 28, 29.

(p) Commentaries, p. 44, 45.

(q) Commentaries, p. 72, &c.

[*D*] *He was one of the foremoſt, and the readieſt, to approach the enemy's ſhips.*] This is eaſily gathered from his own account. 'My ſhip (ſays he) was floaty, and 'ſtored with good ordnance, and proper for that ſervice, 'which made me haſten towards them, without ſtaying 'for any company. And indeed my readineſſe was ſuch, 'by reaſon of my riding with my anchor a pike, that 'no other ſhip could come near me by a great diſtance, 'ſo as I entered fight with them alone, making ſtill 'toward them upon one board, and ſo galled them 'with my ordnance, which was cannon and demi-'cannon, that they gave back, keeping ſtill in order, 'and in fight with me, drawing as near the town as 'they could, and with purpoſe (as I thought) as our 'ſhips thruſt further into the bay, to have fallen upon 'our ſmaller ſhips in the tayl of the whole fleet, and 'having made a hand with them, ſo to have put to the 'ſea-ward of us, the better to annoy us, and ſave 'themſelves from being blocked up. Wherein to pre-'vent them, I made toward the ſhore, ſtill ſounding 'with our leads, till the ordnance of the town might 'reach me, and I the ſhore with mine; inſomuch as I 'put them from under the town, and took certain 'ſhips, which rode there at anchor forſaken of their 'men, and followed them, continuing fight till they 'came under the fort of the Puntal. . . I was nearer Pun-'tal and the ſhore of Calis [Cales, or Cadiz] by much 'than any ſhip of the fleet, and further advanced into 'the Bay, ſo that now growing within ſhot of the fort, 'which lay on my right hand, and in like diſtance to 'the gallions on the left hand; and having the gallies 'a-head me, betwixt them both was plied with ſhot on 'all ſides very roundly, yet I reſolved to go on, know-'ing I had good ſeconds, and that many hands would 'make light work, &c. (5).'

(5) Commentaries, p. 30, 31.

[*E*] *And equally active, induſtrious, and ſucceſsful was he, in getting poſſeſſion of the town of Cadiz.*] The means he uſed for that purpoſe, be pleaſed to take in his own words. . . . 'As we approached aſſar off, ſaith he, we 'might perceive the enemy ſtanding in battle under 'the favour of the town, with cornets and enſigns diſ-'played, thruſting out ſome looſe horſe and foot to-'ward us, as it were to procure a ſkirmiſh. I, mark-'ing their faſhion, conceived hope of a ſpeedier gain-'ing the town than we intended, and were then about; 'and ſaid to his Lordſhip, at whoſe elbow I attended, 'that thoſe men he ſaw ſtanding in battel before the 'town, would ſhew, and make the way for us into the 'town that night, if they were well handled, and at 'the inſtant I propounded the means, which was to 'carry our troops as near and covertly as might be, 'towards the town, and to ſee by ſome attempt if we 'could draw them to fight further from the town, that 'we might ſend them back with confuſion and diſor-'der, and ſo have the cutting them in pieces in the 'town-ditch, or enter it by the ſame way they did. 'His Lordſhip liked the project, and left the handling 'thereof to me.' . . . And he executed it with great ſucceſs, as he proceeds particularly to relate. . . . . 'The ditch, ſays he, was very hollow, but dry, out of 'which was raiſed a maſſy rampier, with two round 'half bulwarks; the one towards the one ſea, the other 'towards the other, for height and thickneſs in their 'perfection, but not ſteeped and ſcarped; ſo as it was 'very mountable. . . . To the top of this rampier our 'men climbed, who, being for the moſt part old and 'experienced ſoldiers, of the bands I brought out of 'the Low-Countries, boldly attempted to climbe the 'wall, from which they beat with their ſhot the defen-'dants, wanting no encouragements that good exam-'ple of the chiefs could give them, the General him-'ſelf being as forward as any. Whileſt it was hard 'ſtroven and fought on that ſide, I ſent a Captain and 'countreyman of mine, called Upſher, with ſome few 'men alongſt the ditch, to ſee what guard was held 'along the wall towards the bay-ward, and whether 'any eaſier entrance might be made that way, or no, 'willing him to bring, or ſend me word, which he did 'accordingly, though the meſſenger came not to me. 'He found ſo ſlender a guard, that he entered the town 'with thoſe few men he had, which the enemy per-'ceiving, fled from the walls, and our men entred as 'faſt on the other ſide (6).'

(6) Commentaries, p. 36, 38.

[*F*] *Of which he hath given a fine and particular relation.*] See his Commentaries, p. 72, &c. The Lord Burghley calls it, 'an overthrow given by Count Mor-'rice and our Engliſhe forces commanded by Sir Ro-'bert Sidney and Sir *Frauncis Vere*, of a nomber of the 'King of Spaynes auncient ſoldiars, as the like hath 'not happened with ſuch ſucceſſe to the States ſynce 'the beginning of their warrs (7).'——Grotius ſays, this was ſo eaſy a victory, that the Conquerors loſt hardly ten men; but there were above 2000 of the enemies buried, and near 500 taken (8). Sir Francis himſelf informs us, that 'there were taken between 'fourty and fifty enſignes, and ſlain and taken of the 'enemy near three thouſand, and their Generall, 'Signieur de Ballancy, and Count de Warras, died on 'the place (9).'

(7) Letter of his to Archbiſhop Hutton. MS. dated Jan. 30, 1596. See alſo Camden's Ann. at the beginning of the year 1597.

(8) Hiſt. de rebus Belgicis, lib. 6.

furniſhed

(9) Commentaries, p. 80.

furniſhed by the States of Holland, in all about 140; with an army of ſeven or eight thouſand land-men, as well preſſed as volunteers; and a thouſand of the Engliſh that were in the ſervice of the Dutch. Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, was appointed Lieutenant-General, which highly offended Sir Francis Vere [G], who had borne that office in the Cadiz voyage; however, he retained the title of Lord-Marſhal (r). They ſailed from Plymouth, July 9, but were driven back by a ſtorm, and detained about a month (s). Their proviſions failing, they diſcharged all the land-forces, except the thouſand men brought from Holland; and ſome propoſed a voyage to the Weſt-Indies, which Sir Francis oppoſed [H]. The Earl of Eſſex in the mean time went to Court; and, at his return, the deſign was purſued, of attempting to fire the Spaniſh fleet at Ferrol, and along the reſt of their coaſt; and to intercept their Indian plate-fleet. But a Council of war being called near the Groyne, it was reſolved to give over the enterpriſe of Ferrol, as not only difficult, but impoſſible; and to go directly to the *Azores Iſlands*, in queſt of the Spaniſh Indian fleet: from whence this came to be called the *Iſland Voyage*. They landed at Fayal, St Michael, Flores, and Gratioſa; loſing at the ſame time, by wilful miſtake, a large ſhip, which was a rich booty: and not being ſtrong enough to attempt the Spaniſh Indian fleet, that conſiſted of twenty ſail, and ſaved itſelf in the Port of Tercera (t). Sir William Monſon, the Earl of Southampton, and Sir *Francis Vere*, who were neareſt, gave them chace: and the two latter attempted to crowd into the haven with great boats at midnight, and to cut the cables of the neareſt ſhips, that they might be forced to ſea by the guſts which blew from the ſhore. But the Spaniards keeping a very ſtrict watch, that project miſcarried. So having taken only three Spaniſh ſhips, they returned from this unſucceſsful expedition to England [I], about the end of October (u). In the ſame year, he was appointed Governor of the Briel, one of the cautionary towns in the Low-Countries, through the intereſt of Secretary Cecil, and Sir Fulk Greville, and alſo of the Earl of Eſſex [K]. He

(r) Commentaries, p. 45.

(s) They ſailed again, Aug. 27. Camden's Ann. under the year 1587.

(t) Commentaries, p. 48, &c.

(u) Camden's Annals, as above; and Commentaries, p. 56.

[G] *Which highly offended Sir Francis Vere.*] His own account will be the beſt, and moſt authentic. When the Earl of Eſſex acquainted him with it, though 'with 'much demonſtration of favour, and with many cir-'cumſtances of words;' . . . . 'I anſwered, ſays Sir 'Francis, that I had partly underſtood before my 'coming out of the Low-Countreys, my Lord Mount-'joy's going Lieutenant-General, ſo that I had fore-'thought and reſolved what to do. For though I was 'ſenſible, as became me, who ſaw no cauſe in myſelf, 'of this diſgrace, yet my affections having been always 'ſubject to the rules of obedience, ſince it was my 'Prince's action, and that it could not be but that my 'Lord Mountjoy was placed with her Majeſtie's con-'ſent, my ſincerity would not give me leave to abſent 'myſelf, and colour my ſtay from this action with any 'feigned excuſe; but counſelled me to come over, 'both to obey my Lord Mountjoy, and reſpect him 'as his place required, much more his Lordſhip, which 'was Generall to us both; though I was not ſo ignorant 'of his Lordſhip's power, as to doubt that my Lord 'Mountjoy, or any ſubject of England, could be thruſt 'upon him without his deſire and procurement. That 'therefore, as I had good cauſe to judge that his Lord-'ſhip had withdrawn much of his favour from me, ſo I 'humbly deſired his Lordſhip, that as by a retrench-'ment of the condition I was to hold in this journey, I 'held it rather a reſignment to his Lordſhip again of 'the honour he had given me the laſt yeare, ſo farre 'as concerned my particular reſpect to his Lordſhip un-'ſought for of me, then a ſervice to him; ſo hereafter 'he would be pleaſed not to uſe me at all in any ac-'tion, wherein he was to go chief (10).'

(10) Commentaries, p. 46, 47.

[H] *Which Sir Francis oppoſed.*] And for theſe very material reaſons: . . . Our 'fleet's being ſo ſlenderly 'provided with forces and proviſions, that nothing 'could be exploited there, anſwerable to the expecta-'tion would be generally conceived. And that in the 'mean time, through the want of her Majeſtie's Royal 'Navy, and other principall ſhipping of the realm, 'with the choice Commanders both for ſea and land, 'the State might be endangered by an attempt made 'by the Spaniards upon our own coaſt; whom they 'certainly knew to have then in a readineſſe a great 'power of ſea and land-forces in the north parts of 'Spain.'——This laſt reaſon was very material. For, 'on their return from the Azores, they met, toward the 'coaſt of Ireland, with two or three Spaniſh ſhips, full 'of ſoldiers, which they took: by which (adds he) we 'not only underſtood at our coming to Plymmouth their 'purpoſe to have landed at Falmouth with ten thou-'ſand men, but ſaw the inſtructions and orders of the 'ſea-fights, if they had met with us, which was ſo full 'of perfection, that I have ever ſince redoubted their 'ſufficiency in ſea caſes (11).'

(11) Commentaries, p. 49, 64.

[I] *They returned from this unſucceſsful expedition to England.*] Though there was no good underſtanding between him and the Earl of Eſſex, yet, at his firſt appearance to Court, he did not ſuffer his paſſions to get above Truth and Juſtice; of which take the account in his own words. . . . 'So ſoon as I was able to go 'abroad (12), I went to the Court, which was then at 'Whitehall; and becauſe I would uſe no bodies help 'to give me acceſſe to her Majeſty, as alſo that I de-'ſired to be heard more publickly, I reſolved to ſhew 'myſelf to her Majeſty, when ſhe came into the gar-'den; where, ſo ſoon as ſhe ſet her gracious eyes 'upon me, ſhe called me to her, and queſtioned with 'me concerning the journey, ſeeming greatly incenſed 'againſt my Lord of Eſſex, laying the whole blame of 'the evil ſucceſſe of the journey on his Lordſhip, both 'for the not burning and ſpoiling of the fleet at Faroll, 'and miſſing the Indian fleet. Wherein with the truth 'I boldly juſtified his Lordſhip with ſuch earneſtneſſe, 'that my voice growing ſhrill, the ſtanders by, which 'were many, might hear, (for her Majeſty then walk-'ed) laying the blame freely upon them that deſerved 'it. And ſome there preſent being called to confront 'me, were forced to confeſſe the contrary of that they 'had delivered to her Majeſty, inſomuch that I an-'ſwered all objections againſt the Earl, wherewith her 'Majeſty well quieted and ſatisfied, ſate her down in 'the end of the walk, and calling me to her, fell into 'more particular diſcourſe of his Lordſhip's humours 'and ambition; all which ſhe pleaſed then to conſtrue 'ſo graciouſly, that before ſhe left me, ſhe fell into 'much commendation of him, who very ſhortly after 'came to the Court. This office I performed to his 'Lordſhip to the grieving and bitter incenſing of the 'contrary party againſt me; notwithſtanding I had diſ-'covered his Lordſhip's coldneſſe of affection to me. . . . 'fearing more to incurre the opinion of ingratitude 'then the malice of any enemies, how great ſoever, 'which the delivery of truth could procure me (13).'

(12) For, in his coming home, he got a cold ſo violent, that for three weeks after he could not ſtir out of his lodging. Commentaries, p. 65.

(13) Commentaries, p. 66, 67.

——There appears alſo to have been a great enmity between Sir Francis, and Sir Walter Ralegh (14).

(14) See there, p. 26, 47, 48, 52, 53.

[K] *And alſo of the Earl of Eſſex.*] Sir Francis was ignorant of it. For he ſays upon this occaſion . . . . 'As I had good cauſe to doubt my Lord of Eſſex 'would not further me in that ſuit, ſo I was as loth 'to have any thing by his means in the terms I then 'ſtood in with his Lordſhip; much leſs by any other 'perſons that were known his oppoſers——He rather 'diſcouraged me than otherwiſe in the purſuit (15).'

(15) Commentaries, p. 62, 69.

——But in a letter of Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, of November 5, 1597, we find this paſſage . . 'For the annexing of Brill to your government [of 'Fluſhing] upon the condicions you offer, of 5000 l. a 'yeare leſs, hath been already propounded to 1000

He was permitted, at the ſame time, to keep the command of the Engliſh troops in the ſervice of the States. In September, 1597, he went over, and took poſſeſſion of his Government (w) [L]. The December after, he was again in England, and reſorted frequently to Court, where he and Sir Edward Norris were gallantly followed, by the military Gentlemen (x). In February, 1597-8, a warrant was drawn, to take away from him the allowance of ten pounds a day as Serjeant-major of the field: He, and the Earl of Eſſex, uſed all their intereſt to have it ſtill continued, but the Lord Burghley was therein his aſſured enemy (y). The Queen ſent him, in 1598, to the States, upon the concluſion of a peace between France and Spain, to know whether they would come into that peace, or continue the war: they chuſing the latter, a new treaty was ſigned between England and Holland (z). And, the year following, when danger of an invaſion was apprehended from Spain, the Queen conſtituted him Lord-Marſhal: Being ſent for over in all poſſible haſte, he embarked, Auguſt the 22d, at the Briel, and came to London the next day, where he ſtaid till all apprehenſions of an invaſion were over. During his ſtay, he was propoſed, or mentioned, for Lord Deputy of Ireland. But the ſtrong factions between the two parties of Eſſex and Cecil, ſeem to have rendered his intereſt very fluctuating at Court (aa) [M]. The 21ſt of October he came back to the Hague; and had an audience of the States. In the beginning of the year 1600, there happened great uneaſineſſes and diſputes between him and the States, about matters of account [N]; and for their having leſſened, in his abſence, the companies he commanded for them, from a hundred and fifty to a hundred and thirteen men (bb). Happy was it for them, that they came not to an open rupture, nor did deprive him of the ſupreme command of their forces! For, to his undaunted valour and wiſe conduct was owing the ſignal victory, gained by their own and the Engliſh troops, on the 5th of July, 1600, near Newport. It was he that rallied and inſpirited thoſe troops, when they were giving way; and crowned them with certain victory [O]. The laſt and moſt ſignal military exploit performed by him, was his gallant defence

(w) Commentaries, 68—71.

(x) Letters and Memorials of the Sydney-family, Edit. 1746. Vol. II. p. 78.

(y) Ibid. p. 93.

(z) Camden's Annals, under the year 1598.

(aa) See Letters of the Sydney-family, Vol. II. p. 112, 113, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 121, 128—133, 142.

(bb) Ibid. p. 126, 186, 189, 191, 196.

(16) Letters and Memorials of the Sydney-family, Vol. II. p. 75.

(17) Commentaries, p. 73.

(18) Annals, under the year 1597.

(19) Letters of the Sydney-family, Vol. II. p. 128.

(20) p. 130.

(21) p. 133.

(22) Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham.

(23) Robert Ratcliffe.

(24) Sir Robert Sydney, Governor of Flushing.

(25) i. e. Government of the Briel.

(26) p. 122.

(27) p. 126.

(28) p. 186.

(29) p. 188. Dated April 19.

(30) Letter, dated April 30, p. 191.

(31) Letter of May 26, p. 196.

'[Earl of Eſſex] but he ſmiled at it, and wiſhed it 'were ſoe. *He delt very earneſtly for Sir Francis Vere*, 'but the Queen will not yeld unto it. My Lord Sheffild 'ſtill hopes to have it (16).'——

[L] *In September, 1597, he went over, and took poſſeſſion of his government.*] So he ſays in expreſs words (17). And yet Mr Camden affirms (18), that he and the fleet did not return till October: which we cannot tell how to reconcile.

[M] *Seem to have rendered his intereſt very fluctuating at Court.*] So we gather from the extracts of the following Letters of Rowland Whyte, agent at Court for Sir Robert Sydney, to the ſaid Sir Robert. In one dated from the Court, Nonſuch, Michaelmas-day, 1599, he writes thus: 'The States, if yt [the peace] goe forward, 'muſt have warning of yt, and I believe Sir *Francis* '*Vere* will be ſent unto them about yt. *He lives very* '*darckly, for he comes very ſeldome here, and litle Speach* '*of him.* The Miſeries that his poore Regiments are in, 'both in Camp and in Zealand, is ſpoken of here; 'but the States is blamed for want of pay (19).'... In another letter, dated October 2, he has theſe words ... 'This peace with Spaine, is a thing very much 'deſired here; I beleve when her Majeſty is diſpoſed 'to harken unto yt thoroughly, ſhe will give ſome notice 'of yt to the States, and that by Sir Francis Vere, 'who is here, *but comes not much to Court* (20)..... And in another letter of the ſixteenth of the ſame month, he writes in a different ſtrain ... 'Sir *Francis Vere* is '*much graced at Court*, and happy if this peace goe for- 'ward; that by the Warres he hath extremely enriched 'hymſelf to be able to live without yt (21).'——But what intereſt he had in particular with Secretary Cecil, and what his own diſpoſition was, will further appear from this part of another Letter to Sir Robert Sydney .... 'You are deſirous to be advertiſed of Sir Francis Vere's 'welcom here. Many kind Lettres paſt between Mr 'Secretary and him, while he was in the Low-Countries, 'and, at his arrival, he came to Mr. Secretaries, who 'brought him to the Queen, with whom he was long, 'and very graciouſly uſed; and true it is, that Mr. 'Secretary gives him all grace. My Lord Admirall (22) 'alſo brought him to the preſence, where all theſe 'ſaluted him, only my Lord Montjoy refraines ſpeak- 'ing to him; and my Lord of Suſſex (23) being in a 'corner of the preſence, my Lord Admirall ſhewed him 'to Sir Francis, but he never ſturd foote to goe towards 'him, but over his ſhoulder looked upon him, which 'the Earle tooke very ill, and began to chaffe at it. 'Yt was indeed here marvailed at, that the twenty 'companies came not to Flushing to be imbarqued; but 'I heare Sir Francis anſwered, that he wold not ſend 'any troopes of his, where their was ſo little love born 'him. He complaines, that your Lordſhip (24) went 'about to have his Comand from him; and when you 'cold not compas that, you wold have a regiment in 'the field, not to be comanded by him, which likewiſe 'the States wold not grant. And now when he was 'ſent for, it was writ unto him that you ſhuld ſay, that 'his coming over here was not to be emploied, but 'to anſwer ſuch contempts as were by him comitted 'towards my Lord of Eſſex; and that now againe you 'wold have his place from him (25). Laſtly, he be- 'leives that you were ſome cauſe of my Lord of Eſſex's 'unkindneſs towards him, by your aggravating of mat- 'ters; and ſaies, that the States had not ſo great an 'opinion of you, as you ſeme to aſſure to yourſelf (26).'

[N] *In the beginning of the year 1600, there happened great uneaſineſſes and diſputes between him and the States about matters of account*, &c.] For theſe matters of fact, we are indebted to the Letters juſt now mentioned. In one of September 22, 1599, we read as follows ... 'Sir Francis Vere hath written to the States, that he 'will be here ſhortly, but how he will lyke of the re- 'duction of his companies from 150 to 113, that is 'dowbtfull (27).' In another of Aprill 3, 1600—— 'I demanded of Monſieur Charon, why Sir Francis Vere 'was not in the field with his Excellency; he anſwered, 'that he grew too ſtately and ambitious, and, but for 'the reſpect was carried to ſome of his Frends here, 'he ſhuld find that he had offended the States by ſome 'late courſes (28).'.... 'He tells me, that the States 'will truſt no more 29 [Sir Francis Vere] (29).'.... 'It is reported here ſtill, that Sir Francis Vere is in 'diſgrace with the States, about matters of Ac- 'counts (30).... 'Yeſterday being Sonday, the Court 'was full that Sir Francis Vere will ſerve the States 'no longer; that he will come over to juſtify his 'actions (30).'

[O] *And crowned them with certain victory.*] The enemies forces were then weak and in mutinies, and their affairs in diſorder; which induced the States to carry the war into Flanders. The army of the latter conſiſted of about twelve thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; and was divided into three parts, commanded by Count Erneſt of Naſſau, Count Solmes, and Sir Francis Vere; his troop conſiſting of one thouſand ſix hundred Engliſh, two thouſand five hundred Friſons, and ten cornets of horſe: with which troop he took his turn of vanguard, battle, and rereward, as it fell out. The ſiege of Newport was the firſt action they reſolved on: which the Spaniards advanced to hinder. And, partly the little canals which that country abounds with, and the many ſandy hillocks near the ſea-ſhore, rendered the ſituation of both armies very uneaſy and diſadvantageous. What ſhare he bore in the action, let us learn from himſelf—— 'To give our 'men the more courage, I went into the bottom amongſt 'them, where riding up and down, I was in their eyes 'both doing the office of a Captain and Soldier.—At

defence of Oſtend; which was beſieged by the Archduke Albert, and a very numerous army, in 1601. To qualify him for that great employment, the States conferred on him the important office of General of all their army in and about Oſtend, with very ample power. Whereupon, he came to England, to obtain Queen Elizabeth's approbation; and leave, to raiſe 3000 of her ſubjects, at the States charge; and tranſport them into the Low-Countries in ten days warning, that is, by the 10th of May. He entered Oſtend, July 11, with eight companies of Engliſh, ſent him by Count Maurice, being part of the twenty Engliſh companies in his army; and found in the place thirty companies of Netherlanders, making about ſixteen or ſeventeen hundred men (*cc*). With this handful, (for no leſs than four thouſand were neceſſary for proper defence) (*dd*) he reſolutely defended the place againſt the Spaniſh army, which was computed at twelve thouſand men, until March 1601-2. During the courſe of this Siege [*P*], he received a reinforcement of twelve companies of Engliſh from Count Maurice: and cut out a new harbour [*Q*] at Oſtend, which proved of great ſervice to him (*ee*). The 14th of Auguſt, he was wounded in the head by the blowing up of a cannon; and that obliged him to remove into Zealand till September 19, when he returned to Oſtend, and found two thouſand Engliſh, and twenty enſigns of French, Walloons, Scots, and Friſons, that had arrived there in his abſence (*ff*). On the 4th of December, in the night, the Spaniards fiercely aſſaulted the Engliſh trenches, ſo that Sir Francis was called up without having time to put his clothes on: but by his conduct, the enemy were repulſed, with a loſs of about 500 men on their ſide (*gg*). In the mean time, the place began to be much diſtreſſed; for a hard froſt having ſet in about the 12th of November, with a ſtrong north-weſt wind, no ſhips, nor any ſuccours out of Holland or Zealand, could come to Oſtend. Sir Francis having advice, that the beſiegers intended a general aſſault; in order to put them off, and gain time, he artfully contrived to enter into treaty with them, for the ſurrender of the place (*hh*) [*R*]. But receiving

(*dd*) See p. 148.

(*cc*) Commentaries, p. 218, 219, 120.

(*ee*) Ibid. p. 124, 139.

(*ff*) Ibid. p. 132, 136.

(*gg*) Ibid. p. 140, 141.

(*hh*) Ibid. p. 147—161.

' my firſt coming I got one ſhot through my leg, and ' a quarter of an hour after another through the ſame ' thigh, which I then neither complained nor bragged ' of, nor ſo much as thought of any chirurgeon; for ' I knew if I left the place, my men would inſtantly ' quail. I therefore choſe (not having been uſed to ' have my troops foiled) to try the uttermoſt, rather ' then to ſhew them the way to flee, hoping ſtill for the ' coming of the Friſons and the horſe I ſent for. But ' their haſte was ſo ſmall, that my men, overlaid with ' number, forſook the place, notwithſtanding my beſt ' endeavour to ſtay them, haſting along the ſands to- ' wards our cannon, the enemy following them hard. ' I was forced, ſeeing them all going, to go for com- ' pany, with the laſt, uneaſily and unwillingly (God ' knows) and in the way my horſe fell dead under me, ' and upon me that I could not ſtirre: I had neither ' officer, gentleman, nor ſervant about me to give me ' help. Sir Robert Drury by chance came, and a ' gentleman, being a ſervant of his called Higham, ' drew me from under the horſe, and ſet me up behinde ' his maſter; which help came very ſeaſonably, for ' the enemy being near at hand when I fell, by this ' means I was ſaved out of their clutches. Thus I rode ' to the ordnance, where I found my brother *Horace* ' and the moſt of the officers that were living, with ſome ' three hundred foot. I made them ſtand from before ' the ordnance, and willed the Cannoniers to diſcharge ' upon the enemy that now ſwarmed upon the ſands, ' and at the ſame inſtant my own companie of horſe ' and Captain Balls coming thither, I willed them to go ' to the charge, and my brother with the foot to ad- ' vance and ſecond them home. This ſmall number ' of horſe and foot made an exceeding great change on ' a ſudden, for the enemy in hope of victory followed ' hard, and being upon the ſands, where horſe might ' ſerve upon them, were ſoon routed, moſt cut in pieces, ' the reſt ſaving themſelves by flight, as they could, in ' the downs, our men both horſe and foot followed ' them (32).' The fortune of the day being thus decided, Sir Francis began to take care of himſelf, who all this while having been undreſſed, the bloud leaking from him at four holes, together with a dangerous diſeaſe that had long held him, had made him extremely weak and faint. The enemy loſt above 120 enſignes, moſt of his foot ſlain, not many of his horſe loſt. On the States ſide in a manner the whole loſs fell upon the Engliſh, of which near 800 were hurt and ſlain, eight captains ſlain, the reſt all but two hurt, and moſt of his inferior officers hurt and ſlain (33).——The accounts we have of this Victory in the Letters of the Sydney-family, are as follow (34): . . ' The ennemy was over- ' thrown by the valor of the Engliſh, and the good ' direction of Sir *Francis Vere*, to whom his Excellency ' comitted the whole charge and comand of horſe and ' foote; and that the vanguard of the army kyled ' 5000 Spaniards, took 200 captains, and 110 coullers. ' Sir *Franeis Vere* hath gained a great deale of honor, ' and Prince Mores, in his lettre to the Queen, hath ' donne him right, attributing the victory to his good ' order and direction.'——' Sir Francis Vere's frends ' in Court doe highly comend the great ſervice he did ' the laſt battell, and have poſſeſſed her Majeſtie with ' it, who very often is hard to ſay, That ſhe holds him ' the worthies Capten of her time.'——' Yt is wondered ' here, by Sir Francis Veres frends, that the States have ' not preſented hym with ſome gifte of worth, either in ' plate or jewels, for the Victory he gott them that day, ' which preſerved their countrey from enſuing dangers.'

[*P*] *During the courſe of this ſiege*, &c.] Theſe remarkable occurrences are recorded to have happened . . . During the firſt month of the ſiege, the Spaniards diſcharged little leſs than thirty-five thouſand cannon-ſhot againſt the town (35). A bulwark, called the Sand-hill, was ſo thick ſtuck with bullets, that the ordnance could hardly ſhoot without hitting its former bullets, which like an iron wall made the latter fly in pieces up into the air: Yea, the bullets in it were ſo many, that they left no room to drive in paliſadoes, though pointed with iron; and ſome there were that would have undertaken to make the bulwark new, if they might have had the bullets for their pains (36). A gunner, more than once, ſhot a bullet into the mouth of a charged cannon; which, taking fire with the blow, returned the bullet inſtantly back again, attended with another of its own. As good a markſman was he (if he did it deſignedly) who, when a ſoldier of the town, having bought a loaf of bread was holding it up in a boaſting way, took away with a ſhot the uppermoſt half, leaving the other in the ſoldier's hand, who finding that he had received no hurt, ſaid ' it was a fair-conditioned bullet, for it had left him the better half behinde (37).'——John Carew, of Antony in Cornwall, a young Engliſh gentleman about twenty-three years of age, having in a ſally had one of his Arms ſhot off, he went and took it up, and brought back with him into the town unto the chirurgeon: and coming back to his lodging, ſhewed it, ſaying, ' Behold ' the Arm which but at dinner did help its fellow.' This he did and endured without the leaſt fainting, or ſo much as reſting upon his bed (38).

(35) See Commentaries, p. 132, 133. Continuation of the ſiege of Oſtend.

(36) Ibid. p. 136.

(37) Ibid. p. 136.

(38) Ibid. p. 141.

[*Q*] *Cut out a new harbour.*] It was of ſo great ſervice, that ſixty ſhips came into it in a few days: the Gueule, or old haven, became uſeleſs (39).

(39) Letters of the Sydneys, Vol. II. p. 250, 280.

[*R*] *He artfully contrived to enter into Treaty with them, for the ſurrender of the place.*] He was then reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs; knowing, that the enemy were preparing for a general Aſſault, which he was not able either to ſtand, or beat off. And therefore he expreſſed his uneaſineſs to Sir John Ogle, who hath given an account of this tranſaction (40), in the following manner . . . ' What think you? are we not in a fine taking ' here? ha! I will tell you, captain Ogle, there was ' never

(40) Continuation of the ſiege of Oſtend, at the end of Sir Francis's Commentaries, p. 159, 160. and the end of the book.

[32] Commentaries, p. 102, 103, 104.

[33] Ibid. p. 104.

[34] Vol. II. p. 204, 205, 208.

receiving part of the ſupplies he had long expected from the States, with an aſſurance of more at hand, he broke off the Treaty (*ii*) [*S*]. Thunderſtruck, and infinitely enraged at this diſappointment, the Archduke took a reſolution to revenge himſelf of thoſe within the town; ſaying, he would put them all to the ſword: His commanders and ſoldiers taking likewiſe an oath, that if they entered, they would ſpare neither man, woman, nor child. Accordingly, they made a general aſſault, on the 7th of January, 1601-2. But Sir Francis, with only about twelve hundred able fighting men, kept off the enemy's army of ten thouſand men; which threw that day above two and twenty hundred ſhot on the town: And had, before, thrown upon it no leſs than one hundred and ſixty-three thouſand two hundred cannon-ſhot, leaving ſcarce a whole houſe ſtanding (*kk*). Thus our brave hero having acquired immortal honour in the defence of Oſtend, for about eight months together, reſigned his Government, March 7, 1601-2, to Frederick Dorp, that had been appointed by the States to ſucceed him: And he, and his brother, Sir Horatio Vere, returned into Holland (*ll*). We ſhall only add, that this memorable ſiege laſted in all three years, and about a hundred days. Happy had it been for the ſoldiers, if the ſea had broke in and ſwallowed it up; for this place proved the common grave, though indeed a moſt glorious monument at the ſame time, to the beſt ſoldiers in the Low-Countries, Spain, France, England, Scotland, and Italy; whilſt they fought all the while for a mere barren

(*ii*) Commentaries, p. 161, 210.

(*kk*) Continuation of the ſiege of Oſtend, p. 163, 164, 165.

(*ll*) Ibid. p. 177, 178.

'never man of my fortunes and reputation (both which 'have been cleared hitherto) plunged in greater ex'treamity than I am now.'—Adding, 'that he was like 'a man that had both courage and judgment to defend 'himſelf, and yet muſt ſit with his hands bound, whileſt 'boys and devils come and box him about the ears. 'Yet this I will tell you too, (ſaid he) rather than you 'ſhall ever ſee the name of *Francis Vere* ſubſcribed in 'the delivery of a town committed to his cuſtody, or 'his hand to the leaſt article of treaty (though with 'the Archduke's own perſon) had I a thouſand lives, 'I would firſt burie them all in the rampier, yet in the 'mean while judge you of the quality of this our being.' ——However, to ward off ſo dangerous a blow as a general aſſault; to gain time for the ſuccours he impatiently expected, and that might poſſibly come every hour; as alſo to have an opportunity of repairing and ſtrengthening the works; he propoſed a treaty for ſurrendering the place. Commiſſioners were appointed on both ſides, one of whom was Sir John Ogle.——But to protract yet the time, Sir Francis uſed this ſtratagem: 'Cauſing a Gentleman that waited on him in his cham'ber to make an alarm at the entry of the Spaniſh com'miſſioners, He pretended thereupon treachery on their 'part (41); and made it the cauſe why he would nei'ther let them ſtay in the town, nor return the way 'they came. This bred diſputes, and meſſengers paſſed 'to and fro betwixt them and the Generall. In the 'mean time the flood came in, and the water waxed 'ſo high, that there was no paſſage that way without a 'boat; whereof there was none on that ſide of the town, 'nor any brought, for that had been to croſſe his own 'purpoſe. The Commiſſioners deſired earneſtly to be 'ſuffered to ſtay, though it were upon the worſt guard 'of the town; but it was denied: for he muſt rid him'ſelf of them; he could not do his buſineſſe ſo well, 'if their eyes and ears were ſo near him; he ſent them 'therefore to their friends on the Eaſt ſide, forecaſting 'wiſely, that e'er they could come there, and thence 'by the South to the Weſt ſide again, there to have 'admittance to his Highneſſe, and there to have the 'matter debated in council, he ſhould not only gain 'the whole winter-night, but moſt part of the next day 'for his advantage, which fell out according to that 'calculation; and beyond his expectation that it con'tinued longer.'—The reaſon of the General's proceeding in that unaccountable manner, was, 'To gain ſo 'much more time; for that was precious to him for the 'advancement of his works in the old town; to which, 'through the benefit of this ceſſation of hoſtility, he had 'now drawn moſt of the hands that could labour, giv'ing them ſpades to work, and order to have their 'weapons by them ready upon occaſion to fight; and 'he handled the matter ſo, that, e'er the Commiſſion'ers returned again, the old town and works were 'ſtronger by a thouſand men. He could not have done 'this (at leaſt ſo conveniently) had he begun conference 'with them at their firſt entrie, nor avoided that firſt 'conference, had he let them ſtay in the town, at leaſt 'he underſtood it ſo.'——This unaccountable Behaviour, one might naturally think, would have quite put an end to the Treaty. But Sir John Ogle, one of the Engliſh commiſſioners, who had not been let into the ſecret, managed it ſo with the Archduke, that the Commiſſioners were ſent again: And, this ſecond time, their reception 'was better than the firſt. For the 'General feaſted with them, and drank and diſcourſed 'with them; but came to no direct overture of article, 'though they much preſſed him. That part of the day, 'and the whole night, was ſo ſpent, and in ſleep. 'In the morning were diſcovered five ſhips out of Zea'land, riding in the road, that brought four hundred 'men, and ſome materials for the ſea-works. The men 'were landed, not without oppoſition, but without any 'hurt. And this pretext, of ſuccour from the States, 'the General took to break off the Treaty, which he 'had not yet really entered into: Whereupon the Com'miſſioners were diſcharged on both ſides (42).' —— The States, unacquainted with the General's deſign, were highly diſcontented at his Treating; imagining, that he was about making a ſeparate Peace between England and Spain; and even without the Queen's conſent (43).

(41) They came attended with ſixty horſe, which Sir Francis called coming in a hoſtile manner. See Letters of the Sydney-family, Vol. II. p. 240.

(42) See Letters of the Sydney-family, Vol. II. p. 239, &c.

(43) Ibid. p. 239, 242, 248.

[*S*] *He broke off the Treaty.*] And wrote this paper to the Archduke . . 'We have heretofore held it neceſ'ſary, for certain reaſons, to treat with the Deputies 'which had authority from your Highneſſe; but whileſt 'we were about to conclude upon the Conditions and 'Articles, there are arrived certain of our ſhips of warre, 'by whom we have received part of that which we had 'need of; ſo that we cannot with our Honour and Oath 'continue the Treaty, nor proceed in it; which we 'hope that your Highneſſe will not take in ill part; 'and that nevertheleſs, when your power ſhall reduce 'us to the like eſtate, you will not refuſe, as a moſt 'generous Prince, to vouchſafe us again a gentle audi'ence. From our town of Oſtend, the 25th of Decem'ber, 1601.

'Signed, Francis Vere.'

'Now, (as our Author goes on) whoſoever ſhall but con'ſider how many and how great difficulties the Archduke 'had ſtruggled with to maintain the ſiege; how highly 'concerned he was in point of honour, and how eagerly 'engaged in his affections; and what aſſured hopes 'he had of taking the town; will eaſily conceive that 'he muſt needs finde himſelf much diſcompoſed at ſo 'unexpected a diſappointment. He had already taken 'it with his eyes; and, as if he had bound the Leviathan 'for his maidens to ſport withall, under the aſſurance 'of the truce he walked the *Infanta* before the town, 'with twenty Ladyes and Gentlewomen in her train; 'as it were valiantly to ſtroke this wild beaſt, which 'he had now laid faſt in the toiles; and to look upon 'the outſide of the town before they entered into it (44).' ——Grotius adds, that all Flanders had flocked to ſee the ſurrender of the place as a certain ſpectacle. And repreſents the treaty as an unneceſſary, dangerous, and not very handſome piece of craft (45). Every ſtep of it might not indeed be conſonant to the Rules laid down by that excellent Civilian, in his book *De Jure Belli & Pacis*. But it was certainly an act of conſummate Generalſhip. And *Dolus an virtus quis in hoſte requirit?* Grotius's words are, 'Commovit Archiducem ea con'tumelia, quippe Flandria omnis velut ad certum ſpec'taculum potiundæ urbis concurrerat, & jam dicita fama 'propinquis regnis vagabatur. Nec ordinibus ſatis 'excuſata fraus per ſe indecora, ad hoc periculoſa magis 'quam neceſſaria.'

(44) Continuation of the ſiege of Oſtend, p. 162, 163.

(45) Grotii Annales, edit. fol. L. X. p. 414.

and

and fruitleſs ſpot of ground (*mm*). Soon after his diſcharge from the Government of Oſtend, Sir Francis, at the requeſt of the States, came to England to deſire freſh ſuccours; which went over in May, and were to be under his command (*nn*). He was a great favourite of Olden Barnevelt (*oo*). Upon receiving the news of Queen Elizabeth's death, he proclaimed King James I. at the Briel, in April 1603, and in June following came to England (*pp*). His Government of the ſaid town expiring, or being ſuperſeded at his good Miſtreſs's deceaſe [*T*], it was renewed to him by King James I. [*V*]. But, under that peaceable Monarch, Gentlemen of the ſword came to be leſs conſidered than under his martial predeceſſor. And they became almoſt uſeleſs to him, upon his making peace with Spain, in 1604. However, Sir Francis Vere could not live inglorious. But, after an honourable repoſe of about four years, he died quietly at home, Auguſt the 28th, 1608, in the fifty-fourth year of his age; and was buried in St John the Evangeliſt's Chapel in Weſtminſter-Abbey: where an uncommon monument was erected to his memory by his Lady [*W*]. Beſides his other preferments, he was Governor of Portſmouth (*qq*). His own glorious exploits, recorded by himſelf in his Commentaries [*X*], are the greateſt character and encomium of him that can be. However, the good account given of him by Sir Robert Naunton, we ſhall add in the note [*Y*]. He married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of - - - - Dent, Citizen of London, who ſurvived him, and by whom he had three ſons and two daughters, John, Edward, Henry, Dorothy, and Elizabeth; all which died before him (*rr*).

(*mm*) Grotii Annales; and Camden, under the year 1601.

(*nn*) Letters of the Sydney-family, Vol. II. p. 249, 250, 251, 252, 254, 255.

(*oo*) Ibid. p. 255.

(*pp*) Ibid. p. 270, 275.

(*qq*) Epitaph.

(*rr*) Viſitation of Eſſex, in the Heralds Office, No. 124.

[*T*] *His government of the Briel expiring, or being ſuperſeded* &c.] We do not know which it was. But Sir William Broune, in a Letter to Robert Lord Sydney, tells him, 'that Sir Francis Vere, hearinge that he 'ſhold looſe his place, came himſelf to the Kinge, 'deſyringe to be lycenſed from the charge of the 'Brill (46).'

(46) Letters of the Sydney-family, Vol. II. p. 279.

[*V*] *It was renewed again to him by King James I.*] That it was at an end, in the beginning of that King's reign, is moſt evident from the patent then granted to him; which begins thus: 'Whereas the Toune of Brill 'in the Lowe Countries is nowe without a Governor, 'foraſmuche as we thinke meet and neceſſary, for the 'advancement of our ſervice in thoſe parts, to have 'the ſame place ſupplied by ſome perſonage of quality 'and guiffts fitt for a Chardge of that importance, 'Know ye &c. (47).' ——— Sir Francis enjoyed this Government in November, 1605 (48).

(47) Pat. 1 Jac. I. p. 24. m. 20.

(48) See Letters of the Sydney-family, Vol. II. p. 316.

[*W*] *Where an uncommon monument was erected to his memory by his Lady.*] A print of it may be ſeen in Dart's and other Hiſtories of Weſtminſter-abbey. On a marble table, raiſed ſomewhat above the floor, reſts Sir Francis's ſtatue, as big as the life, on a quilt, all of figured alabaſter: Above which is a canopy of Lydian, or touch, ſtone, ſupported at the four corners on the ſhoulders of four knights in armour, kneeling on one knee upon the ground. And, on the canopy, are his helmet, vambrace, gauntlets, ſpurs and ſhield, of white marble exquiſitely wrought. Round the verge, is this epitaph, in gilt letters: '*Franciſco Vero*, Equiti Aurato, Gal-'fredi F. Joannis Comitis Oxoniæ Nepoti, Brieliæ et 'Portſmuthæ Præfecto, Anglicarum Copiarum in Bel-'gio Ductori ſummo; Elizabetha uxor viro chariſſimo, 'quocum conjunctiſſime vixit, hoc ſupremum amoris 'et fidei conjugalis monumentum mœſtiſſima et cum 'Lacrymis gemens poſuit. Obiit XXVIII. Die Auguſti, 'Anno Salutis MDCVIII, et Anno Ætatis ſuæ LIIII.'

But we find this other ingenious Epitaph made upon him:

'When Vere fought Death, arm'd with his ſword and ſheild,
Death was afraid to meet him in the Feild:
But when his weapons he had laid aſide,
Death like a coward ſtrooke him, and he dy'd (49).'

(49) Camden's Remains, p. 401.

[*X*] *Recorded by himſelf in his Commentaries.*] The title of them is, 'The Commentaries of Sir Francis 'Vere, being diverſe pieces of ſervice, wherein he had 'command, written by himſelf in way of Commentary.' They were publiſhed from the Author's original, compared with a copy in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Weſtmorland, and another copy communicated by the Lord Fairfax, in the year 1657, by William Dillingham, D. D. finely printed by J. Field, Cambridge, fol. and adorned with very beautiful pictures of Sir Francis, and Sir Horace, Vere; Sir John Ogle; with maps, plans of battles, &c. At the end is ſubjoined, Sir John Ogle's account of the laſt charge at Newport battle; and his account of the parly at the ſiege of Oſtend; with a ſhort relation of ſome circumſtances during that treaty, by Henry Hexham. The Editor hath alſo continued the ſtory of that ſiege, from the time Sir Francis put up his pen, to the time that he put up his ſword there. ——At the end, is a relation of Newport battle, in elegant Latin, by Iſaac Doriſlaus; the ſame who was one of the Judges of the Court of Admiralty, and an aſſiſtant in drawing up and managing the charge againſt King Charles I. at his tryal (50).——In the beginning, the Editor gives the following juſt encomium of this work.

(50) See Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 339. Edit. 1721.

Brave Vere! who haſt by *deeds of arms* made good
What thou hadſt promiſed by *birth and bloud*;
Whoſe courage ne're turn'd edge, being back'd with wiſe
And ſober reaſon, ſharpened with adviſe.
Look (Reader) how from *Neuport* hills he throws
Himſelf a thunder-bolt amongſt his foes;
And what his Sword indicted, that his Pen
With like ſucceſs doth here fight o're agen:
What Mars performed, Mercury doth tell;
None e're but Ceſar fought and wrote ſo well.
Why may not then his Book this title carry,
The Second Part of Ceſar's Commentary?

[*Y*] *The good account given of him by Sir Robert Naunton,* &c.] It is in theſe words. 'Sir *Francis* '*Vere* was of the ancient and moſt noble extract of the 'Earles of Oxford: And it may be a queſtion, whether 'the Nobility of his Houſe, or the Honour of his Atchievements, might moſt commend him; but that we 'have an authentique Rule to decide the doubt:

Nam genus & proavos, & quæ non fecimus ipſi,
Vix ea noſtra voco . . . . .

'For though he were an Honourable Slip of that ancient Tree of Nobility, (which was no diſadvantage 'to his vertue) yet he brought more glory to the name 'of *Vere*, than he took of bloud from the Family. He 'was amongſt the Queen's ſwordmen inferior to none; 'but ſuperior to many: Of whom it may be ſaid, "To ſpeak much of him, were the way to leave out "ſomething that might adde to his praiſe, and to for-"get more that could adde to his Honour." I find 'not that he came much to the Court, for he lived almoſt perpetually in the Camp: but when he did, no 'man had more of the Queen's favour, and none leſs 'envied; for he ſeldom troubled it with the jealouſie 'and allarum of ſupplantations; his way was another 'ſort of undermining. They report, that the Queen '(as ſhe loved martiall men) would court this Gentleman as ſoon as he appeared in her preſence. And 'ſurely he was a Souldier of great worth, and commanded thirty yeares in the ſervice of the States, and 'twenty yeares over the Engliſh in chief, as the 'Queen's Generall: and he that had ſeen the Battail 'of Newport, might there beſt have taken him, and 'his Noble Brother, my Lord of Tilbury, to the 'life (51).'

(51) Naunton's Fragmenta regalia, &c. Edit. 1653. 12mo. p. 84.

VERE [HORACE], Baron of Tilbury, youngeſt brother of the preceding (*a*), was born at Kirby-Hall in Eſſex, in the year 1565 (*b*). He took to a military life from his youth (*c*), and accompanied his brother, Sir Francis, in his moſt ſignal exploits, being in courage equal, and in hazards undivided [*A*]. In the 20th year of his age, he with his brother, Sir *Francis*, then aged 31, went over with thoſe forces ſent the latter end of the year 1583, to the aſſiſtance of the States of Holland, and ſerved there in ſeveral actions with his brother, till he had the command of a regiment of foot; yet we don't find any particular mention made of him till the expedition to *Cadiz*, in 1596, wherein he embarked, and was knighted for his valour in taking of that ſea-port town (*d*). In 1597, he was in the Low-Countries in the ſervice of the States, and after the end of the campaign, lay ſick at the Hague (*e*). He continued there the following year, 1598, without any conſiderable action; but the enemy making ſtrong efforts in 1599, he greatly ſignalized himſelf in the campaign that year [*B*]. In 1600, he had a great ſhare in obtaining the victory at the famous battle of Newport (*f*); where, after Sir Francis, his brother, was wounded, he purſued the enemy, making great ſlaughter among them [*C*]. In 1601, he was with Prince *Maurice* at the ſiege of *Rhineberg*; and his brother, Sir Francis, being appointed General of the army employed in and about *Oſtend*, having orders for all the Engliſh to be ſent to him, Prince Maurice, not willing to part them from the ſiege, detached only eight companies under Sir Horace Vere, with which entering *Oſtend*, he had his ſhare in that memorable ſiege, and behaved with great conduct and intrepidity. After the parley on December 28, 1601, the Archduke made a general aſſault on the town (*g*), when Sir Horace Vere's ſtation was to maintain the *Sand-hill*, and defend the breach; Sir *Charles Fairfax* [*D*] being under him, with only twelve weak companies, whereof ſome had not above ten or twelve men; but had double arms, as pike and muſket, with ſtore of ammunition; all which was judged neceſſary for defending ſo dangerous a poſt. Yet it was performed with the loſs of a few men (*h*) in repulſing the enemy by a ſtratagem [*E*]. In this general aſſault, the Archduke loſt above two thouſand men, and among them many noblemen, &c.; but of the Engliſh were ſlain only forty, and about a hundred wounded, among which was Sir Horace Vere himſelf, in the leg. After this bloody ſhower was over, the fortifications were repaired; and on the 7th of March, 1602, Sir Horace, with his brother, embarked themſelves, their horſes and baggage being ſent before, *having valiantly defended the town for above eight months againſt all the Archduke's power, and leaving it much better able to defend itſelf, than at their firſt coming thither; and both leaving behind them the marks of true honour and renown* (*i*). The next news we hear of Sir Horace is, that he arrived at *Fluſhing* from England before the 20th of June,

(*a*) There were four brothers and a ſiſter who are mentioned in the preceding article, remark [*A*] to which account we ſhall add of Robert, the third brother, that he died beyond the ſeas unmarried. Viſitation of Eſſex, 1634. 82. A. 7. in *Bibl. Harl.* in the Britiſh Muſæum.

(*b*) MS. *ubi ſupra*, page 45. *Armor*

(*c*) He was probably initiated therein by Sir Will. Brown, as will be ſeen preſently.

(*d*) Camden's Life of Q. Eliz. in the compleat Hiſt. of Eng. Vol. II. p. 595.

(*e*) Letter of George Gilpin, Eſq; the Queen's Reſident, dated November 22, 1597, to Sir Robert Sidney, Governor of Fluſhing, in Sidney's Letters and Memorials, p. 77.

(*f*) Sir Francis Vere's Commentaries, p. 103.

(*g*) Hexham's continuation of the ſiege of Oſtend. Ibid. p. 167.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 170.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 178.

[*A*] *In courage equal, in hazards undivided.*] As he muſt be allowed a great ſhare in the actions recorded by his brother, ſo were his own ſervices afterwards as eminent and conſiderable, that they might have furniſhed another *Commentary*; but his exceeding modeſty would not permit of relating his own actions (1).

(1) Dillingham, in the Preface to Sir Francis Vere's Commentaries.

[*B*] *He ſignalized himſelf in the campaign* 1599.] Sir *William Brown*, from Fluſhing, July 2, 1599, gives the following information to Sir *Robert Sidney*: 'Letters 'from Sir Francis Vere, and others, ſay, that June 24, 'by break of day, there was a half-moon made in 'the upper part of *Bommel's-Waert*, right againſt the 'iſland *Voorn*, not a league from a fort the enemy 'was building, who, about ſeven of the clock in the 'evening, gave a very hot aſſault upon it for near an 'hour. In the half-moon was Sir *Horace Vere*, and 'four companies of his regiment, with ſome French 'ſoldiers, who defended it with great valour, repulſing 'the enemy, who left behind them on the place eighty 'men; and, as reported by their own men, they loſt 'at leaſt 500 men in the aſſault. *Our nation*, continues 'Sir William, *gained reputation, though they eſcaped not 'ſhot-free*; *Captain* Upchar *being ſlain, and ſeveral 'officers wounded* (2).'

(2) Sidney's Letters, and Memorials, p. 108.

[*C*] *He purſued the enemy, making great ſlaughter among them.*] Sir *John Ogle*, in his account of the engagement, ſays, 'that he being advanced near 'the enemy, and their men ready to fall on them, Sir 'Horace Vere came on horſeback from purſuit of the 'enemy, whom the horſe had ſcattered (mentioned by 'his brother, Sir *Francis*,) and with 200 men, march-'ed along the Downs towards him, having with him 'his own Lieutenant-Colonel, *Lowel*, that commanded 'Sir Francis Vere's foot company, with other officers. 'And that Sir Horace willed him to join his forces, 'and give one good charge on that great troop of 'the enemy he ſaw ſtood firm before them, which 'they did accordingly, falling in pell-mell among 'them. And ſome troops of horſe ruſhing alſo in, 'they were preſently broken, and the ſlaughter was 'great on their ſide, as the execution eaſy to them (3).' Camden, on this victory, ſays, *that among thoſe who deſerved the firſt commendations, were Sir* Francis Vere, *and Sir* Horace Vere (4).

(3) Commentaries, p. 108 to 111.

[*D*] *Colonel Charles Fairfax.*] This Gentleman was the third ſon of Thomas Lord *Fairfax*, the firſt Baron of Cameron, and conſequently uncle to *Fairfax*, General of the Parliament Army in the Civil Wars of England, who married *Ann*, fourth daughter of Sir *Horace Vere*. Sir Charles, beſides his military abilities, was alſo a noted Antiquary, and particularly drew up a piece, intitled, *Analecta Fairfaxiana*, containing a very accurate account of the Fairfax family, which MS. was of great ſervice in reducing the pedigree of that family by the learned Antiquary, Mr *Ralph Thoreſby*, who congratulates his native town of Leeds in Yorkſhire, on the happineſs of having then reſident among them the Colonel's ſon, the learned and pious *Thomas Fairfax*, Eſq; 'who, ſays he, 'many years ago laid down his Commiſſion of Juſtice 'of Peace for the Weſt-Riding, and retired hither for 'devotion ſake; whoſe example, continues Mr Tho-'reſby, is at once both a happineſs and reproach to 'the neighbourhood, who cannot but obſerve him and 'his family, twice every day, going to attend the 'worſhip of God in his holy Temple there, in the 'moſt ſolemn manner, to offer up their prayers and 'thankſgiving to that God whoſe ſervice is perfect 'freedom (5).'

(4) Life of Queen Elizabeth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 624.

(5) Ducat Leodienſis, &c. Edit. 1715. fol. p. 65, 66.

[*E*] *The enemy was repulſed by a ſtratagem.*] The ſoldiers by order falling flat on the ground, the enemies ſhot flew like hail over their heads, which ſaved the lives of many men. And when the Spaniards were climbing up the breach, they tumbled down among them much combuſtibles that were provided to impede them; the fight continued there hotter and hotter for the ſpace of above an hour, and they were ſo bravely repulſed, that they could not enter a man. On perceiving their retreat, the weſt ſluice was opened, out of which ran ſuch a torrent through the channel of the weſt haven, as carried many of their ſound, as well as wounded men into the ſea. Under *Sand-hill*, which Sir *Horace* defended, lay heaps of dead men, and ſcaling ladders, ſtore of ſpades, hatchets, and axes, with other materials (6).

(6) Hexham's continuation of the ſiege of Oſtend, in Commentaries, as above, p. 172 to 178.

1603 (*k*), whence he ſet out the ſame night for the Hague to relieve his brother, Sir *Francis*, who was to embark for England. On his arrival there, Sir *Horace* joined the army under Prince *Maurice*, who being afterwards before *Gertruydenburg*, letters from the camp there of the 6th of Auguſt, N. S. brought advice of a quarrel between the Engliſh and French [*F*], wherein were ſlain of the Engliſh fifteen or ſixteen, and at leaſt thirty-ſix wounded; alſo as many of the French; and Colonel *Bethune* ſo hurt, that he died the next day (*l*): and that the fray continuing, the French would have been all ſlain, had not Sir *Horace Vere* come timely in to ſave them; and ſo great was the rage of the Engliſh, that his preſence could hardly prevail to ſtay their fury and revenge on the French; for neither the preſence of his Excellency Prince *Maurice*, or any other Commander, could quiet them, ſo greatly did they honour and love him. It does not appear, that any action happened during that campaign. But in 1604, Sir *Horace* again joined the army under Prince *Maurice* before *Sluys*, and from the camp, May 2, that year, wrote the letter, inſerted below, to Sir William Brown [*G*], with whom he had an intimacy, having, as it ſhould ſeem, been initiated by him in military diſcipline; for he ſubſcribed himſelf his *loving ſon*, yet was not allied to him. Sir William, by a letter to *Robert Lord Sidney*, dated at *Fluſhing*, July 12, acquaints him, 'that he had received a letter from Sir *Horace Vere*, on the 9th, from the Leaguers 'before *Sluys*, that a ſoldier, come out of the town, reported they were in great ſcarcity of 'proviſions, and were weak in their bodies for want of competent food to eat: alſo that the 'Governor would have made a ſally with 1500 men, which they refuſed, alledging their diſ-'abilities in weakneſs of their bodies (*m*).' Afterwards, by Sir Horace's good conduct, the town of *Sluys* was taken, overcoming difficulties, which, in the opinion of his friends, were impoſſible to ſurmount (*n*). In the campaign of 1605, he greatly ſignalized himſelf by his gallant retreat with 4000 men from *Spinola*, the Spaniſh General, when with three times that number he had graſped up Prince *Maurice* and his men againſt the ſea-ſhore (*o*) [*H*]. On

(*k*) Sidney's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 274. Letter of Sir William Brown to Robert Lord Sidney.

(*l*) The Engliſh were killed with muſket-ſhot, but thoſe they killed were with pike and ſword, for ſhot they uſed none, having ſpent their powder the night before in honour of King James's Coronation. Ibid. p. 277.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 299.

(*n*) Epiſtle to the Reader before Sir Francis Vere's Commentaries.

(*o*) Ibid.

[*F*] *A quarrel between the Engliſh and French.*] The ground of diſcontent between them grew firſt at *Dort*, where three of the Engliſh being ſlain, and two French, and no juſtice done, the heart-burning continued, and broke out afreſh at *Gertruydenburg* by accident. 'The Engliſhman, ſays Sir William Brown, 'who brought me the letter from the camp, tells 'me it began by an Engliſhwoman that had ſticks to 'ſell, which a Frenchman cheapened, and becauſe ſhe 'would not let him have them for the money he pro-'fered, he ſnatched the wood from her; which pro-'voking an Engliſhman, that was ſtanding by, to pull 'them again from him; the Frenchman thereupon 'drew his ſword, and run him through the body (7).' *Fœmina cauſa mali.*

(7) Sidney's Memorials, p. 277.

[*G*] *A letter to Sir William Brown.*] This is the tenour of it:

'I thank you very much for the letters you ſent me. 'If it falls within the compaſs of my power to do you 'any acceptable ſervice, you ſhall find me ready: you 'have the main of your honeſt friends of *Fluſhing* 'amongſt us, that I do forbear to acquaint you with 'our occurrences. In the laſt buſineſs we had to do 'with the enemy, Captain Williams behaved himſelf 'very worthily with the troops he commanded. We 'miſt a fair occaſion to have a good day's work, which 'I doubt not but you have heard it at large. So with 'my kindeſt ſalutations, and my prayers for your 'health, I recommend you to the Almighty's pro-'tection, and reſt

'Your *Loving Son*,

'And moſt aſſured Friend to be commanded,

'H. Vere.'

Sir *William Brown*, May 23, incloſed this letter to *Robert Lord Sidney*, obſerving, 'that *therein due praiſe* 'was given his Lordſhip's garriſon from Sir Horace Vere, 'who, ſays he, honourably gives witneſs of our men's beha-'viour.' And Captain *Williams*, in a letter to Sir *William Brown*, informs him; 'that on Saturday evening 'the enemy marched out of *Sluys* about 800 in two 'troops, and with them moſt of their ſlaves: when they 'came, continues he, within cannon-ſhot of our ſhipping, 'that lay in the drowned land, they made a ſtand; and 'after ſome ſtay, returned (without doing any thing) 'the ſame way they came, which was over the drowned 'land into the town. They came for two ends, firſt, 'to receive proviſion brought them out of *Damm*; 'the ſecond, to deliver their ſlaves to be led to *Bruges*; 'but their convoy did not come that night according 'to their expectation. The next day, at ſix in the morn-'ing, 3000 foot and 1500 horſe came with twenty-four 'waggons laden with meal to be delivered them, and 'to receive the ſlaves. His Excellency having intelli-'gence thereof, drew out his horſe, and the better 'part of his foot, with three field-pieces; the French, 'and the old Scotch regiment had the van-guard led by 'Count William; other Nations made the battle, and 'the Engliſh had the rear, for ſo it fell to be their 'turn, &c. After two hours ſtay, word being brought 'to his Excellency, that the groſs of the convoy were 'near paſſing over a moraſs towards *Damm*, he com-'manded Sir *Horace Vere* to draw off half the Eng-'liſh, and march to find the enemy: he thereupon 'drew off his own regiment and my troops, and when 'we came within ſight of the enemy, he bad me ſend 'my muſketeers, with a Lieutenant and a Serjeant. 'Our muſketeers, after two vollies, had no powder, 'and were on a retreat till I came in with the pikes, 'and then we went on again, and preſſed ſo hard the 'enemy, that they gave way; they had a river be-'tween them and us, which we paſſed, and I was in 'the way to follow the enemy, but Sir Horace Vere 'ordered me back. At my return I met his Excellen-'cy, who told me, if we had been an hour ſooner, 'we ſhould have had a good day: I ſaid, if we fol-'lowed them, we ſhould have a good execution; but 'for that they made haſte, and their retreat near, he 'judged it not convenient. Our men come to be in 'good order, and are glad of this ſmall buſineſs; I 'think we ſhall have more. We are all exceedingly 'bound to Sir *Horace Vere*; who doth me all the honour 'he can, and hath given ſtrict commandment, that 'none of his troops ſhall quarrel. I have loſt two 'men, and ſeven ſhot, and Lieutenant *Zouch* had his 'arm broken with a bullet on our firſt going on. As 'ſoon as we came to our quarter, Sir *Horace* ſent '*James* to dreſs Lieutenant *Zouch*, and our ſoldiers: 'his care is much of us, and our loves muſt be as 'great to him. This ſiege will prove tedious, and 'produce many dangerous attempts by the difficult 'paſſage over (8).'

(8) Sidney's Memorials, p. 289.

[*H*] *He made a gallant retreat, &c.*] Sir *John Throgmorton*, Lieutenant Governor of *Fluſhing*, in a letter from thence, dated October 5, 1605, to *Robert Sidney*, Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, has given the particulars thereof greatly to the honour of Sir *Horace Vere*, ſaying of him, 'that ſeeing their own horſe had abandoned their foot, 'and the enemy falling deſperately on their rear, he 'deſired *Prince Maurice* to let him, with thoſe of his 'nation, attack them. On which his Excellency 'giving him charge of the rear, and leaving him to 'make the retreat, he had no ſooner paſſed a river '(where his ſoldiers waded up to their middle) to 'come to the rear of the Dutch, and landed, but 'the enemy, with five or ſix troops of horſe, charged 'his three troops he had with him to favour his re-'treat, who thereupon ran all away, leaving Sir Ho-'race to receive them with only his foot; wherein he 'very bravely repulſed the enemy, and retired in 'good order to repaſs the aforeſaid river, in the rear

'of

On the death of his brother, Sir *Francis Vere*, in 1608, he ſucceeded him as Lord General of the Engliſh forces in the Netherlands *(p)*. And on the 18th of October, in the 7th year of King James, he was, by Letters patent under the great Seal of England, made ſpecial choice of (as therein expreſſed) to ſupply the place of Governor and Captain of the Town of *Briel* in the *Low-Countries*, and of all other forts thereunto belonging, and of all the garriſon and ſoldiers therein, or thereafter to be placed; with power to appoint a ſufficient Deputy or Deputies *(q)*: which government his brother alſo had till the time of his deceaſe *(r)*. A truce about that time had been made for twelve years between *Spain* and the *States General*, whereby they were in perfect tranquillity: but Sir *Horace Vere* being General of the Engliſh forces in the Netherlands, and Governor of the *Briel*, he was for the moſt part out of England till the latter end of King James's reign *(s)*. In 1616 he was commiſſioned, May 22 *(t)*, to render and yield up, into the hands of the States of the United Provinces, the town of *Briel*, and all the forts and ſkonces thereunto belonging, whereof he had then the charge, by virtue of the King's letters patent, together with all the Artillery and Ammunition remaining there, obſerving and performing, in all points, ſuch inſtructions as he ſhould receive under the hands of the Lords of the Privy-Council, concerning the rendering up the ſaid town, &c. However, the King, in conſideration of his ſervices, and the loſs of that Government, allowed him a penſion *(u)*, as he did to *Robert*, Earl of *Leiceſter*, who had been Governor of *Fluſhing* [*I*]. In 1618, 16 Jac. I, on the commotions which the Arminians had raiſed to oppoſe the Prince of Orange, Sir *Horace Vere* marched with him to Utrecht, whereof they were poſſeſſed, and ſeizing the Ringleaders of the faction, ſome of them were executed *(w)*, and the Prince left Sir *Horace* Governor of the city *(x)*, whoſe conduct was neceſſary to keep them in order [*K*]. In 1620, forces being raiſed for the

(p) MS. I. 8. p. 45. in *Offic. Armor.*

(q) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XVI. p. 786.

(r) See his article.

(s) His two eldeſt daughters, Elizabeth and Mary, were born abroad, during this abſence from home. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 153.

(t) Patent 14 Jac. I. p. 1. in dorſ.

(u) Sidney's Letters, Vol. II. p. 368, 369.

(w) Wilſon's Life of King James I, in the Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 718.

(x) Camden's Annals of King James, in the ſaid Hiſt. of England, p. 649.

'of the Dutch whom he had ſaved, and by this time 'had got over; and the enemy, perceiving that the 'whole forces of Prince *Maurice* depended on their Rear, 'came very deſperately on to charge them a ſecond time. 'Whereupon Sir *Horace* cauſed his Vanguard to begin 'to paſs the water, and chuſing out about ſixty of his 'beſt men, with them received this ſecond charge, 'wherein his own horſe was ſhot under him, but lived 'to carry him on the other ſide of the river. In that 'charge he loſt moſt of the men with him; but by it he 'ſaved the army. Had our horſe, ſays Sir *John Throg-'morton*, done their duty, his Excellency had wholly 'defeated the enemy. Count *Henry* charged on an-'other quarter of the enemy, and meeting with ſome 'reſiſtance from their foot and their horſe coming up, 'all Count *Henry*'s horſe ſhamefully ran away, that he 'was very greatly endangered, and Sir *Henry Carey*, of 'the Court, ſlain. That Sir *Horace Vere* ſaved the army, 'was confeſſed by *Spinola*, the enemy's General (9).'

(9) Sidney's Memorials, p. 314, 315.

[*I*] *He allowed him a penſion, as he did Sir R. Sidney.*] They both enjoyed it in the year 1626, when *Robert*, Earl of Leiceſter, by a letter, dated June 12, to *James Ley*, Earl of Marlborough, Lord High Treaſurer, complains of want of payment of it, alledging that Lord *Vere* had his money; and that the reaſon for their penſions was all one (10).

(10) Ibid. p. 369.

[*K*] *He attended prince Maurice to Utrecht againſt the Arminians*, &c.] This expedition, with its conſequences, is one of the moſt memorable events in the hiſtory of the United Provinces. The famous ſynod of Dort, The utter extirpation of Arminianiſm, The eſtabliſhment of Calviniſm, The execution of that eminent Patriot *Barnevelt*, Grand Penſioner of Holland, And the impriſonment of the celebrated *Hugo Grotius* for life, all followed as the natural fruits of it. And as the ſtate of religion in England was likewiſe nearly connected with it, and the importance of Sir *Horace*'s ſervice at Utrecht cannot otherwiſe be perfectly underſtood, we ſhall give a conciſe account of it as follows.

In 1608, while the Truce between the Spaniards and the United Provinces was negotiating, *Arminius*, an eminent Profeſſor at Leyden, began to broach his doctrine, which was warmly oppoſed by *Gomar*, another Profeſſor in the ſame univerſity. The doctrine of Arminius being directly oppoſite to that of Calvin, he was accuſed before the ſynod of Rotterdam, in which Gomar's party prevailed. Hereupon Arminius applying to the States of Holland and Weſt Frieſland to take cognizance of the diſpute, Gomar was ſummoned, together with him, before theſe Magiſtrates, who promiſed to have the affair diſcuſſed in a ſynod; but the Grand Council reporting to the State, that the whole diſpute was about ſome obſcure queſtions concerning Grace and Predeſtination, *Barnevelt* happened to ſay, he thanked God that the fundamental points of religion were not in queſtion, which was warmly reſented by Gomar (11). *Arminius* died October 10, 1609 (12); but his Partizans drew up a *Remonſtrance*, dated January 14, 1610, containing a Confeſſion of their faith, comprehended in five articles (13). On the other hand, the Gomariſts oppoſed to it a *Contra-remonſtrance*. Hence aroſe the names of *Remonſtrants*, and *Contra-Remonſtrants*. And the diſpute ſtill continuing with much bitterneſs, the States of Holland, who were made uneaſy thereby, convened, in 1611, ſix of the principal Divines of each party to diſpute before them on the points in queſtion; which being done, the States, without determining any thing, recommended to them to live in peace; but enjoining them to deliver their thoughts of the moſt proper means thereto. The Remonſtrants propoſed a *Toleration*, the Contra-Remonſtrants a *National Synod*. Both which opinions being laid before the States, they declared for a *Toleration*: thus the cauſe was gained to the *Arminians*; but the *Gomariſts* were favoured by the people, and grew very factious. Hereupon the Grand Penſionary *Barnevelt*, imagining that, if they made themſelves maſters of the election of miniſters, the States would inſenſibly appeaſe theſe troubles, propoſed the revival of an obſolete regulation made in 1591, by which the Magiſtrates and Conſiſtory were each to nominate four perſons, who ſhould chuſe a miniſter to be afterwards preſented to the Body of the Magiſtrates, who might receive or reject him. This motion was agreed to by the States, to the great mortification of the *Contra-Remonſtrants*, who complained that the States had exceeded their power. Hence aroſe a grand conteſt, who ought to be Judge in eccleſiaſtical matters. The *Arminians* attributed this power to the Civil Magiſtrate: The *Gomariſts* to the Clergy alone. Hence aroſe a ſeparation between them (14); each party ſeizing the churches of their adverſaries, ſtirring up ſedition, writing libels, &c. Theſe violences gave birth to a ſchiſm; ſome joining the old miniſters, and others the new.' In this time of confuſion *Grotius* was nominated Penſionary of Rotterdam, and ſent into England. It is imagined (15) he had ſecret inſtructions to get the King and the principal Divines to favour the Arminians, and approve the conduct of the States. He had ſeveral conferences with his Majeſty on that ſubject (16). But at his return to Holland he found the diviſions increaſed. *Barnevelt* and he having the direction of the proceedings of the ſtates in this matter, he was appointed to draw up an Edict which might reſtore tranquillity. It was approved by the States, and contained in ſubſtance, 'That, whereas ſeveral Divines 'had taught, that God has created ſome men to damn 'them; that he has laid certain men under a neceſſity 'of ſinning; that he invites ſome men to ſalvation to 'whom he is reſolved to deny it: That other Divines 'were charged with teaching, that men's natural ſtrength 'or works may operate their ſalvation. It is hereby 'ordained, that theſe doctrines be condemned by the 'Paſtors, both from the pulpits and on all other ſeaſon-'able occaſions. But as to thoſe who only believe and 'teach, that God hath from all eternity choſen to ſal-'vation, from the mere motion of his will through 'Jeſus Chriſt, thoſe who by Grace, which they have

(11) He ſaid he would be very ſorry to appear before God with Arminius's ſentiments. Burigny's Life of Grotius, p. 40. Lond. 1754.

(12) Grotius made his Elogium in verſe.

(13) It was drawn up by Utengobard, miniſter at the Hague, and ſigned by forty-ſix miniſters, being probably made in concert with Grotius, the intimate friend of Utengobard, at that time wholly employed on theſe ſubjects. From the five points this was called the Quinquarticular Controverſy, well known and much bandied in England.

(14) Grotius's Apology, cap. 9.

(15) Le Vaſſor's Hiſt. de Louis XIII. lib. 4. p. 477.

(16) While he was in England, he wrote, in 1613, his *Reconciliation of the different opinions on predeſtination and grace*, which is printed in his Theological works. It contains a diſplay of Arminianiſm in its favour.

the assistance of the King of Bohemia, he had the command of them conferred on him by King James, laying aside *Edward Cecil*, who was first designed. In consequence of this command,

'not merited, and by the operation of the Holy Spirit, 'believe in Christ, and, by free grace given, persevere 'in the Faith to the end, We will (says the Edict) that 'they be not molested on that account, nor pressed to 'embrace other sentiments, or teach other doctrine. 'For we judge these truths sufficient for salvation, and 'proper for the instruction of Christians (17).' The States were very desirous that the King of Great Britain and the English Bishops should be satisfied with the manner in which they had explained themselves in this Edict; they were the more anxious, as they had reason to believe James unfavourable to the Arminians (18). However, the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops, allowed the doctrine of the Edict to be orthodox, and equally distant from Manicheism and Pelagianism: the only thing which gave the King some pain, was to see the Civil magistrate assume a right of making decrees in matters of religion (19). But this Edict served only to increase the troubles, by driving the Gomarists, against whom it was manifestly levelled, into despair. The riots which had already happened, and which they hourly apprehended, made the Grand Pensionary Barnevelt propose to the States of Holland, that the Magistrates of the cities of the province should be empowered to raise troops for the suppression of the Rioters, and the security of their towns. *Dort*, *Amsterdam* (20), and three others of the most favourable to the Gomarists, protested against this step, which they regarded as a kind of declaration of war against the Contra-Remonstrants. Barnevelt's motion was nevertheless agreed to; and on the 4th of August, 1617, the States issued a placard accordingly. This fatal decree occasioned the death of the Grand Pensionary, and the ruin of *Grotius*, by incensing Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau* against them, who looked upon the resolution of the States, taken without his consent, as derogatory to his dignity of Governor and Captain-General. He had entertained a mortal enmity for several years against the *Grand Pensionary* (21), who concluded the truce in 1609 without his concurrence. Hitherto he had stifled his revenge for want of a proper opportunity to execute it; but it blazed openly on occasion of this decree of the States, which he considered as *Barnevelt's* act. He accused him of labouring to diminish his authority, found fault with the Edict drawn up by Grotius (22), declared publickly for the Gomarists, assisted at Divine service only in their Churches, and forbad the Soldiers to obey the States, when they would employ them to appease the riots. Some towns however, whether they suspected their garrisons, or found there was no other way to suppress the rioters, levied men in consequence of the States decree. The Contra-Remonstrants, seeing themselves powerfully protected by Prince *Maurice*, separated from the communion of the Arminians in 1617.

The States of Holland, wholly employed in seeking ways to compound matters, had come to a resolution, February 21, this year, to have a proper *Formula* drawn up, to which the Ministers of the two parties should be obliged to conform; that it should be sent first to Prince *Maurice*, and then presented to the States for their examination; and such a *Formula* was accordingly prepared by *Grotius*. But this project did not please the Prince; he wanted a National Synod; and the States General, entirely devoted to him, determined, in spite of the States of Holland, to convoke a National Assembly in Holland itself, at *Dort* (23). In the mean time Prince Maurice, who saw, with the utmost displeasure, several cities, agreeable to the permission granted them by the particular States, levy a new Militia without his consent, engaged the States General to enjoin the disbanding of those levies, which were stiled the *Attendant Soldiers*. And when these orders were not obeyed by the particular States (24), the Prince, considering this conduct as a rebellion, concerted with the States General, that he should march in person, with the troops under his command, to get these soldiers disbanded; that he should depose the Arminian Magistrates, and turn out the Ministers of their party. He accordingly set out, accompanied by the Deputies of the States General, in 1618, and, beginning with the province of *Gueldres*, he removed from the senate of *Nimeguen* all who were known or suspected to favour Arminianism, and turned out the Ministers, obliging them instantly to leave the Town. At *Overyssel* he met with no opposition. In *Arnheim* there was a numerous garrison of *Attendant Soldiers*; but the Prince, having intelligence from within the place, got into it by night; and the soldiers, seeing themselves betrayed, laid down their arms. Some Senators were deposed, and the Secretary of the Council banished the city. The States of Holland, knowing that the Prince was to treat *Utrecht* in the same manner, sent thither Grotius, and Hoogerbetz, Pensionary of Leyden, with instructions to consider and resolve on some method of opposing the commission given by the States General to the Prince, and to consult in what manner the Union between the particular State of the Provinces might be strengthened for their mutual aid and assistance (25). In consequence of these advices, the Magistrates doubled the guards at the gates, and armed all the militia they could assemble. Every thing seemed ready for enabling the city to make a vigorous resistance. The Burghers had taken up arms, and the *Attendant Soldiers* were posted in the principal quarters of the town. These dispositions did not divert the Prince from his design of seizing it. The old garrison, from a jealousy of the new, declared for him; this occasioned a mutiny: some of the Burghers left the interest of the city, which being unprovided of good officers, the Prince and the Deputies of the States found means to enter and reduce it. Being then Master of the town, he disbanded the *Attendant Soldiers*, made Leydenberg Secretary of the States (26), and some Senators prisoners, and turned out of their places those who had distinguished themselves by their resistance, putting in their room such as he could depend on. Nor was the Prince of Orange's (27) revenge so satisfied. The destruction of the Grand Pensionary he had resolved on; and, in that spirit, having procured an ordonnance of the States General, Barnevelt was seized on the 29th of August this year, 1618, and thrown into the castle of the Hague, as were Grotius and Hoogerbetz about the same time (28). Some days after these imprisonments, the Prince of Orange and the Deputies of the States General made a tour through the towns of Holland, where the Prince deposed such Magistrates as were relations or friends of the three illustrious prisoners, putting in their places others that were wholly devoted to him, and obliged some towns to receive a garrison, particularly Rotterdam. The Arminians had hitherto been the most powerful party (29) there, and had excluded the Contra-Remonstrants from preaching in the great church. But the Prince took that church from them, and gave it, with all the rest, to the Gomarists, except two only which were left to the Arminians. He placed a garrison of a hundred men in the town, and turned out and banished the Ministers who had appeared most zealous for Arminianism, such as *Vorstius*, *Utengobard*, and *Episcopius*. The warmest opposers of a National Synod being thus disabled from giving any further obstruction, the States General proceeded to the holding of it, and it was opened on the 15th of November, 1618, at *Dort* (30), wherein *Episcopius* and the other Arminian ministers were deposed, and Calvinism established.

The three prisoners were not brought to their trial till after the rising of this synod. But twenty-six Commissioners were appointed to be the Judges on the 19th of November. They began with *Barnevelt*, who was sentenced on the 12th of May, 1619, to lose his head. And this sentence was executed upon him the next day. The scaffold for his execution was erected in the court of the castle at the Hague, facing the Prince of Orange's apartments. After a short speech (31) to the people, the executioner struck off his head at one blow. It is affirmed, that the Prince of Orange, to feast himself with the cruel pleasure of seeing his enemy perish, beheld the execution with a glass. The people looked on it with other eyes. Many came to gather the sand, wet with his blood, to keep it carefully in phials; and the crowd of those who had the same curiosity continued the next day, notwithstanding all possible means were used to hinder them.

Five days after came on the trial of *Grotius* (32), which concluded in a sentence, pronounced May 18, 1619, condemning him to perpetual imprisonment, and the confiscation of his estate (33). In consequence of this sentence, he was carried from the Hague to the fortress

(17) This Edict being warmly attacked by the Contra-Remonstrants, Grotius reprinted it, with a collection of passages, justifying it against their censures. He afterwards wrote a defence of that decree, which he did not finish; but, on occasion of the dispute concerning the power of Sovereigns, he composed a considerable treatise, and had before handled that subject in a tract on the rights of the States of Holland.

(18) Casaubon's Epistles, No. 933.

(19) Ib. Ep. 863. It is probable, that the Letter sent by the States of Holland and West Friesland, in 1618, to King James, was written by Grotius: it is his style and sentiments.

(20) Grotius was sent to this town to reconcile them to these proceedings: he laboured with all his might; but in vain; the grief for which threw him into a fever, which had well nigh carried him off. His speech on this occasion was translated into Latin by Schrivelius, and is in the third tome of his Theological works.

(21) Grotius's History of the Netherlands, lib. 17.

(22) The substance of which was, that the five Articles should be examined in a Synod of Holland, and the decision carried to a Synod of all the Provinces; that, previous thereto, the sovereignty of all the provinces should be settled: that nothing should be fixed without an unanimous consent: that, if they could not agree, a general council of all the reformed churches should be convened: and that, in the mean time, a severe edict should be published against rioters and the authors of defamatory libels.

(23) The provinces of Holland, Utrecht, and Overyssel, protested against this resolution; and Barnevelt was so thunderstruck by it, that he would have resigned his place of Grand Pensionary; but was prevailed upon to continue in it by the earnest desire of the province. Grotii manes, p. 78.

(24) The particular States looked upon themselves as Sovereigns. La Neuvill's Hist. of Holland, B. III. c. 5.

(25) Grotius and Hoogerbetz promised they should not be abandoned by the States of Holland, from whom they brought letters, persuading them, that it was their duty to obey the States of Utrecht who paid them, and to resist the Stadtholder.

(26) Upon hearing of the imprisonment of Barnevelt, Grotius, and Hoogerbetz, and the banishment of Vorstius, Utengobard, and Episcopius, he was so terrified, that he made away with himself in prison.

(27) Maurice had this title after the death of his brother Philip-William, which happened at Brussels, Feb. 21, 1618.

(28) Upon this arrest, Carleton, our Ambassador then at the Hague, was prevailed on by Grotius's enemies to complain against his *Mare liberum*, and to maintain, that the States ought to make an example of him. Selden's Mare clausum, lib. 1. p. 198.

(29) Mercure François, an. 1617.

(30) The States of Holland, who, in May 1618, had renewed their protest against it, frightened by the violences exercised against the three illustrious prisoners, at last gave their consent.

(31) 'Burghers,' says he, 'I have 'been always 'your faithful 'countryman: 'believe not that 'I die for treason; but for 'maintaining 'the rights and 'liberties of my 'countrymen.' Mercure François.

(32) His accusation consisted of twenty-nine articles, confessed by himself. The chief of which was his opposing the Synod of Dort, being active in raising the Attendant Soldiers, and particularly in the resistance against the Prince of Orange at Utrecht.

(33) The same punishment had been moved for in the case of *Barnevelt*, but in vain; and it is not improbable, that the death of a person, to whom the Dutch were partly indebted for their own liberty, was owing to his opposition against making Prince Maurice Dictator. See Du Maurier, Le Vassor, La Neuville, and Le Clerc.

command, he took leave of the King at *Theobalds*, July the 9th, and ſet ſail from Graveſend on the 22d, with the Earls of Oxford (y), Eſſex, Dorſet, and others. Wilſon, who wrote

(y) Camden, ubi ſupra, p. 654.

fortreſs of *Louveſtein* near *Gorcum* in South Holland, at the point of the iſland formed by the *Vahal* and the *Meuſe*, on the 6th of June following. He had been above eighteen months ſhut up in this fortreſs, when, on January 11, 1621, *Muys-Van-Holi*, his declared enemy, who had been one of his Judges, informed the States General, that he had advice from good hands, that their priſoner was ſeeking to make his eſcape. Some perſons were ſent to *Louveſtein* to examine into this matter: but, notwithſtanding all the enquiry that could be made, they found no reaſon to believe that Grotius had laid any plot to get out.

His wife however was wholly employed in contriving how to ſet him at liberty (34). He had paſſed his time in the proſecution of his ſtudies, and for that purpoſe had been permitted to borrow books of his friends, which, when he had done with them, were carried back in a cheſt with his foul linnen that was ſent to *Gorcum* to be waſhed. The firſt year his guards were very exact in examining the cheſt, when it went from *Louveſtein*; but, being uſed to find in it only books and linnen, they grew tired of ſearching, and did not take the trouble to open it. Grotius's wife, obſerving their negligence, purpoſed to take advantage of it. She repreſented to her huſband, that it was in his power to get out of priſon when he pleaſed; if he would put himſelf in the cheſt that carried his books. However, not to endanger his health, ſhe cauſed holes to be bored oppoſite to the part where his face was to lie, to breath at; and make him try if he could continue ſhut up in that confined poſture as long as it would require to go from *Louveſtein* to *Gorcum*. Finding it might be done, ſhe reſolved to ſeize the firſt favourable opportunity. It ſoon offered. The Commandant of *Louveſtein* going to *Heuſden* to raiſe recruits, Grotius's wife made a viſit to his Lady, and told her in converſation, that ſhe was deſirous of ſending away a cheſt full of books; for her huſband was ſo weak, it gave her great uneaſineſs to ſee him ſtudy with ſuch application. Having thus prepared the Commandant's wife, ſhe returned to her huſband's apartment, and, in concert with a valet and a maid, who were in the ſecret, ſhut him up in the cheſt. At the ſame time, to prevent any ſurprize in the people's not ſeeing him, ſhe ſpread a report that he was ill. Two ſoldiers carried the cheſt: one of them, finding it heavier than uſual, ſaid, *There muſt be an Arminian in it* (35). *Grotius*'s wife, who was preſent, anſwered with great coldneſs, *There are indeed Arminian books in it.* The cheſt was brought down on a ladder with great difficulty. The ſoldier inſiſted on its being opened to ſee what was in it; he even went and informed the Commandant's wife, that the weight of the cheſt gave him reaſon to think there was ſomething ſuſpicious contained in it, and that it would be proper to have it opened. Whether it was that ſhe was willing to wink at the thing, or through negligence, ſhe would not conſent: ſhe told him, that Grotius's wife had aſſured her, there was nothing but books in it. It is affirmed, that a ſoldier's wife who was preſent ſaid, there was more than one example of priſoners making their eſcape in boxes. The cheſt however was put into the boat, and Grotius's maid, who was in the ſecret, had orders to go with it to *Gorcum*, and put it into a houſe there. When it came to Gorcum, they wanted to put it on a ſledge; but the maid telling the boatman there were ſome brittle things in it, and begging of him to take care how it was carried, it was put on a carriage called a horſe, and brought by two chairmen to *David Dazelaer*'s, a friend of *Grotius*, and brother-in-law to *Erpenius*, having married his ſiſter. When every body was gone, the maid opened the cheſt. Grotius had felt no inconvenience in it, though it was not above three feet and a half long. He got out, dreſſed himſelf like a maſon, with a rule and a trowel, and went by *Dazelaer*'s backdoor, through the market-place, to the gate that leads to *Valvic* in Brabant (36). At this place he made himſelf known to ſome Arminians, and hired a carriage to Antwerp, taking the neceſſary precautions not to be known by the way. He alighted at *Antwerp*, at the houſe of *Nicholas Grevincovius*, who had been formerly a miniſter at Amſterdam, and diſcovered himſelf to no body elſe. It was on the 22d of March, 1621, that Grotius thus recovered his liberty; and on the 30th of that month he wrote to the States General, that, in procuring it, he had employed neither violence nor corruption with his keepers; that he had nothing to reproach himſelf with in what he had done (37); that he gave thoſe counſels which he thought beſt, for appeaſing the troubles that had ariſen before he was concerned in public buſineſs; that he only obeyed the Magiſtrates at *Rotterdam*, his maſters; and the States of Holland, his ſovereigns; and that the perſecution he had ſuffered would never diminiſh his love to his country, for whoſe proſperity he heartily prayed. After a few weeks ſtay at Antwerp, he went by invitation to Paris, where he arrived in ſafety on the 13th of April, 1631. Grotius's eſcape exerciſed the pens of the moſt famous poets of that time (38); and he himſelf wrote ſome verſes on his happy deliverance (39); and others alſo on the cheſt to which he owed his liberty; and in the latter part of his life he was at great pains to recover it (40). It was believed at Louveſtein, for ſome time after his eſcape, that he was ill; and, to give him time to get clear off, his wife gave out that his illneſs was dangerous; but as ſoon as ſhe learnt, by the maid's return, that he was in Brabant, and conſequently in ſafety, ſhe told the guards *the bird was flown*. They informed the *Commandant* by this time returned from *Heuſden*, who haſtened to Grotius's wife, and aſked her where ſhe had hid her huſband? She anſwered, he might ſearch for him: but, being much preſſed, and even threatened, ſhe confeſſed that ſhe had cauſed him to be carried to *Gorcum* in a book-cheſt: and that ſhe had done no more than kept her word to him, to take the firſt opportunity of ſetting her huſband at liberty. The Commandant, in a rage, went immediately to *Gorcum*, and, acquainting the Magiſtrate with his priſoner's eſcape, both came to *Dazelaer*'s houſe, where they found the empty cheſt. On his return to *Louveſtein*, the Commandant confined Grotius's wife more cloſely; but ſhe preſenting a petition, April 5, 1621, praying her diſcharge, and Prince Maurice, to whom it was communicated, making no oppoſition, the majority were for ſetting her at liberty (41). Accordingly ſhe was diſcharged two days after, and ſuffered to carry away every thing that belonged to her at *Louveſtein*. This done, ſhe followed her huſband, and arrived at Paris in October, 1621 (42).

We have been more particular in ſetting forth the violent ſteps taken in bringing about this revolution in Holland by Prince Maurice, ſince they furniſh ſo many glaring proofs of his temper and principles in reſpect to religion: and therein are alſo ſeen the religious principles of Sir *Horace Vere*. He was entirely devoted to the Prince, who on his ſide was equally fond of him. We have ſeen him heartily concur in ſuppreſſing the Arminians and eſtabliſhing Calviniſm at *Utrecht*; and I believe it will not be doubted that he had imbibed the principles, though without the perſecuting revengeful ſpirit, of his Commander. But it is well known, that the doctrine of the Remonſtrants, upon the points of Grace and Predeſtination, was embraced at this very time by ſome of the moſt emient Divines in England, particularly Dr Overal, the learned Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, whoſe example muſt have had great weight with many of the clergy: and though it is true, Calviniſm was in general the doctrine of the church, as expreſſed in the articles of Faith, as long as King James, who had been bred in Scotland, held the crown, yet, in his Succeſſor's reign, this doctrine began early to be diſapproved, and in ſome years that of Arminius ſo generally prevailed, by the influence eſpecially of Dr *Laud*, afterwards Archbiſhop, that the Church of England might truly be ſaid to be Arminian, notwithſtanding ſeveral eminent perſons ſtill retained the Dutch principles. Among theſe muſt be reckoned Sir Horace Vere, who (by long reſiding among thoſe people, and through his devotion to the Prince of Orange) being a Calviniſt, would certainly breed up his children there in the ſame belief in particular, together with ſome antiepiſcopal principles in general, who would thereby unavoidably contract a diſlike to the Church of England. And the ſame is confirmed by Lord Clarendon (43), particularly in the caſe of Sir Horace's daughter *Anne*, who was married to Fairfax, General of the Parliament's army, and who, as that noble hiſtorian obſerves, *having been bred in Holland, had not that reverence for the church of England as ſhe ought to have had*, and ſo had unhappily concurred in her huſband's entering into rebellion. However, his Lordſhip makes this apology for her, that ſhe never imagined what miſery it would bring upon

(34) She had been ſuffered to accompany him in the caſtle from his firſt impriſonment.

(35) This was a kind of proverb that had lately come into uſe.

(36) It was not the Spaniards he feared, for there was then a truce between them and the United Provinces.

(37) He was always perſuaded, that, if he would own his tranſgreſſion, and aſk pardon, they would ſet him at liberty; but he never would take any ſtep that might infer conſciouſneſs of guilt.

(38) Barlæus wrote ſome very good verſes upon it, printed in Præſtantium Virorum, Epiſt. p. 655. He alſo celebrated his wife's magnanimity. Grotii manes, p. 230. Another Poem was alſo compoſed upon it by Rutgerſius, who compared Grotius to Moſes. Ibid. p. 204. and Obſervat. Hallenſ. 15. lib. 7. p. 336.

(39) They were tranſlated into Fleminſh by the famous Poet *John Van Vondel.*

(40) Grotius's Hiſt. No. 720. p. 670.

(41) Some indeed voted for detaining her a priſoner; but they were looked on as very barbarous, to want to puniſh a woman for an heroic action.

(42) Grotius, Ep. 156.

(43) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. V. p. 255. 8vo edition.

wrote the Life of King James the Firſt, and was in the Expedition, has given an account of it, which the Reader will find below [*L*]; and there ſee the reaſon of the ill ſucceſs of it. After which, during the army's being in winter-quarters, the Imperial forces, under *Bavaria* and *Buquoy*, advanced towards *Prague*, and the Bohemians quitted their garriſons to make their army more compleat. On the 8th of November, both armies met for the deciſion of King Frederick's fate. The *Bohemians* ſtood on the advantage-ground between the *Imperialiſts* and *Prague*, but the enemy breaking through, ruined their whole army, and purſued the victory. The King and Queen, ſurpriſed with the diſcomfiture among a wavering people, in a city not defenſible, were conſtrained to fly the next morning. The Engliſh were too far diſtant to be in the battle, and before they heard of it, the Earl of Eſſex paſſed through *Lorrain*, and through France poſted into England, to ſollicit the King to ſend thoſe regiments promiſed, and other ſupplies. The *Princes of the Union*, when they heard of the defeat, had not ſo much faith as to depend on King *James* for aſſiſtance; but before the ſpring, ſubmitted themſelves to the Emperor, leaving the almoſt ruined Palatinate as a prey to an inſulting enemy. Sir *Horace Vere*, with the Engliſh, only gave ſpirits to the vital parts of it (z). The Earls of *Oxford* and *Eſſex* left Sir *Horace* in his winter-quarters, and upon their narration of the ſtate of affairs in thoſe parts to the King, he called a full Council together to conſider thereof, who met at Whitehall, Ja-

(z) Ruſhworth, Vol. I. p. 17. and Hiſt. of Eng. as before, p. 725.

upon the kingdom; and that ſhe utterly abhorred the proceedings of the pretended High Court of Juſtice againſt his Majeſty as much as any body could do. Of which his Lordſhip gives a moſt remarkable inſtance, well worth peruſing, as inſerted in this work (44), where it well deſerved a place.

(44) In Fairfax's article, Vol. III. p. 1883. remark [*KK*].

[*L*] *He went to the aſſiſtance of the King of Bohemia.*] The account is in theſe terms: 'While they were 'grappling in Bohemia, ſays he, the marquis Spinola 'was forming an army in Flanders, and the Proteſtant 'Princes of Germany, calling themſelves Princes of the 'Union, raiſed forces for defence of the Palatinate, 'and their own intereſt, under the command of the 'Marquis of Anſpach. But ſo odious was the name 'of war to King James, that it was with difficulty he 'conſented to the raiſing one regiment of foot; but 'conſented that two more ſhould follow. Which regi'ment was the gallanteſt for their perſons that in many 'ages had appeared, either at home or abroad. It 'conſiſted of 2200 men compleat, under the command 'of Sir *Horace Vere* (after Baron of *Tilbury*) bred up in the 'ſchool of war, and a known maſter in the art of victory. 'The Engliſh followed Spinola, but at a diſtance; for 'he, being nearer the Palatinate, got much the ſtart 'of them. On the laſt of Auguſt, by the aſſiſtance of '*Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, and a bridge of boats a 'little below Weſel, they paſſed the Rhine with Prince 'Henry of Naſſau, who, with 2000 horſe and 400 'muſqueteers, cleared the country before them. When 'they came to Coblentz, ſtanding on the center of the 'two rivers, the *Rhine* and *Moſelle*, giving out, on their 'march, as if the army intended to paſs the *Moſelle*, 'they (to divert the enemy's intelligence) drew two miles 'back from *Coblentz*, and paſſed the *Rhine*; and this 'ſudden change of reſolution amuſed the enemy. In the 'halt before *Coblentz*, one bullet (among others from the 'town) paſſed General *Vere* and the Earl of Eſſex, ſtand'ing together, and hit *Flood*, a gentleman, on the elbow. 'Before the army paſſed the *Rhine*, General *Vere* ſent 'Captain *Row* and Captain *Dexter*, with 94 ſick men, 'tents, trunks, &c. that were cumberſome, by water, to '*Bacrach*, which town, within few days, was yielded to '*Spinola*, after the example of *Openheim*, and other towns 'in the Palatinate: ſo ſpiritleſs were the people, that he 'met no reſiſtance. The Engliſh taken in Bacrach were 'uſed with civility, and, with payment of ſmall ranſoms, 'had liberty to return home. After the army, both 'horſe and foot, had paſſed the *Rhine*, they had hard 'marches through the pleaſant country of *Naſſau*, 'ſhaping their courſe towards *Frankfort*. Spinola, find'ing himſelf deluded on one ſide of the *Rhine*, paſſed 'the river *Maine* with all his horſe and 4000 foot, in'tending to ſnap them on the other ſide; but, the ſtream 'being too high, his waggons and ammunition took 'wet, and ſome field pieces were loſt, which admoniſhed 'him to retreat; otherwiſe he had probably cut off our 'forces, before they could have joined the *Princes of the* 'Union. The 24th of September, Prince *Henry* with 'the horſe, and General *Vere* with the foot, paſſed the 'river Maine near Frankfort, the foot marching up to 'the middle through the ſtream, and that night ſtood 'in arms, on alarms from *Spinola*'s approach, not yet 'hearing he was retired. The next day they had a long 'march to recover *Darmſted*, one half of which town 'belonged to the King of *Bohemia*, the other to the 'Landgrave of *Heſſe*. There Prince Henry and the 'Dutch left the Engliſh, returning into the Netherlands 'again. The 27th of September, being joined by 1500 '*German* horſe, ſent by the Princes of the Union, they 'came to *Brinſheim*, the firſt town in the Palatinate, 'and, October 1, paſſed over the Rhine by *Worms*; 'and that day were met by the Marquis of *Anſpach*, 'and others of the Princes of the Union, who ſtaid 'to ſee them march by, wondering at their gallantry.

'After two days reſt, the Princes, with part of their 'army, being 2000 horſe and 6000 foot, joined with the 'Engliſh, and together marched towards *Altzi*, (a town in 'the Palatinate taken in by the enemy) which they in'tended to ſurprize. But hearing, by their ſcouts, of the 'town being quitted by the enemy, and that Spinola, 'with his whole army, was marching towards them, 'they faced about to make his way the ſhorter; and 'within three hours their ſcouts and the enemy's were 'in ſkirmiſh. The German Princes were not forward 'to engage, having not their whole army with them; 'but, finding how the enemy ſtrove to ſecure them'ſelves, they judged their ſtrength not to be great, 'and reſolved to attack them. The Dutch, in cour'teſy, yielded the vanguard to the Engliſh, which 'before they ſtood on as a punctilio of honour. Gene'ral Vere drew out of every diviſion 80 muſqueteers 'to begin the onſet, ſtanding ready, expecting the 'command of the Marquis of *Anſpach* to begin the 'charge; and the evening haſting, General *Vere*, tired 'with his delays, rode up the hill, accompanied with 'the Earls of *Oxford* and *Eſſex*, and there ſaw the enemy 'begin to march away without drum or trumpet, till 'the laſt diviſion moved, and then made the air ſhake 'with the noiſe of their ſhouts of joy, as was appre'hended for their eſcape. *Wilſon* blames the Princes in 'not attacking them, being not above 6000 foot and '2000 horſe, and might have come up with Spinola 'before he reached *Openheim*, whither he was marching. 'The Earl of Eſſex preſſed the Marquis of Anſpach to 'it, deſiring him not to let ſlip an opportunity ſo hap'pily put into his hand. He, not pleaſed to be urged 'to that, contrary to his humour, replied angrily, *There 'is a fort betwixt us and the town, and we muſt paſs thi'ther under the mercy of their cannon.* Sir Horace Vere, 'being by, ſaid, *When ſhall we then fight, if we ſhun 'the cannon?*' But no perſuaſion can be prevalent, where power and diſaffection join, ſays *Wilſon*. The Dutch horſe ſkirmiſhed with the rear of the Spaniſh; and ſome few of their ſtraggling foot, and about five or ſix horſe, were taken, which was all the hurt done them. The next day the Engliſh, with the other forces, marched into quarters again, where the ſoldiers found the fruits and wine in the muſt, no good preſervatives. But, after a ſtay of ſeven or eight days, Spinola led them a dance for digeſtion, pretending for Keyſars Luther, a town in the Palatinate, which made the Princes advance their whole body to attend him; but, as they drew near, he retreated: ſo they ſported with one another; though neither of the armies could be pleaſed with the ſharp froſty nights, ſo violent, that the ſoldiers lay in heaps on the ground, cloſe together, like ſheep, till they were ſummoned to warmer lodgings. The Engliſh were diſpoſed in three principal garriſons. General *Vere* commanded in *Manheim*, Sir *Gerard Herbert* in *Heidelberg*, and *Burrows* in *Frankendale*, impriſoning themſelves in walls, while the enemy roamed round about them, having only power to preſerve themſelves, the forces of the Princes of the Union being garriſoned in their ſeveral countries (45).

(45) Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 722, 723.

nuary 16, 1620; when, in conſideration thereof, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Eſſex*, and *Leiceſter*, the Lord Viſcount *Wilmot*, the Lords *Danvers*, and *Alfield*, Sir *Edward Cecil*, and Sir *Richard Harriſon*, Knights, were called to the Council-table, and acquainted with his Majeſty's pleaſure, that they, or any five or more of them, together with Sir *Horace Vere*, and Sir *Edward Conway*, Knights, (if they return to England whilſt this Committee doth continue) ſhall undertake preparations for the recovery and protection of the Palatinate, and have their meetings and aſſemblies at the Council-chamber at Whitehall (*aa*). But no aſſiſtance was ſent, purſuant to this order, farther than that 30000l. was given to the Princes of the Union to encourage them to keep in arms. Sir *Horace Vere* remained in Germany the year after, and kept the Palatinate from being quite over-run by the Imperial forces. On the re-aſſembling the Parliament, November 20, 1621, the King being abſent by indiſpoſition in health, commanded a meſſage to be delivered to both Houſes (*bb*) by the Lord Keeper, and the Lord Digby. After the Lord Keeper had acquainted the Houſes with his Majeſty's pleaſure, the Lord Digby having alſo the like command, gave a brief account of his negotiation with the Archduke, &c. Then he proceeded to *give* alſo *an account how bravely Sir* HORACE VERE *had behaved himſelf in the Palatinate, and that by his wiſdom and valour, there were kept from the enemy*, Heidelburgh, Manheim, *and* Frankendale, *the laſt of which places had then endured a month's ſiege*. And concluded, *that the fitteſt redreſs was to furniſh and keep up the army already there, which muſt be done by ſupplies of men and money, and more forces prepared againſt the next ſpring* (*cc*). Thereupon, whilſt Sir *Horace Vere* continued in Germany, he was by Letters Patent, bearing date the 16th of February, 1621, 19 Jac. I, in conſideration of his fidelity, ſervices, valour, and experience in military affairs, conſtituted Captain General of the forces in aid of Frederick, Elector Palatine, with full power and authority to raiſe and tranſport beyond the ſeas, with all expedition, 8000 foot and 1600 horſe of the King's ſubjects, or of other nations, that will take on under his banner (*dd*). Whether after this any forces were ſent abroad, or raiſed, hiſtory is ſilent: but towards the latter end of the year 1622, *Heidelburgh* was taken, and ſoon after followed the loſs of *Frankendale*, and *Manheim*, the chief fortreſs in the Palatinate (*ee*). Sir *Horace Vere* commanded in *Manheim* (*ff*), and having neither ſtrength of men or means to reſiſt an enemy, after he had defended it as long as man was capable of doing, he ſurrendered up the town to Count *Tilly* on honourable conditions to march out with bag and baggage, &c. [*M*]. On his return, in January, 1622-3, *the King received him ſo graciouſly and thankfully* (as Camden obſerves) *that, forgetting himſelf, he ſtood bare to him* (*gg*). On July 20, 1624, 22 Jac. I, he was conſtituted one of the Council of War, in conſideration of the knowledge the King had of his wiſdom, integrity, and experience, to aſſemble and meet together to take ſuch ways and means as ſhall be moſt requiſite for ſecuring the Realm of Ireland, with the reſt of the King's dominions, and putting the Navy Royal in readineſs: alſo to adviſe of ſuch ways and means as may give advancement by the aforeſaid means of aſſiſting the King's allies, eſpecially in the Low-Countries: and upon mature deliberation to ſet down in writing their opinions, and to offer to the King, and his Council, ſuch propoſitions, as may be meet for their conſideration, or to be by them put in execution (*hh*). At length, for his great merit and ſervices, on the acceſſion of King Charles to the throne, he was the firſt Peer of his Majeſty's creation, by the ſtile and title of Lord *Vere* Baron of *Tilbury*, in the County of Eſſex, by Letters Patent, bearing date, July 25, in the firſt year of his reign (*ii*) [*N*]. Not long after, in the ſame year, the Council of War (whereof the Lore *Vere* was one) appointed to manage the buſineſs of the Palatinate, were called into the Houſe of Commons, and this queſtion propounded to them, *Whether the advice was followed in the four ends in the Act of Parliament of* 21 *Jacob. I, by which the monies given by that Act were to iſſue? Carey* Earl of *Totneſs*, and Lord *Brook*, deſired to be excuſed from anſwering; the Lord *Vere* ſaid, *he had been much abſent in the Low-Countries, and could ſay little*; Lord *Grandiſon* ſaid, that ſince July laſt, they had ſeldom met; Sir *Robert Manſel* and Sir *John Ogle* deſired a copy of the queſtion, and that they might all confer together to give an anſwer. The Lord Vere's anſwer was ſatisfactory, he was excuſed from any further attendance; but all the reſt were called before them again, and giving unſatisfactory anſwers, were preſſed to deal clearly and fully in the buſineſs: on which they deſired they might have the King's conſent before they anſwered, as a ſpecial order of the Houſe required an anſwer (*kk*). As his Lordſhip ſtill held his Poſt of General

(*aa*) Ruſhworth, as before, p. 18.

(*bb*) Idem, ibid.

(*cc*) Ruſhworth, Prædict. p. 39, 40.

(*dd*) Rymer, Tom. XVII. p. 352, 353.

(*ee*) Ruſhworth, Vol. I. p. 69.

(*ff*) Hiſt. of Eng. Vol. II. p. 775.

(*gg*) Camden's Annalium Apparatus, &c. inſerted in Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 619.

(*hh*) Rymer, Vol. XVII, p. 615.

(*ii*) Pat. I. Car. I.

(*kk*) Ruſhworth, Vol. II. p. 217.

[*M*] *He ſurrendered Manheim to count Tilly*, &c.] In ſhort, the fault chiefly lay in the King of Bohemia himſelf, as appears from hence, that the Earl of Briſtol, in the articles of impeachment exhibited againſt him in parliament, 1 Charles I, being charged with the loſs of the Palatinate; in anſwer thereunto alledged his ſollicitations for ſupplying the forces there, by preſently ſending 30000l. borrowed of Sir Baptiſt Hicks, &c. beſides 10000l. which he lent, &c. and that if, by accidents of war, the Marquis of *Baden*, Count *Mansfield*, and the Duke of *Brunſwick*, received each of them an overthrow, he hopes he ſhall not be liable to the blame, his Majeſty having ſo far complained to his ſon-in-law, of the ordering affairs, as to give orders for withdrawing of his forces, as will appear by his Majeſty's letters to him, and to Sir *Horace Vere*, of the 3d of June, 1622 (46).

(46) Ruſhworth's Collection, Vol. I. p. 282.

[*N*] *He was created Baron Vere of Tilbury.*] The preamble to the patent, ſetting forth his merit, as uſual upon theſe occaſions, preſents us with his juſt Elogium in the following terms: 'Qui ad arma & munera militaria ab ineunte ætate accinctus, tam per ſereniſſimam Principem Dominam Elizabetham nuper Reginam Anglie, quam per prechariſſimum Patrem noſtrum nuper Regem Jacobum beate memorie, in gravioribus & magis arduis negociis & expedicionibus tranſmarinis in Hiſpania & Germania, Francia & Provinciis Belgicis ad primarios ſemper fidelitatis, & honoris locos merito evocatus, tanta cum fide, zelo, fortitudine & alacritate indefeſſa in maximum hujus Gentis honorem inſervivit, ut ejus acta vere honorifica & laudabilia ſe Regibus & Reipublice ſuis acceptabilem, ipſumque per totum Chriſtianum orbem glorioſum reddiderunt, &c.'

of the Forces in the ſervice of the States-General, he frequently went over to them, in the year 1627 [O]. And he continued in the Low-Countries the following year, 1628, when King Charles, by the Ambaſſadors of Denmark, and the States-General, being ſollicited to ſend forces and ſhipping to ſecure the *Elbe*, and for the defence of *Luckſtadt*, his Majeſty borrowed ſix or eight men out of every company ſerving in the States pay, under the conduct of the Lord Vere, to fill up Sir *Charles Morgan*'s regiments that were to be employed therein, engaging his royal word, that for every man then lent to him, he would ſend them two, as ſoon as his forces returned from Rochel *(ll)*. On the deceaſe of *George Carew* Earl of *Totneſs*, Maſter of the Ordnance, who died March 27, 1629, his Majeſty conferred that Place on the Lord *Vere* of Tilbury for life, as the ſaid Earl of *Totneſs* held it *(mm)*. In 1633, he made the campaign in the Netherlands, and by his Majeſty's Letters Patent conſtituting him General of his Forces, being empowered to confer the honour of Knighthood, his Lordſhip, in the camp of *Bockſtal* near *Balduck* in *Brabant*, knighted, July 25, 1633, *William Boſwel*, at that time the King's Reſident with the States-General *(nn)*. His Lordſhip afterwards reſided for the moſt part in England, and growing near ſeventy years of age, made his laſt Will and Teſtament the 10th of November, 1634, 10 Car. I. And not long before his death, which happened the following year, taking a reſolution to retire from the world, he diſpoſed of all his employments. Being ſuffered to make the beſt advantage he could of his thirty-three companies in Holland, and troops of horſe, Mr *Goring* had the one, and Mr *Wilmot* the other, and his office of the Ordnance he made over to the Lord *Newport*, to whom the reverſion had been granted ſome time before *(oo)*. Thus having bid farewel to the buſineſs of the world, he did not continue in it long after. On the 2d of May, 1635, dining with Sir *Henry Vane* at Whitehall, he was ſeized with an apoplexy as he ſat at table. Calling for freſh ſalmon, and reaching out his plate to take it from one that carved, he was not able to draw his hand back again, but ſunk down. They inſtantly carried him to a bed, where he expired within two hours. He was buried on the 8th of that month, in the ſame vault with his brother, Sir Francis Vere, in Weſtminſter Abbey, with much military pomp, the train-bands attending the corpſe in great numbers, beſides moſt of the Nobility in town; and the ordnance of the Tower all going off at the time of his interment *(pp)*. All which honours were judged to be due to a perſon, who had been Governor of the Briel, General of the Engliſh Forces in the Netherlands, Maſter of the Ordnance in England, and had reflected an honour to each Poſt by his diſtinguiſhed fidelity, and ſuperior abilities. He lies without any monumental inſcription, or elogium over him. But this has been, in ſome meaſure, ſupplied by the general diſplay of his worth in ſeveral writings. Among theſe, we ſhall take notice of the two following. Firſt, Dr *Thomas Fuller*, who was acquainted with his Lordſhip, has given this ſhort character of him: 'Horace Lord *Vere* had more meekneſs, and as much valour, as his brother; ſo pious, that he firſt made his peace with God, before he went out to war with man. Of an excellent temper, it being true of him what is ſaid of the *Caſpian Sea*, that it doth never ebb nor flow, obſerving a conſtant tenour, neither elated with good ſucceſs, nor depreſſed with the reverſe of fortune. Had one ſeen him returning from a victory, he would, by his ſilence, have ſuſpected that he had loſt the day; and had he beheld him in a retreat, he would have collected him a Conqueror by the chearfulneſs of his ſpirit. No doubt but he was well prepared for death, ſeeing ſuch was his vigilancy, that never any enemy ſurprized him in his quarters. Sir *Francis*, the elder brother, was more feared, Sir *Horace* more loved by the ſoldiers. Both lived in war, much honoured, and died in peace, much lamented *(qq)*.' Dr *William Dillingham* alſo, who publiſhed the Commentaries of Sir *Francis Vere*, has given the following account of the Lord *Vere*: 'He was in courage equal to his brother, and in hazards undivided: for as he muſt be allowed a great ſhare in the actions recorded by his brother, ſo were his own ſervices afterwards, when General of the Engliſh, ſo eminent and conſiderable, that they might have furniſhed another *Commentary*, had not his own exceeding modeſty proved a ſtep-mother to his deſerved praiſes. He was a religious, wiſe, and valiant Commander, and (which quartered him in the boſom of the Prince of Orange) he was ſucceſsful in his enterprizes; ſometimes to the admiration both of friends and enemies. When he took *Sluys*, there was one ſtrong-hold firſt to be taken, which he found ſome difficulty to overcome; and that was in the opinion of his friends an impoſſible enterprize. And for his enemies, *Spinola* himſelf did him, in his life-time, the right to bear witneſs of his gallant retreat with four thouſand men from between his very fingers, when with three times that number he had graſped up the Prince [*Maurice*] againſt the ſea-ſhore. And as the proficiency of the ſcholars was ever accounted a good argument of their Maſter's ability, I ſhall (with their leaves) give you a liſt of ſome of his: *Henry* Earl of *Oxford*, *Thomas* Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Edward Vere* Lieutenant Colonel, Sir *Simon Harcourt* Serjeant Major, Sir *Thomas Dutton*, Sir *Henry Peyton*, Sir *John Burroughs*, Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *John Conyers*, Sir *Thomas Gale*, Sir *William Lovelace*, Sir *Robert Carey*, Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, Sir *Thomas Conway*, Sir *John Burlacy*, Sir *Thomas Winne*, Sir *Gerard Herbert*, Sir *Edward Harwood*, and Sir *Michael*

(ll) Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra, p. 649.

(mm) Funeral Certificates MS. I. 8. fol. 20 and 45. Offic. Armor.

(nn) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 805.

(oo) Letter of James Howel, dated Weſtminſter, May 14, 1635, to the Lord Deputy Wentworth, in the Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 423.

(pp) Mr Garrard's Letter to the ſame, dated May 19, 1635. Ibid. p. 417. where there is alſo another letter in p. 426, 427, to him from the Earl of Arundel, Earl Marſhal, dated from Arundelhouſe, May 3, 1635, referring the Deputy to Sir Thomas Wharton for an account of Lord Vere's ſudden death of an apoplexy the day before.

(qq) Fuller's Worthies of Eng. p. 331.

[O] *He frequently went over to the Netherlands.*] John Lord *Haughton*, (afterwards the ſecond Earl of Clare) who had married his eldeſt daughter, in a letter, dated May 19, 1627, to his brother-in-law, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, afterwards Earl of Strafford, writes thus: 'Lord 'Vere's occaſions will call him into the Low-Countries 'before he ſhould go over, his wife deſiring to lie in 'here, and that her mother, Lady Vere, would be 'with her (47).' His Lordſhip alſo, in another letter from the Hague, December 7, O. S. that year, informs Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, 'that he, with his Lady, 'were then there with the Lord *Vere*, Lady *Vere* going 'over with them (48).'

(47) Strafford's letters, Vol. I. p. 37.

(48) Id. p. 43

'chael Everard. Beſides divers others, whoſe effigies do at once, both guard, and adorn 'Kirby-hall in *Eſſex*, where the truly religious and honourable the Lady *Vere* doth ſtill 'ſurvive, kept alive thus long by ſpecial Providence, that the preſent age might more 'than read and remember what was true godlineſs in eighty-eight (*rr*).' The Earl of *Clarendon* alſo recites, that *Edward* Lord *Conway* was bred up a ſoldier in ſeveral commands, under the particular care of the Lord *Vere*, whoſe nephew he was. And that *Monk* Duke of *Albemarle* had the reputation of a good field-officer, when he was in the Lord Vere's regiment in Holland (*ss*). In his laſt Will having appointed his body to be buried where it ſhall pleaſe God, he ratifies and confirms ſeveral conveyances by deeds of truſt of the Monaſtery of *Hailes* in the County of Glouceſter, and ſeveral Manors, Lordſhips, Farms, &c. lying in the ſaid County [*P*], and then proceeds in theſe terms: 'For it is 'my will and meaning, that the ſaid Monaſtery of *Hailes*, with the premiſes, &c. ſhall 'be in the power of my ſaid moſt loving wife, for her freely to diſpoſe of as ſhe ſhall think 'fit, either by ſale or otherwiſe, for her own uſe and benefit, at her pleaſure.' He alſo bequeaths to the ſaid Dame *Mary*, his wife, all his goods, chattels, &c. and all monies, debts, &c. owing to him by any perſon or perſons in England or elſewhere, and appoints her full and ſole Executrix. Accordingly Adminiſtration was granted, May 6, 1635, to the Right Honourable *Mary* Lady *Vere*, his Relict and Executrix; who lived to be very aged. After the death of the Counteſs of *Dorſet*, who had the tuition of the three youngeſt children of King Charles I; viz. the Duke of *York*, the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and died in May, 1645, the Parliament, that they might be ſure to keep them in their power, put them into the Cuſtody of the Lady *Vere*, an old Lady much in their favour, but not at all ambitious of that charge, though there was a competent allowance aſſigned for their ſupport (*tt*). His Lordſhip makes no mention in his will of any of his children; but though he left no heir male to bear his name, yet his blood is diſtributed in the veins of many noble families, leaving iſſue by his ſaid Lady, third daughter of Sir *John Tracey* of *Toddington*, in the County of *Glouceſter*, Knight [*Q*], five daughters his coheirs (*uu*).

(*rr*) Preface to the Commentaries of Sir Francis Vere, publiſhed in 1657. 4to.

(*ss*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. p. 342, and Vol. VI. p. 699. 8vo.

(*tt*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. V. p. 37. 8vo.

(*uu*) MS. L. 1. fol. 45, in Offic. Armor.

1. *Eli-*

[*P*] *Deeds in truſt relating to the monaſtery of Hailes*, &c.] For the ſatisfaction of ſuch as are curious in theſe matters, we ſhall here inſert the very words of the will relating to theſe deeds, as follows: 'Firſt, whereas 'all that the houſe, ſcite, &c. of the monaſtery of 'Hailes in the county of Glouceſter, and ſeveral manors, 'lordſhips, farms, &c. lying in the ſaid county, are 'by one pair of indentures tripartite, dated the 17th 'of May, in 8 Car. I, between myſelf and dame Mary, 'my loving wife, on the firſt part; and Laurence Wright, 'Eſq; Doctor of phyſick, on the ſecond part; and my 'kind loving friends, *Richard Winwood*, of Dutton Park 'in the county of Buckingham, Eſq; *John Packer*, of 'the city of *Weſtminſter*, Eſq; *Walter James*, of the ſaid 'city, Eſq; and *William Perkins*, of the city of London, 'merchant, on the third part; have conveyed unto the 'ſaid *Richard Winwood*, *Walter James*, *John Packer*, 'and *William Perkins*, for a term of years not yet ex'pired, to the uſes, truſt, &c. declared in one pair of 'indentures, dated October 20, now laſt paſt, before 'the date of theſe preſents, made between myſelf and 'dame Mary, my wife, on the one part; and the ſaid 'Richard Winwood, Walter James, John Packer, and 'William Perkin, on the other part; the ſaid monaſtery 'of Hailes, and other the premiſes, &c. Alſo by one 'other pair of indentures, dated December 25. 8 Car. I, 'made between *William Williams*, *Robert Michel*, *Walter Markes*, and *Robert March*, citizens of London, 'on the one part; and my much reſpected friends, Sir 'Robert Harley of Brampton-caſtle, alias Brampton-'Brian, in the county of Hereford, Knight of the honour'able order of the Bath, Sir Robert Tracey, of Fair'ford in the county of Glouceſter, Knt. and Richard 'Moor, of Okingham in the county of Berks, Gent. 'on the other part; have conveyed the premiſes afore'ſaid unto the ſaid Sir Robert Harley, Sir Robert Tracey, 'and Richard Moor, for another term of years, not 'yet expired, to the uſes, &c. of one pair of indent'ures, dated October 20, now laſt paſt, made between 'the ſaid Sir Robert Harley, Sir Robert Tracey, and 'Richard Moor, on the one part; and myſelf and the 'ſaid dame Mary, my wife, on the other part, &c. 'I, the ſaid Horace Lord Vere, do, by this my laſt 'Will and Teſtament, ratify and confirm the ſaid ſeveral '&c. and every of them; and my deſire and requeſt, 'unto all and every my ſaid Friends, whom I have 'truſted as aforeſaid, is, that they would reſpectively 'perform, fulfil, and execute, the Truſt by me in them 'reſpectively repoſed, &c. (49).'

(49) Ex Regiſt. Saeler, Qu. 450, in Cur. Prerog. Cant.

[*Q*] *Daughter of Sir John Tracey of Tedington in com. Glam. Knt.*] This family, which is very ancient and honourable, took the ſirname of *Tracey* from a maternal Anceſtor, deſcended from the *Traceys*, Barons of *Barnſtaple* in Devonſhire, who, ann. 1066, accompanied the *Conqueror* in his expedition to England, and were denominated from the town of *Traci* in Normandy. The honour and barony of Barnſtaple (50) was the gift of King Stephen to *Henry de Traci*. By paternal deſcent, the family derives from the royal blood of the Saxon kings, namely from *Goda*, youngeſt daughter to King Ethelred (ſon of King Edgar) ſiſter to Edward the Confeſſor, and *Walter de Maunt*, or *de Maige*, a noble Norman, whoſe ſon *Ralph* was Earl of Hereford in the reign of his uncle the Confeſſor, but was deprived of it by the Conqueror; and his ſon *Harold*, at the time of the general ſurvey, poſſeſſing ſeveral Lordſhips, and fixing his chief reſidence at *Sudeley*, was Lord thereof, and of *Todingtone* in the county of Glouceſter, and by his wife *Maud*, daughter to *Hugh Lupus*, Earl of *Cheſter*, left two ſons; *Ralph*, Baron of *Sudeley*, progenitor of the *Sudeleys*, Barons of *Sudeley*, whoſe heirs male failed in John Lord Sudely, temp. Edw. III. (51); *William*, the younger ſon, was named *Fair*, from his mother (an uſual thing in that age). This *William* lived in the reign of Henry V, and held lands of his brother *Ralph* by the ſervice of one Knight's fee, which probably was the manor of *Todingtone*; for it appears, by Domeſday-book, that it was held by the Lord *Sudeley*, of the manor of *Sudeley*, and temp. Edw. I. the *Traceys* are expreſsly ſaid to be poſſeſſed of it; and this *William* (52), in a deed perfected by *Oſwel*, Lord of *Sudeley*, ſon and heir of the ſaid *Ralph*, is called his Uncle (53). This *William*'s great great grandſon *Henry* had a daughter Margery, married to *John Archer* of *Umberſlade* in *Warwickſhire*, anceſtor to the preſent Lord *Archer*, Baron of *Umberſlade*. From this Henry deſcended, in the tenth generation, Sir *William Tracey* of *Todington*, Knt. called the Martyr, who was Sheriff of his county in 1513, (5 H. VIII.) and was a perſon of diſtinguiſhed parts and ſound learning, and is memorable for being one of the firſt that embraced the reformed religion in England, as appears by his laſt will, dated in 1530 (22 H. VIII.) The preamble of which runs thus: 'In the name of 'God, Amen. I *William Tracey* of *Todington*, in the 'county of *Glouceſter*, Eſq; make my teſtament and 'laſt will, as hereafter followeth: Firſt, and before 'other things, I commit myſelf to God and to his mercy, 'believing, without any doubt, or miſtruſt, that, by 'his Grace, and the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, and by the 'virtue of his paſſion and reſurrection, I have and ſhall 'have remiſſion of all my ſins, and reſurrection of body 'and ſoul, according as it is written, *I believe that my 'Redeemer liveth, and that at the laſt day I ſhall riſe out 'of the earth, and in my fleſh I ſhall ſee my Saviour*. This 'my hope is laid up in my boſom; and, touching the 'wealth of my ſoul, the faith that I have taken and 're-

(50) It had formerly belonged to Jahel the ſon of Alured de Totneis.

(51) The title was conveyed by his eldeſt ſiſter, Joan, to the family of her huſband, Sir William Butler, of the family of *Wemme*, who were thereupon ſummoned Peers of England, after whoſe extinction it hath alſo given the title of Baron, from 1 Mary, 1554, to the family of his Grace the duke of Chandos.

(52) He or ſome of his poſterity differenced their coat-armour from the elder houſe, by adding an eſcallop ſable in the chief point between the two Bendlets Ruby, in a field Topaz.

(53) Fuller, in his Worthies, makes him one of the four aſſaſſins of *Tho. à Becket*, A.B. C. but he hath miſtaken him for his contemporary, Sir William Traci, of Wollacomb in Devonſhire, who lies buried there. And this miſtake was probably occaſioned by Sir William Traci of Todington's removal, in his old age, into that country, where he had large poſſeſſions, and, dying there about ann. 1180, he is ſuppoſed to be buried in the church of *Mort-*

1. *Elizabeth*, born abroad, and naturalized by Act of Parliament in 21 Jac. I, married to the Right Honourable *John Holles*, ſecond Earl of *Clare*, an account of whoſe iſſue by her, has been already given (*ww*).

(*ww*) In the article of John Holles, the firſt Earl of Clare.

2. *Mary*, ſecond daughter of the ſaid *Horace* Lord *Vere*, was alſo born in the Netherlands, and naturalized with her ſiſter by Act of Parliament, 21 Jac. I. She was firſt married to Sir *Roger Townſhend* of *Eaſt-Raynham*, in the County of *Norfolk*, Bart, who departed this life on the 1ſt of January, 1636, and had iſſue by her Sir *Roger Townſhend*, Bart, *Horace*, ſecond ſon, *Mary*, *Jane*, *Anne*, *Elizabeth*, and *Vere*. Sir Roger Townſhend dying in his minority, was ſucceeded in title and eſtate by Sir *Horatio Townſhend*, who became the firſt Lord Viſcount Townſhend, and father of Charles Lord Viſcount Townſhend, Principal Secretary of State to King George I. and II; and by his firſt wife Elizabeth, daughter and ſole heir of *Thomas* Lord *Pelham* (father of his Grace *Thomas* the preſent Duke of Newcaſtle by his firſt wife, Elizabeth, daughter to Sir *William Jones*) left iſſue Charles, now [1762] Lord Viſcount *Townſhend*. The ſaid *Mary* Lady *Townſhend*, after the death of Sir *Roger Townſhend* the firſt of January, 1736, entered into a ſecond marriage with *Mildmay Fane* Earl of *Weſtmorland*, by whom ſhe was mother of *Vere Fane* Earl of *Weſtmorland*, and four daughters, whereof *Mary* was firſt married to *Francis Palmer*, ſon and heir to Sir *Bryan Palmer* of *Aſtwell* in the County of *Rutland*, Knight; and ſecondly, to *John Cecil* Earl of *Exeter*. Another daughter, named *Catharine*, was wedded to *Conyers Darcy* Earl of *Holderneſs*. *Vere* Earl of *Weſtmorland*, was father of *Vere* Earl of *Weſtmorland*, *Thomas* Earl of *Weſtmorland*, and *John*, now [1762] Earl of *Weſtmorland*, and Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford.

Catharine, third daughter of Lord Vere, was married to *Oliver St John*, ſon and heir of Sir *John St John* of *Lidiard Tregoſe*, in the County of *Wilts*, Knight and Baronet, who had iſſue by her ſeveral ſons, whereof *Henry*, the youngeſt, left iſſue a daughter, *Anne*, married to *Anthony Bowyer*, of Cambetwell in the County of *Surrey*, Eſq; and the reſt died without iſſue, except Sir *Walter St John*, the ſixth ſon, who died July 3, 1708, and had iſſue

' rehearſed is ſufficient, as I ſuppoſe, without any other ' man's works or merits. My ground and belief is, ' that there is but one God, and one Mediator between ' God and Man, which is Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that I accept ' none in heaven or in earth to be Mediator between me ' and God, but only Jeſus Chriſt; all others to be but ' as Petitioners in receiving of Grace, but none able to ' give influence of Grace; and therefore will I beſtow ' no part of my goods for that intent, that any man ' ſhall ſay or do to help my ſoul; for therein I truſt only ' to the promiſes of Chriſt: *He that believeth and is ' baptized ſhall be ſaved, and he that believeth not ſhall ' be damned.* As touching the burying of my body, ' it availeth me not whatſoever be done thereto; for ' St Auguſtine ſaith, *De cura agenda pro mortuis*, that ' the funeral pomps are rather the ſolace of them that ' live, than the wealth and comfort of them that are ' dead; and therefore I remit it wholly to the diſcretion ' of my Executors.—And touching the diſtribution of ' my temporal goods, my purpoſe is, by the grace of ' God, to beſtow them to be accepted as the fruits of ' faith; ſo that I do not ſuppoſe that my merit ſhall be ' by the good beſtowing of them, but my merit is the ' faith of Jeſus Chriſt only, by whom ſuch works are ' good, according to the words of our Lord, *I was ' hungry, and thou gaveſt me meat*, &c. and it followeth, ' *That ye have done to the leaſt of my brethren, ye have done ' it to me.* And ever we ſhould conſider that true ſaying, ' That a good work maketh not a good man, but a good ' man maketh a good work; for faith maketh a man ' both good and righteous: for a righteous man liveth ' by faith; and whatſoever ſpringeth not of faith is ſin.'

This will was condemned as *heretical* in the Biſhop of London's court, and an order on that account iſſued to *Parker*, Chancellor of *Worceſter*, to raiſe his body, according to the law of the church: The Chancellor, too officiouſly burning the corpſe, was, two years afterwards, ſued by the heirs of Sir William, fined 400 l. and turned out of his Chancellorſhip. The Martyr's ſecond ſon, Richard, had, by his father's gift, the manor of Stanway in the county of Glouceſter, and part of the poſſeſſions of the Abbey of *Tewkeſbury*, which Abbey was granted to him by the crown upon the diſſolution of the monaſteries. He was well educated, and wrote ſeveral treatiſes in defence of his father's faith very learnedly and judiciouſly; among which was that moſt memorable one, intitled *Preparations to the Croſs*, written experimentally (ſay the *Decem Scriptores*) having ſuffered much in his eſtate for his father's reputed heretical will. He alſo wrote prophetically, in 1550, two or three years before Queen Mary's reign, another treatiſe to teach one to die, which was annexed to the former, when reprinted, and falſely aſcribed by the Editor to *John Frith*; being one of the three found in the belly of a cod, brought, in 1626, to be ſold in the market of Cambridge, wrapped in canvas (54): on which occaſion the wits of that Univerſity diverted themſelves. This Richard's eldeſt ſon, *Paul*, was created a Baronet, June 24, 1664, being the thirtieth from the inſtitution of that order; but the title became extinct in 1677, in John, the fifth Baronet, who, dying without iſſue, left the manor of *Stanway*, with all his eſtate, to *Ferdinando Tracey*, ſecond ſon of *John* Viſcount *Tracey*.

(54) Which probably had been devoured by that voracious fiſh, out of the pocket of ſome ſhipwreckedSeaman. One of the ſcholars in his verſes had this diſtich: *If Fiſhes thus do bring us books, then we May hope to equal Bodley's library.*

The Martyr's eldeſt ſon, *William*, ſucceeded at *Todington*, and was father of *John* (or *Henry*) who married Elizabeth, ſecond daughter to *John*, the firſt Lord *Chandos* of *Sudeley*. John's grand-daughter, Mary, the ſubject of this remark, was born May 18, 1581, three days after which died her mother, *Anne*, daughter to Sir *Thomas Throckmorton*, of *Corfecourt*, Knt. which family had inriched themſelves by the marriage of *Eleanor*, ſiſter to the great grandmother of the Martyr. Mary was married firſt, when nineteen years of age, to Mr *William Hoby*, by whom ſhe had two ſons, who both died unmarried; and ſecondly to Sir *Horatio Vere*, Baron of *Tilbury*, one of the greateſt generals of his age, *and dying December* 25, 1671, *was buried, January* 10, *at Caſtle-Heveningham in Eſſex*, having lived to ſee her eldeſt brother, Sir *John Tracey*, advanced, January 12, 1642, to the dignity of Viſcount *Tracey* of *Rathcoole* in *Ireland*, whoſe grandſon, John, the third Viſcount, had, by his ſecond wife, *Dorothy*, daughter to *Thomas Cox*, of *Caſtleditch* in *Herefordſhire*, Eſq; a ſon, *Roberty Tracey*, Eſq; who, being bred to the law, went out Serjeant in that profeſſion, November 6, 1700, having, October 3, 1699, been, by King *William*, deſervedly made one of the Juſtices of the King's-bench, which he ſurrendered November 13, 1700, and was advanced to the ſame ſtation in the court of Common-pleas, being alſo, by Queen Anne, September 25, 1710, appointed, with Sir *Thomas Trevor* and Baron *Scrope*, Commiſſioner of the great Seal of England, until it was delivered, October 17, to Sir *Simon Harcourt*; and again, April 15, 1718, with Sir *John Pratt* and Sir *James Montague*, Baron of the Exchequer, upon the reſignation of Lord Chancellor *Cowper*. His ill ſtate of health obliging him to quit his employment, October 26, 1726, his Majeſty, King George I, in recompence of his ſervices, ſettled on him 1000 l. a year for life. He married *Anne*, eldeſt daughter to to *William Dowdeſley*, of *Pool-court* in Worceſterſhire, Eſq; and his grandſon, named *Dowdeſwell*, is his heir. The Judge had alſo two daughters, the younger of which, *Dorothy*, was married, April 10, 1725, to *John Pratt*, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of Sir *John Pratt*, Chief Juſtice of the King's-bench (55), whoſe younger ſon, now Sir *Charles Pratt*, was knighted and raiſed from the poſt of Attorney-general to that of Chief Juſtice of the Court of Common-pleas, December 28, 1761.

(55) Lodge's peerage of Ireland, under the article of Viſcount Tracy of Rathcoole.

Sir

Sir *Henry St John*, who was created Lord Viſcount St John by King George the Firſt, and had iſſue *John* Lord Viſcount *St John*, father of *Frederick*, now Lord Viſcount *St John*, who, on the deceaſe of his uncle, the famous *Henry* Viſcount *Bolingbroke*, and Baron of *Lidiard Fregoſe*, ſucceeded to thoſe titles, together with the ſeat and manor of Baterſea, and a large eſtate (*xx*). The ſaid *Catharine* was, ſecondly, married to *John* Lord *Paulet*, who had iſſue by her *John* Lord *Paulet*, father of *John*, created Earl *Paulet*, by the late Queen *Anne*. He had iſſue *John*, now Earl *Paulet*.

(*xx*) See Lord Bolingbroke's article.

Anne, the fourth daughter of the Lord *Vere*, was married to *Thomas* Lord *Fairfax* of *Cameron* in *Scotland*, who was General of the Parliament Army againſt King Charles I. A remarkable inſtance of this Lady's ſpirit and loyalty at his Majeſty's trial, has been already mentioned, as related by Lord Clarendon.

Dorothy, the Baron of Tilbury's fifth and youngeſt daughter, was married to *John Wolſtenholm*, Eſq; ſon and heir of Sir *John Wolſtenholm* of *Noſtel*, in the County of *York*, and of *Fourtree-hall* in Enfield, in the County of *Middleſex*, Bart; but died without iſſue by him.

The Lord *Vere* was evidently determined in the choice of *Tilbury* for his title, from the conſideration of that Manor's having been poſſeſſed by his Anceſtors almoſt from the firſt ſettling of the Vere family in England (*yy*). And though the patent declares the Barony to be the juſt reward (as it really was) of his perſonal merit, yet he was not even then without ſome view of ſucceeding to the Earldom of Oxford, and ſoon after became heir apparent to it [*R*]. We ſhall therefore, agreeably to the plan of this work (*zz*), give a full account of that *noble* family in a diſtinct article: and the rather, becauſe the title of the *Earl of Oxford* having been many years extinct in the name of *Vere*, and transferred to another (*), the many renowned actions of that moſt illuſtrious family, which produced ſo many heroes to the great honour of our country, may be otherwiſe in ſome danger of ſinking into oblivion.

(*yy*) See the enſuing article.

(*zz*) See the families of Beauchamp, Beaufort, Bertie, Butler, Campbell, Carew, Dudley, Grant, &c.

(*) Viz. that of Harley.

[*R*] *He became heir apparent to it.*] Upon the death of *Hugh Vere*, the eighteenth Earl of Oxford, without male iſſue, in 1625, there aroſe a great diſpute about the deſcent of the title, which was claimed by Robert (Bertie) Lord Willoughby of Ereſby, in right of his mother, Mary, daughter of John de Vere, ſixteenth Earl of Oxford, againſt Robert Vere, great grandſon of John de Vere, the fifth Earl of Oxford. The Cauſe being brought before the Houſe of Peers in 2 Car. I. each Claimant, as uſual, drew up a ſtate of his caſe for the uſe of their Lordſhips: And the caſe of Robert Vere was as follows.

The Earldom of Oxford was granted by King Henry II. by his letters patent, to *Aubrey Vere* and his heirs; and the ſame Earldom deſcended from heir male to heir male unto *Robert Vere*, Duke of Ireland and Earl of Oxford, which *Robert* was attainted of high-treaſon by act of parliament, ann. 11 Rich. II. And ann. 16 Rich. II. in parliament, it was certified, that, before the ſaid attainder, certain Lands and Tenements, which were belonging to the ſaid *Robert Vere*, were intailed by fine, and by force of the ſaid intail ought to deſcend to Sir *Aubrey Vere*, uncle and heir to the ſaid *Robert*. Now the King, by the aſſent of the Parliament, graunted to the ſaid Sir *Aubrey Vere* livery of all the lands and tenements to him ſoe intailed by fine as aforeſaid. And further, whereas the ſaid *Aubrey* had yet ſhewed nothing in ſpeciall that the name and eſtate of the Earle of Oxford are to him intailed; notwithſtanding the King, having conſideration to the good ſervice which the ſaid *Aubrey* had done to him and his noble father, and howe the anceſtors of the ſaid *Aubrey* had bine Earles of Oxford a long time, and being willing that the eſtate and name of the Earle of Oxford, although they were forfeited, ſhould not ceaſe, but ſhould be contynued in time to come to the honour of the King and his realm, hath now of his ſpecial Grace reſtored, given, and granted, by aſſent of Parliament, to the ſaid Sir *Aubrey*, the Name, Title, and Honour of *Earle of Oxford*, to have the ſame Title, Eſtate, and Honour to the ſaid *Aubrey*, and his heires male for ever; and him made Earle of Oxford in full parliament; and preſently the ſaid Earle did his homage to the King, and after was put and ſet in his place with the Peeres of Parliament.

After which, ann. 21 R. II. the ſaid Act of Parliament, ann. 11 R. II. and all the dependancies thereupon, was repealed and made voyde.

After which, ann. 1, H. IV. the ſaid Act of Parliament, ann. 21 R. II. was repealed and made voyde.

And after the Act of Parliament, ann. 1. H. IV. was repealed and made voyde by Parliament, ann. 3 and 4 Edw. IV.

And in ann. 14 Edw. IV. the Earle of Oxford and twoe of his ſonnes were attainted of treaſon by Parliament.

And in ann. 1 H. VII. that Act was repealed and made voyde.

Aubrey Vere, Earle of *Oxford*, ann. 16 R. II. had iſſue *Richard Vere*, his ſon and heir, and died; *Richard Vere*, Earle of *Oxford*, had iſſue *John*, his eldeſt ſonne, and *Robert* his youngeſt ſonne; the grandchild and heire male of the bodie of *John*, his eldeſt ſonne, died ann. 18 H. VIII. without heire male of his bodie, or any heire male of the body of John, the eldeſt ſonne of *Richard*, having three ſiſters att his death, which were his heires and heires generall to *John*, Earle of *Oxford*, eldeſt ſonne of *Richard*.

John Vere, grandchild of *Robert Vere*, ſecond ſonne of *Richard*, was next heir male, and had the Earledome by virtue of the Act of Parliament of Richard II, without any new creation; and ſoe it was found by office, ann. 18 H. VIII. after the death of *John Vere*, Earle of *Oxford*, his couzen.

Ann. 23 H. VIII. the three daughters, ſiſters and heires of John, Earl of Oxford, deceaſed, clayme the landes of the Earldome, but not the Honor; and they of the one parte, and *John*, Earle of *Oxford*, couzen and heir male to their brother, ſubmitted themſelves to the award of King Henry VIII. and an award was made, which was confirmed by Parliament.

The ſaid John, Earle of Oxford, died (*), having iſſue John his eldeſt ſonne, Aubrey his ſecond ſonne, and Jeffery his youngeſt; John, the eldeſt ſon, had iſſue by his firſt wife (*a Nevile*) *Catharine*, married to the Lord *Windſor*, who pretends not; and by his ſecond wife had *Edward*, Earle of *Oxford*, and Lady *Mary* his daughter, and died; *Edward*, Earle of *Oxford*, had iſſue *Henry*, Earle of *Oxford*, by one Venter; and the Lady *Derby*, the Lady *Montgomery*, and the Lady *Berkſhire*, by his firſt wife, who pretends not, and died; *Henry*, Earle of *Oxford*, his ſonne, died without iſſue. The ſaid *Aubrey*, ſon of *John*, had iſſue *Hughe Vere*, his only ſonne, and died. *Hughe Vere* had iſſue *Robert Vere*, his only ſonne, now Earl of Oxford. And *Jeffery* had iſſue *Horace*, now Lord *Vere*, and next heir male to *Robert*. The Lady *Mary* had iſſue *Robert*, Lord *Willoughby*, her ſonne and heir, and died.

(*) This John, thus coming to the honor, was greatgrandfather to the now Earle of Oxford, and to the Lord Willoughby, who nowe pretends as heire general, and goeth about to overthrowe the title from which himſelf claims, wherein is a plain contradiction.

In this caſe, *Robert Vere*, now Earle of Oxford (56), ſonne of *Hugh Vere*, and after him *Horace*, Lord *Vere*, clayme the Earldom as next heire male of the bodie of *Aubrey Vere*, which was Earle of Oxford, ann. 16 R. II. by virtue of the ſaid Act of Parliament of ann. 16 R. II. which is no waye repealed, but is in force.

(56) i. e. the right, as he alledges; and the title was adjudged to him by the Peers, though not the title of Lord Bolebeck, Sanford and Badleſmere.

And hence it follows, that *Horace*, Lord *Vere* of Tilbury's male iſſue, had he left any, would have ſucceeded to the Earldom of Oxford.

VERE, Earls of Oxford. This noble and ancient family, the firſt of which, mentioned in our records, came into England with William, ſtiled the Conqueror *(a)*, derives its deſcent much earlier. Leland, the famous Antiquary, carried it up as high as to the Patriarch NOAH [*A*], from whom he deduces the pedigree down to *Alberic de Vere*, the noble Earl, who, having married *Beatrix*, ſiſter to the Conqueror, and attending him into England, was greatly favoured by that Monarch. In whoſe reign we find him poſſeſſed of *Cheneſiton* (now wrote *Kenſington*) in com. *Middleſex*, *Geling* and *Emingford* in com. *Huntingdon*. As alſo of nine Lordſhips in the county of *Suffolk*, and fourteen in the county of *Eſſex (b)*, whereof *Colne*, *Heningham*, and *Benetly*, were part; which continued in his poſterity till the laſt century. The Conqueror gave him likewiſe the whole inheritance of a great man in the Saxons days, called *Walfine*: in conſequence whereof he took from the Monks of *Ramſay* what *Walfine* had before the Norman conqueſt, and left it to his own poſterity *(c)*. However he bore a great reſpect to the Monks of *Abingdon* in *Berkſhire*, to whom he gave the church of St *Andrew*, at *Colne* in *Eſſex*, with the land of *Randulph* the Prieſt, the tythes of the whole Lordſhip, Town, and Park, and of all that was tytheable there, and 120 acres of the demeſnes, the *Spinney* beyond the Park, as alſo the Park itſelf, Coleford mill, Mees paſture beyond *Coleford* bridge, one acre and a rood in *Brademede*, together with their meadow-land in *Kinbrane* and *Linland*, the woods of *Dodeſpolleſho* and *Littlehar*, with twenty acres of land; the lands of *Goda*, *Edwin* the Brewer, and of *Aymeri* the Long; alſo the land called *Waluricmucche*, the church of *Beauchamp*, together with three acres of meadow, and the whole tythes of the ſaid town. The church of *Duurecourt*, and the tythes there; alſo of the fiſhery, with paſture for 100 ſheep in the marſh. The churches of *Campis* and *Benetlei*; the tythes of the demeſnes of *Rodinges-Grimbald*, together with that church, and alſo *Colne-Miblanc* church, with every thing thereunto belonging, in the manors of *Haingham*, *Laoreham*, *Aldeham*, and *Roinges*, with two parts of all the tythes, and the moiety of the tythes of the demeſnes in *Walde* and *Wadoho*; the third part of the tythes of *Haingham*, together with that mill, 10d. land at *Burgate*, 3s. at *Cripping*, and 2s. 8d. which *Hargar* pays for his land in *Roinges*, together with a meſſuage in *Colcheſter*. Whereupon *Colne* aforeſaid was made a cell to that great Abbey of *Abingdon*; and in the latter part of his life he took a religious habit, and was ſhorn a Monk in the ſaid Abbey, to which he had been ſo large a benefactor *(d)*; and there lies buried, together with *William*, one of his younger ſons [*B*]. This Alberic the firſt had iſſue by Beatrice, his wife, four ſons, *Geffery*, *Alberic*, *Roger*, *Robert*, whereof *Geffery* dying before his father, he was ſucceeded by

Alberic de Vere, the ſecond of that name, who confirmed all the grants made by his father to the Monks of Abingdon *(e)*, and was in ſuch high eſteem with Henry I, that in the beginning of his reign he made him Lord Great Chamberlain of England, to hold the ſaid office in fee to him and his heirs, with dignities and liberties thereto belonging, as honourably as Robert Malet *(f)*,

(a) Stowe's Annals, p. 106, from the Roll of Battle-abbey, where Alberic's name appears.

(b) Domeſday-book penes Thef. & Camer. Scacc.

(c) Regiſt. de Ramſay, penes H. Spelman, Equ. aur.

(d) Monaſt. Anglic. Vol. I. p. 436, 437, 438.

(e) Id. Vol. I. p. 436. n. 60.

(f) Malet was diſinherited and baniſhed in 2 H. I. for deſerting the King, and adhering to Robert Curthoiſe. Oderic Vitalis, 804. c. and 805. c.

[*A*] *Leland carries the family up to Noah.*] The pedigree is in this form.

Ex libello Genealogiæ comitum Oxonienſium.

Repetit genus a Noe. Deinde a Tideo Græco. Inſuper a *Vero* (1) nobili *Romano*. Poſtremo à Milone comite de Genny alias Giſney. Milo, Duke of Aungiers, and Duke and Leader of great *Charles*'s hoſte and armye, married *Berthelle*, ſiſter of great *Charles*. Hic fuit ſuperſtes, A. D. 800.

1. Milo had to his firſt ſunne Rothuland or Rouland, Erle Palatine, Erle of *Maunce* and *Bleuys*, that was ſlaine of the Paganes at *Rumcidevale*. 2. He had alſo *Baldewine de Ver*, afterwards Duke of Maunce. 3. He had alſo *Milo de Ver*, to whom, as to the youngeſt brother and his nephew, King Charles gave the Erldom of *Genney* or *Giſney*, *Avelina*, doughter of the Erle of Nauntes, wif to Milo de Ver the ſun. *Nicaſius de Ver*, Erle of Genney, ſunne to yonge Milo, Erle of Genney. This Nicaſius had to wife Agathe, the doughter of the Erle of Champain. Of Nicaſius cam *Otho de Vere*, Erle of Genney, married to Conſtance, doughter to the Lord of Charters. Of Otho cam *Amelius de Ver*, Erle of Genney: *Helena*, doughter to the Erle of Eloys, tooke to huſband Amelius. *Gallus de Ver*, Erle of Genney; Gerthrudis, doughter of the Erle of Cleremont, wif to Gallus. *Manaſſes de Ver*, Erle of Genney; Petronilla, doughter of the Erle of Boleine, wif to Manaſſes de Ver. *Alphonſus de Ver*, Erle of Genney; Katarine, his wife, doughter to Arnalde, Erle of Flaundres. *Albery de Ver*, Erle of Genney; Beatrice, his wife, ſiſter to King William, Conqueror.

(1) Some of our Antiquaries derive the name from Vere, a town in Zealand. Vincent on Brook, p. 396. Weever's Funeral monuments, p. 613.

The ſaid Alberic is the noble Erle who came over with the Conqueror, and was rewarded by him with the Lordſhips mentioned above. Yet of the name of Alberic there was an Earl in Edward the Confeſſor's time, poſſeſſed of ſix Lordſhips in com. Warwick, fourteen in Leiceſter, ſix in Northampton, two in Oxford, and ten in Wiltſhire (2). But this *Alberic* is ſtiled *Albericus Comes* in Domeſday-book, has not there the name of *de Vere*, and may be of another family (3). *Walcher*, Biſhop of Durham, purchaſed the Earldom of Northumberland of King William the Conqueror, in the eleventh year of his reign, anno 1076, and was ſlain in 1079 (4); upon which the King gave the Earldom of Northumberland to *Alberic*, who probably was the ſame *Alberic Comes*; who, going with the King into Normandy, married there a widow, named *Græcia*, which gave an accompliſhment to a prophecy, *That he ſhould poſſeſs Græcia*; whereupon he fooliſhly went thither, to make himſelf King of that country, but was expelled by the Grecians. And going on that expedition, King William the Conqueror gave the Earldom of Northumberland to *Robert de Mowbray* (5).

(2) As he poſſeſſed ſome of theſe Lordſhips in the Confeſſor's time, he was probably then in England. Domeſday-book.

(3) Alberic II, ſon of Alberic ſenior, is not ſtiled Earl, though Henry I. made him Lord Great Chamberlain and Chief Juſtice of England; therefore it is not to be ſuppoſed there could be any deprivation or loſs of honour.

(4) Simeon Dunelm, inter decem Script. p. 205.

(5) Knighton, p. 2409.

[*B*] *He lies buried there, with William, a younger ſon.*] It is ſaid that a monument was erected for him, with the effigies of him and his wife, and the following epitaph:

Cedunt e vita votis animiſque cupita,
Barbarus et ſcita, gentilis & Iſraelita.
Has pariter metas habet omnis ſexus et ætas:
En puer, en ſenior, pater alter, filius alter
Legem, fortunam, terram, venere, ſub unam:

Non Juveni tote quas epotavit Athene
Non vetulo tote vires vel opes valuere.
Sed valuere fides, et prælia quæ memoramus
Ut valeant valeant per ſæcula cuncta, precamur.

We are indebted for this to Mr Weever, who likewiſe ſays he had another epitaph for the ſaid Aubrey and Beatrice, mentioned in the book of *Colne* Priory, to be engraven on their monuments in theſe Engliſh words:

(6) Weever's Fun. mon. p. 613, 614.

Here lyeth Aubrey de Veer, the firſt Earl of Guiſnes, the ſonne of Alphonſus de Veer: The which Aubrey was the Founder of this place, and Beatrix, his wife, ſiſter of King William the Conqueror (6).

(7) Monaſt. Anglic. Vol. I. p. 106 and 437, where it is ſaid they had alſo a daughter, Roſe or Roheſia, wife of Geoffrey de Mandevil, Earl of Eſſex; but this is probably a miſtake. See rem. [*E*].

The ſaid Alberic and his wife Beatrix did, for the health of the ſoul of Geffery, their firſt born ſon, give to the Monks of Abingdon the church of Kenſington, in com. Middleſex, with two hides, 240 acres, and a carucate of land there, which Henry I. afterwards confirmed. He alſo gave, to the ſame Monks, his houſe in *Weſtminſter*-ſtreet, London (7).

(Lord of the honour of Eye in Suffolk) or any other before or after him, held the ſame, with ſuch liveries and lodgings of his Court as belonged to that office (g). This Alberic was alſo Juſtice of all England in that King's reign (h). In the fourth of King Stephen he ſuppreſſed an inſurrection of ſome Biſhops at Wincheſter [C]. And in the fifth of Stephen (with *Richard Baſſet*, then Juſtice of England) he executed the office of Sheriff for the counties of *Surrey*, *Cambridge*, *Huntingdon*, *Eſſex*, *Hartford*, *Northampton*, *Leiceſter*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Buckingham*, and *Bedford* (i); which office was then of great power and truſt. But before the end of that year, in the conteſts between the King and Maud the Empreſs, he was killed at London (k). He gave to the Monks of Thorney, in com. Cantab. certain rents in *Iſlep*, amounting to 61. 10s. per annum (l). By his wife *Adeliza*, daughter to Gilbert, Earl of Clare (m), he had iſſue three daughters and five ſons: 1. Alberic, his heir; 2. —— a Canon of St *Oſith*'s, at *Chich* in *Eſſex*; 3. Robert; 4. Geffery [D]; 5. William. The three daughters were, *Roheſia*, wife of *Pagan de Beauchamp*, and ſecondly of *Geffery Mandevil* [E]; 2. Adeliza, wife of Henry de Eſſex, Lord of Ralegh (n); 5. Juliana, wife of Hugh Bigot, firſt Earl of Norfolk (o). Their mother *Adeliza* gave to the Monks of St *Oſith* or *Chich* in *Eſſex*, lands of 7 l. per annum value, lying in *Dalham*, *Tunſtal*, and *Denham*, being part of her frank marriage, which was confirmed by her ſon,

Alberic the Third (p), who in his father's life-time was at the conqueſt of the cities of Nique [Nice], Antioch, and Jeruſalem, in the company of Sir Robert Curtoiſe (q), Duke of Normandy [F]; and in a ſiege of Antioch, in a battle againſt Solyman, commander of the Turkiſh

(g) Pat. 1 H. I. p. 1. m. 26.
(h) Dugdale's Chron. Series, p. 2.
(i) Rot. Pip. 5 Stephen.
(k) Matth. Weſtm. p. 476.
(l) Monaſt. Anglic. Vol. I. p. 248.
(m) Leland's Collect. by R. Glover, Somerſet Herald.
(n) Rot. de Domin. &c. ſub titulo Northampton, Rot. 3 in dorſo.
(o) Ibid. ſub titulo Eſſex, Rot. 82.
(p) Monaſt. Ang. Vol. II. p. 183.
(q) Leland's Itinerary, Vol. VI. p. 38.

[C] *He ſuppreſſed an inſurrection* &c.] King Stephen having ſurprized divers great perſons, and forced them to deliver up thoſe caſtles they then held, and amongſt them Roger, Biſhop of Saliſbury, being compelled to deliver up *Shireburn*, *Deviſes*, and *Malmſbury*, thereupon the other Biſhops called a council at Wincheſter, 4 Kal. Sept. to which they ſummoned the King, who thereupon, ſay ſome, ſent this Alberic to ſeize upon that aſſembly (8); but others, with greater probability, tell us, he was only ſent to them with the King's anſwer, being learned in the laws; and by his ſpeeches and arguments he put a ſtop to the proceedings of the Council, and cauſed them to break up without any concluſion, telling them, among other particulars, that the King had been informed they were ſending ſome perſons to Rome againſt him; but he charged them to forbear that preſumption, leſt the King ſhould prevent their return (9).

(8) M. Weſtm. an. 1139, p. 476.
(9) Daniel's life of King Stephen, in Compl. hiſt. of England, Vol. I. p. 227.

[D] *His ſons, Robert and Geffery.*] Of theſe, Robert, in 12 H. II, on levying the aid for marrying the King's daughter, certified, that he then held half a Knight's fee in com. Northampton (10). And he alſo held the Lordſhip of Turwell, in the ſame county, of the Monks of *Thorney*, in fee-farm, as his father did (11). *Geffery* and *William* were his other ſons, who are mentioned in the grant of Maud, the Empreſs, to their brother *Alberic*. Geffery was Sheriff of Shropſhire from 11 H. II. to the end of the 16th of that reign (12). Alſo in 12 H. II, upon leving the aid for marrying the King's daughter, he then reſided in com. *Salop*, and certified his Knights fees to be nine *de veteri feoffamento*, and three *de novo* (13). What poſterity he had, if any, is not known; but, in 6 Rich. I, *William de Boterel* paid 9l. for the ſcutage of his Barony (14).

(10) Lib. Rubr. in Scacc. ſub tit. Northamp.
(11) Mon. Angl. Vol. I. p. 248.
(12) Rot. Pip. de iiſd. Ann. Salop.
(13) Lib. Rubr. in Scacc. ſub tit. Salop. The *vetus feoffamentum* was 5 l. the *novum* 15 l. Spelman's Gloſſary ſub tit. ſœdum and miles.
(14) Rot. Pip. 6 R. I.

[E] *A daughter, Roheſia*, &c.] Our Antiquaries differ in their judgments whoſe daughter ſhe was, whether of Alberic the firſt or ſecond. Sir W. Dugdale, who mentions her (as aforeſaid) to be the daughter of the ſaid *Alberic*, yet, in his account of *Pagan de Beauchamp*, he recites her marriage with him, and of her being the widow of Geoffry Mandevil, Earl of Eſſex, and that ſhe was daughter of the ſecond *Alberic* (15). Sir William Seagar, Garter, in his collection of the Baronage in manuſcript, makes her to be the daughter of Alberic firſt mentioned, and to be firſt married to *Pagan de Beauchamp*, and ſecondly to *Geoffry Mandevil*, Earl of Eſſex. Vincent aſſerts (16), that ſhe was daughter of Alberic 2d; alſo that ſhe was married to *Pagan de Beauchamp*: And with him *Weever* (17) and others concur. Nicholas Jekyl Eſq; a laborious Antiquary, contemporary with Selden and Camden, and of their ſociety, has left in manuſcript the pedigrees of the Barons; and in both families, of *Beauchamp* and *Mandevil*, mentions the ſaid *Roheſia* to be daughter of Alberic 2d, and that ſhe died 1 Kal. Oct. 1160; yet there is no account when *Pagan de Beauchamp* died; but her ſon, by him, *Simon de Beauchamp*, was Steward to King Stephen (18), and died before 9 John, when William, his ſon and heir, was of full age, and had livery of his lands (19): whereby it may be concluded, that ſhe had, for her firſt huſband, *Pagan de Beauchamp*, ſon of *Hugh de Beauchamp*, who came in with the Conqueror; which agrees in time: and it is certain he, with his wife *Roheſia*, confirmed to the Monks of *Thorney*, in Cambridgeſhire, the grants of lands that four of her tenants had made to them within her Lordſhip of *Colworth*; and, with her ſaid huſband, was founder of *Chickſand* in Bedfordſhire; and ſhe was buried at *Chickſand* (20). All which, except her burial, was before 1 King Stephen, when ſhe was preſent with her huſband, *Geoffry de Mandevil*, at the conſecration of the church-yard of the Abbey of *Walden* in Eſſex, founded by the ſaid *Geoffry* (21). The ſaid *Roheſia* was a Lady of ſingular piety, and, on the northern edge of the county of Hertford, erected a croſs by the road ſide, which was thought, ſays *Weever*, in *that age a pious* work, to put paſſengers in mind of *Chriſt's paſſion, whereupon it was called* CRUX ROHESIA *before there was either church or town* (22). And under it ſhe cauſed to be made a kind of ſubterraneous chapel or oratory, whither ſhe uſed to retire for her private devotions. This chapel, not long ſince, hath been diſcovered, and largely deſcribed by Dr Stewkley (23). And, near the ſaid croſs, *Euſtachius de Mare*, in the reign of Henry II, founded a Priory of black Canons, ſtiled *de cruce-Roheſia*; and ſoon after, ſays Weever, Inns were built there for the uſe of Travellers, and, in proceſs of time, it grew to be a town, which, inſtead of *Roheſia*'s croſs, was called *Roheſia* town, and thence contracted into *Royſton*.

(15) Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 223, which is a flat contradiction to what he aſſerts in his account of the Vere family, p. 88.
(16) Diſcovery of Brook's errors, p. 400.
(17) Funeral Mon. p. 547.
(18) Richard Haguſtald, p. 315. l. 2.
(19) Rot. Pip. 9 John, Bedford. and Buck.
(20) Mon. Angl. Vol. I. p. 245.
(21) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 793. p. 238. and Vol. I. p. 447, 459, who ſays it was conſecrated by Robert de Sigillo (Keeper of the Signet) Biſhop of London, Nigel of Ely, and William of Norwich, and that it was placed at the Weſt end of the town, upon the meeting of four road-ways, and in an angle of two waters, one returning from Newport, and the other deſtending from the ſide of his caſtle, that was his chief ſeat.
(22) Fun. Mon. in Royſton, p. 51.
(23) In Palæog. Brit. Numb. 1. edit. 1743, 4to.

[F] *He was at the conqueſt of Antioch.*] Leland relates (24) that, in 1098, *Corborant*, Admiral to the Soudan of Perſia, was fought with at Antioche, and diſcumfited by the Chriſtianes. The night coming on, in the chace of this bataile, and waxing dark, the Chriſtianes being four miles from Antioche, God willing, the ſauſte of the Chriſtianes ſhewed a white ſtar, or molette of ſyve pointes, which, to every manne's ſighte, did lighte and arreſt upon the ſtandard of Albrey, there ſhining exceſſively. Thus we ſee that Light and Ornament of Great Britain promptly recording an ordinary natural meteor for a miracle, declarative of an extraordinary Divine interpoſition in favour of a ſet of ſuperſtitious Chriſtians. However, ſuch a ſcrap of credulity is pardonable enough in that diſtinguiſhed Scholar's circumſtances. In reality it was *vitium temporis magis quam hominis*. When *Leland* wrote his *Itinerary* (25), where this ſuperſtitious brat is found, notwithſtanding he had followed his Royal Maſter and munificent Patron Henry VIII, in throwing off the Pope's ſupremacy, and all ſuch tenets as were appendant thereto, yet he certainly ſtill retained, together with the ſame maſter, moſt of the old leaven of the Popiſh faith, which, among other errors, inculcated the firm belief of an unfailing courſe of miracles throughout the whole Chriſtian period. In juſtice to *Leland* it ought likewiſe to be further obſerved, That theſe meteoric ſtars had been unconteſtedly held for miraculous from the earlieſt ages of Chriſtianity, a ſuperſtition that not improbably had its firſt rooting in, and was originally grafted upon, that truly miraculous ſtar which conducted the three Eaſtern Sages to Chriſt. The ſtar upon the Earl of *Oxford*'s ſtandard had, it ſeems, the figure of a mullet, or ſtar with five points or rays: when the ſame kind of meteor has happened to be thrown into four rays, thus

(24) In his Itinerary, as cited in the text.
(25) He begun his travels thro' England, upon this deſign, in 1536, and ſpent ſix years upon them. See his article.

Turkiſh army, ann. 1097, he retook a banner of St George, taken from the Chriſtians; whereupon he afterwards gave the arms of St George in his ſhield. After the death of his father, returning to England, he was made an Earl in King *Stephen*'s time by *Maud* the Empreſs: for by that title ſhe rendered and granted to him all the lands which his father *Alberic de Vere* held at the time of his death, and particularly the office of great Chamberlain of England. Alſo the land of *William de Albrinces*, with the inheritance which he claimed in right of his wife; and the caſtle of *Colcheſter*, as ſoon as ſhe could deliver it to him. The Earldom of Cambridgeſhire, with the third penny thereof, as an Earl ought to have, if the King of the Scots had not that Earldom; or ſhe could procure him to exchange it: But if not, he was to be Earl either of *Oxford*, *Berkſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, or *Dorſetſhire*, at the diſcretion of her brother, the Earl of *Glouceſter*, Earl *Geoffry*, and Earl Giſlebert [Clare]. Alſo the inheritance, to him and his heirs, of *William de Helion*, namely ten Knights fees; likewiſe *Diham*, which belonged to *Roger de Rannis*, and was the right of the nephews of this Earl *Alberic*, viz. the ſons of *Roger de Rannis*. And *Turroc*, which belonged to William Peverell, Earl of Nottingham, and the land of *Salamon*, the Prieſt of *Tillebery*. And to him and his dependants freedom to profit by theſe gifts, without being called to anſwer for any thing which they had done, before they joined *Maud* the Empreſs and the Earl of *Anjou* her huſband *(r)*. This deed was given at Oxford, and ſigned by the Empreſs Maud's own hand, and ſeveral ſureties named for the performance thereof; and that the Earl of *Anjou* her huſband, and *Henry* her ſon, ſhould confirm it under their hands [*G*]. Accordingly that ſon, King Henry II, by a deed, dated at *Dover*, in his paſſage, granted to *Alberic* the Earldom of *Oxford*, and the third penny of the pleas of the county, to him and his heirs *(s)*. In the twelfth of this King's reign, upon levying the aid for marriage of his daughter, Alberic certified his Knights fees to be 28. a 4th and 8th part *(t)*; for which, in the 14th of that reign, he gave 20l. towards the aid *(u)*. In the 2d of Rich. I. he gave a fine of 500 marks for the ſiſter of *Walter* de Bolebec to make a wife for his ſon *(w)*. And in the 6th of that reign, on the collection of the aid for the King's redemption, he paid 30l. 2s. 6d. for the Knights fees he then held *(x)*. Before the end of that year he died, and was interred in the Priory at *Colne*, where a monument was erected to his memory [*H*]. By his ſecond wife *(y)*, *Lucia*, daughter and heir to *William de Albrinces* [*I*], he had two ſons, *Alberic* and *Robert*, ſucceſſively Earls of Oxford [*K*].

(r) Vincent's diſcovery of Brook's errors, p. 400, as before.

(s) He had been a witneſs to King *Stephen*'s ſettling the crown of England, ann. 1153, in favour of Henry. Rymer'sFœd. Vol. I. p. 13.

(t) Lib. Rub. in Scacc. Eſſex.

(u) Rot. Pip. 14 Hen. II. Eſſex.

(w) Ibid. 2 R. I. Eſſex.

(x) Ibid. 6 R. I. Eſſex.

(y) His firſt wife, Euphemia, daughter of Sir William Cantelupe, brought him no iſſue. Vincent on Brook, p. 396.

Alberic the eldeſt, and *ſecond Earl of Oxford*, was with the King in Normandy in the life-time of his Father *(z)*, and at his death, viz. in 7 Rich. I, gave 100l. for his relief *(aa)*; as alſo 500 marks, upon collecting the aid for the King's redemption *(bb)*. Likewiſe, 8 Rich I, he paid 30l. 2s. 6d. upon collecting the third ſcutage of Normandy *(cc)*. In 6 John *(dd)* he gave 200 marks for the *tertium denarium* of Oxfordſhire, paid to the Earl of that county as cuſtomary *(ee)*. In 10 John he was Sheriff of Eſſex and Hertfordſhire *(ff)* for one half of that year, and ſo continued till the 15th of John *(gg)*. In the 14th of that reign he was a witneſs, made between the King and the Earl of Bulloign, not to make a ſeparate peace with France *(hh)*; and being firm in the intereſt of King John, he was one of the

(z) Rot. Pip. 9 R. I. Buck. and Beds.

(aa) Ibid. 7 R. I.

(bb) Ibid.

(cc) Ibid. 8 R. I. Eſſex.

(dd) In the 5th year of K. John, upon his ſettling his Q. Iſabel's dower, the laſt was one of the witneſſes, and affixed his ſeal to the deed. Rymer'sFœd. Vol. I. p. 134, 135.

(ee) Rot. Pip. 6 John, Eſſex.

(ff) Ibid. 10 John, Eſſex and Hertf.

(gg) Ibid. de iiſdem annis.

(hh) Rymer, Vol. I. p. 151.

thus exhibiting the form (how rudely ſoever) of a croſs, that figure rivetted the belief of a miracle therein. The croſs is particularly ſacred to Chriſtianity, and the appearance of one has been conſtantly held for a *ſignum ſalutis* to the Chriſtians. Thus, for inſtance, when *Julian* the *Apoſtate*, for the particular encouragement of the Jewiſh religion, ſet about rebuilding the temple of Jeruſalem, great numbers of theſe meteoric croſſes or ſtars happened to light upon the cloaths of the workmen and by-ſtanders: What was the conſequence? Did not the Chriſtian writers, even the moſt famed for learning and ſound ſenſe (26), claim them, with the utmoſt aſſurance of faith, for ſo many miracles, denouncing the overthrow of that attempt: A piece of ſuperſtition, which has been marked by the preſent Biſhop of Glouceſter (27); who indeed may be thought to have laviſhed more learning and labour upon it than would have been needful, had not the delicacy of his deſign required ſuch a conduct. The reputation of the Fathers was to be carefully managed, and the weight of their evidence in general was to be ſignified by the reſpect ſhewn in the extraordinary pains taken to ſet it aſide in one particular, which was to be cenſured ſo as not to hurt the credit of their teſtimony with regard to the miracle of the fiery eruption, the truth whereof his Lordſhip had undertaken to aſſert.

(26) As Gregory Nazianzen, in particular.

(27) In his Julian &c. chap. III. edit. 1752, 8vo.

[*G*] *The deed was to be confirmed by Henry.*] In the ſame deed ſhe grants to *Geffery de Veer* all the land that was Geoffry *Talbot*'s, or the value of it, at the diſcretion of *Geoffry*, Earl of *Eſſex*, Earl *Giſlebert*, and Earl *Alberic*, brother to the ſaid *Geffery de Veer*. And to *Robert de Veer* a Barony, of equal worth with his brother Geoffry's (or an equivalent) within a year after ſhe had poſſeſſion of the realm of England. And to the ſaid *Alberic*, her office of Chancellor, for the uſe of his brother, *William de Veer*, as ſoon as it could be got from William, brother of John, the ſon of Giſlebert, who then had it.

[*H*] *A monument to his memory at Colne.*] The monument, on the ſuppreſſion of the Priory, was removed into the church of *Earls-Colne*, having his effigies lying croſs-legged, and a Saracen's head thereon, as a memorial of having killed one in the Holy land, and this inſcription: *Hic jacet Albericus de Vere, filius Alberici de Vere, Comes de Guiſney, & primus Comes Oxoniæ, Magnus Camerarius Angliæ, qui, propter ſummam audaciam & effrenatam pravitatem, Grymme Aubrey vocabatur. Obiit 26 die Decembris, anno Chriſti 1194, Ricardi I. ſexto* (28).

(28) Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 613, 615, i. e. Here lies Alberic de Vere, ſon of Alberic de Vere, Earl of Guiſnes, and firſt Earl of Oxford, Great Chamberlain of England, who, for his conſummate boldneſs and unbridled depravity, was called Grimme Aubrey, &c. Leland ſays he was named Aubrey the Grymme, for his greatneſs of ſtature and ſterne look. Itin. Vol. VI. p. 38.

[*I*] *His ſecond wife Lucia was daughter to William de Albrinces.*] This firſt Earl of Oxford is alſo ſaid to marry a daughter of *Henry de Eſſex*, Baron of *Raleigh*, mentioned above, in the text, to marry *Adeliza* [*Alice*] Earl *Alberic*'s ſiſter, who was ſecondly the wife of Roger *Fitz-Richard*, Lord of *Warkworth* in *Northumberland* (29). But it is alſo evident, by the aforeſaid grant of *Maud* the Empreſs, that the wife of the ſaid *Alberic* was daughter of *William de Albrinces*; for ſhe grants to him all the lands of the ſaid *William*, with the whole inheritance, which he claimed in right of his wife. Beſides a Priory of Nuns at *Ikelington* in Cambridgeſhire (30), he alſo founded that of *Heningham* in *Eſſex*, *Lucia*, his wife, being the firſt Prioreſs there. He likewiſe founded the Priory of *Hatfield-Broad-Oak* in com. *Eſſex*, and gave *Hegford*, with a certain wood called *Alcotebegh*, to the Nuns of *St. Croſs* (31).

(29) Dugdale's Mon. Aug. ubi ſupra, who makes her the ſiſter of Roheſia before mentioned.

(30) Leland's Itinerar. as laſt cited.

(31) Mon. Ang. Vol. I. p. 545, 1020, 1021.

[*K*] *Two ſons—Earls of Oxford.*] Beſides theſe ſhe alſo brought him another ſon, *William de Vere*, who was a great builder, and conſecrated Biſhop of Hereford in 1186, 33 Henry II. He died December 24, 1199, and was buried againſt the South wall, oppoſite to the preſbytery of the Cathedral church of Hereford, where a tomb, erected to his memory, was remaining in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (32). *Henry de Vere* is ſaid to be another ſon; and he had alſo two daughters, *Adeliza* and *Sarah*, wife of *Richard de Engayn* the elder, of *Blatherwick* in *Lincolnſhire* (33).

(32) Godwin's Cat. of Biſhops of England, p. 374, 375.

(33) Miller, p. 679.

Nobles then reputed evil Counſellors to that King *(ii)*. In 16 John he died, and was buried at *Colne (kk)*. He married *Adeliza* [*Alice*], daughter of *Roger Bigot*, Earl of Norfolk, and left iſſue *Margaret*, his daughter and heir, married to Hugh, Earl of Cheſter *(ll)*. To this Alberic ſucceeded

Robert his brother, *the third Earl of Oxford*, who the ſame year, 16 John, gave 100 marks to the King for livery of the lands of his inheritance, with the caſtles of Heningham and Camenent; together with the wardſhip of the heir of *William Fitz-Oats*, to marry to his niece *(mm)*. The ſame year he was alſo one of the witneſſes to that grant, whereby the King, on a vacancy among the Eccleſiaſtics, gave them licence to make a free choice among themſelves *(nn)*. In the 17th of John he was one of the chief of thoſe Barons that took up arms againſt the King, and was party to the covenants then made between them, whereby they were to have the city and Tower of London delivered up into their hands *(oo)*. But, upon the death of King John, a peaceable accord being made between Henry III. and theſe Barons, Earl Robert was received into favour. In 4 Henry III. he was one of the Judges in the King's court of juſtice *(pp)*; as he was alſo in 5 Henry III *(qq)*. In which year he departed this life, and was buried in the Priory of *Hatfield-Broad-Oak* in Eſſex [*L*]. He married *Iſabel*, daughter of *Hugh*, and ſiſter and heir of *Walter de Bolebec*, of Bolebec-caſtle in *Witchurch*, in com. Bucks, by whom he left iſſue a daughter, Iſabel, wife of Sir *John Courtney*; and two ſons, *Hugh* and Sir *Henry Vere (rr)* [*M*]. His wife, ſurviving him, gave a fine to the King, 6 Henry III, of 2228l. 2s. 9d. for the wardſhip of Hugh, her ſon and heir *(ss)*, which fine was over and above a debt of Earl Robert, her huſband, of 1780l. 11s. [*N*].

Hugh, fourth Earl of Oxford, in 14 Henry III, was one of the witneſſes to that league the King made with *Reginald*, Earl of *Boloigne*, to make no peace or truce with the King of France without a mutual conſent *(tt)*. In 1233, 17 Henry III, he was ſolemnly knighted at Glouceſter, on the King's ſolemnizing the feaſt of Pentecoſt there *(uu)*. In the 21ſt of Henry III. the King ordered twenty marks yearly to be paid him for the third penny of the county of Oxford, as Earl of that county *(vvv)*. And, 23 Henry III, on a difference between the King and the Monks of Winchester, relating to the election of an Archbiſhop of that ſee, he, with other peers, wrote about it to the Pope, who returned them for anſwer, that his Legate had inſtructions to provide a perſon of whom the King could have no ſuſpicion *(xx)*. In the 30th of Henry III. he was one of the Barons who ſubſcribed that letter ſent to the Pope, complaining of his exactions upon this realm *(yy)*. In 32 Henry III. he was in that parliament wherein the King was upbraided by the Lords with his licentious expences, and that his Treaſurer and Chancellor were not perſons of their approbation *(zz)*. In 33 Henry III. he paid 1000 marks to the King for the wardſhip and marriage of Alice, heir of Gilbert de Saunford *(aaa)*, whom he married to Robert his ſon ſoon after *(bbb)*. In 44 Henry III. he went againſt Lewellin, ſon of Griffin, his accomplice, and other rebels in Wales *(ccc)*. He married *Hawiſe*, daughter of *Sayer de Quincey*, Earl of *Winchester (ddd)*, and, with his wife, lies buried at Colne [*O*].

Robert, his ſon, *fifth Earl of Oxford*, in his father's life-time, having taken upon him the croſs, in order to go to the Holy land, had thereupon the King's protection *(eee)* for three years, and probably ſtaid there during that term; for nothing further appears of him till after the death of his father, when, in 48 Henry III, he was one of thoſe powerful peers who ſet their hands and ſeals to the Ordinances made by Simon de Montfort and his accomplices at London, in the parliment held in June, 1264, till ſuch time as a peace ſhould be

(*ii*) Matth.Paris, 131. n. 10.
(*kk*) Leland's Collect. Vol. II. p. 324.
(*ll*) Leland's Itinerary, Vol. VI. p. 38.
(*mm*) Rot. Pip. 16 John, Eſſex and Hertf. & Clauſ. 16 John, m. 19.
(*nn*) Rymer, Vol. I. p. 198.
(*oo*) Clauſ. 17 Joh. in dorſo, m. 4. and Rymer, Vol. I. p. 201. He was alſo in the number of thoſe whom Pope Innocent III. excommunicated on that occaſion. M.Paris, p. 254. and Rymer, Vol. I, p. 211.
(*pp*) Fin. Levat. T. Paſch. 4 H. III.
(*qq*) Ibid. Craſt. Mart. 5 H. III.
(*rr*) Rot. Pip. 9 John, Eſſex and Hertf. Miller's Catal. of Honour, p. 678.
(*ss*) Rot. Fin. 6 H. III. m. 9.
(*tt*) Rymer, Vol. I. p. 158. N. B. 15 H. III. performing his homage, he had livery of all the lands of his father. Clauſ. 15 H. III. m. 1.
(*uu*) MS. in Bibl. Bodl. K. 84. Cant. f. 50.
(*vvv*) Pat. 21 H. III. m. 5.
(*xx*) Rymer, Vol. I. p. 387, 388.
(*yy*) M. Paris, 700. a. n. 60.
(*zz*) Ibid. 743. n. 50. and 744. n. 30.
(*aaa*) Rot. Pip. 33 H. 14. Eſſex and Hertf.
(*bbb*) Leland's Collect. Vol. II. p. 375.
(*ccc*) Rymer, Vol. I. p. 706, 707.
(*ddd*) Leland, p. 38. and Rot. Pip. 7 Hen. III. ſub tit. Honor. Bolon.
(*eee*) Rymer, Vol. I. p. 447.

[*L*] *He was buried at Hatfield-Broad-Oak.*] Where he had the following memorial: Sir *Robert* of *Vere* the firſt, and the third Earl of Oxenford, lyeth here: God, if he pleaſe, have mercy on his ſoule. Whoſoever ſhall pray for his ſoule, ſhall obtain a forty-days pardon (34).

(34) Miller's Cat. of Honour, p. 678.

[*M*] *Sir Henry Vere.*] He was of *Great Addington* in com. *Northampton:* His ſon and heir, Sir *Robert Vere*, was Sheriff of the ſaid county in 33 Edw. I. (35), and had iſſue *Richard Vere*, of *Great Addington*, who had to wife *Iſabel*, daughter of *John Green*, of *Drayton* in the county of Northampton, Eſq; (36), and ſiſter and heir to *Henry* her brother; by which match the manor and manſion of *Drayton* accrued to his poſterity, that terminated, in the male line, in Sir *Henry Vere*, who was poſſeſſed of *Great Addington*, *Drayton*, and *Thrapſton*, in Northamptonſhire, and was Sheriff of the ſaid county 1 Henry II (37). He had to wife *Iſabel*, daughter to Sir Thomas Treſham, of Ruſhton in com. Northampt. and left iſſue four daughters, his coheirs; firſt, *Elizabeth*, wife of John, Lord Mordant, anceſtor to Charles, now * Earl of Peterborough, who had thereby, on partition, the manor of Drayton, now poſſeſſed by the Lady Elizabeth Germaine, daughter of Charles, Earl of Berkley. Second, *Ann*, wife of Sir *Humphry Brown*, of *Abbots Reading* in Eſſex, made Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-pleas (38), 4 Henry VIII, and had iſſue Sir *Weſton Brown*. Third, *Conſtance*, wife of John Parr, Eſq: who died without iſſue by her. Fourth, *Ethelred*, married to John Brown, of *Rookſwood-Hall* in *Abbots-Rooding*, *Eſſex*, Eſq;

(35) Fuller's Worthies in Northamptonſhire.
(36) Seager's Baronage MS.
(37) Fuller's Worthies, Præd.
(*) Viz. in 1752.
(38) Pat. 34 H. VIII. p. 207.

[*N*] *Iſabel his wife ſurvived him*, &c.] She was after married to *Henry de Novant* (39), and died the day after the purification of our Lady, 29 Henry III, having founded the abbey of Woborne (40), and the houſe of Friar Preachers at Oxford, where ſhe was buried (41).

(39) Rot. Pip. 20 Henry III. Devon.
(40) Leland's Itin. Vol. VI. p. 38.
(41) Miller, p. 679.

[*O*] *He lies buried, with his wife, at Colne.*] The following epitaph is engraven on their tomb:

Hic jacent Hugo de Veer ejus nominis primus Comes Oxonie Quartus, Magnus Camerarius Anglie, filius & hæres Roberti Comitis et Hawiſie Uxoris ejus, filia Saeri de Quinci Comitis Wintonie. Qui quidem Hugo obiit MCCLXIII. Quarum animabus propitietur altiſſimus (42).

(42) Weever's Fun.Mon.p.616.

He founded the hoſpital at *Caſtle Heningham* in Eſſex (43). He alſo beſtowed on the Knights Templars the church of *Radenache* in Buckinghamſhire (44). The inquiſition taken after his death, 47 Henry III, ſets forth, that he died ſeized of the manor of *Kenſington* in com. Middleſex, the manors of *Caſtreton* and *Whitchurch* in com. *Buck*. The manor of *Campes* in com. Cantabr. (45), which manor appertained to the Barony in right of his office as Chamberlain of England; alſo the manor of *Aviton* in that county, appertaining likewiſe to his Barony: Alſo of the manors of *Cokefeud* and *Preſton* in com. *Suffolk*; of *Hengham* caſtle in com. *Eſſex*, and advowſon of the Priory there; with the hamlet of *Tillebyri*, and manors of *Hengham*, *Rawetiles*, *Bonethy*, and *Colun*, held likewiſe of the King in capite, by the ſervice of Chamberlain of England, together with the advowſon of the Priory of *Colun* or *Colne* (46).

(43) For the health (*as expreſſed in thoſe times*) of his wife, children, and anceſtors. Mon.Angl. Vol. I. p. 202.
(44) Ib. Vol. II. p. 545.
(45) Whereof the Park was four miles in compaſs.
(46) Eſcaet. 48 H. VIII. n. 26. Middleſex.

concluded

concluded between the King and his Barons [P]; and, on the 24th of December following, the King, at Woodſtock, informed the Earl of Oxford, that whereas, after many diſtractions in the kingdom, his eldeſt ſon, Prince *Edward*, for the tranquillity and peace of the realm, is become an hoſtage, and, all matters reconciled, he commands him to be at London on the octave of Hilary next, to give his aſſent for the more effectual performance thereof *(fff)*. On the 16th of February, 1265, 49 Henry III, the King, at Weſtminſter, ſignified to *Simon de Mountford*, *Gilbert de Clare*, and *Robert de Veer*, Earls of Leiceſter, Glouceſter, and Oxford, with other great Barons, who had appointed a meeting at Dunſtable, to tilt (as given out) to forbear coming there *(ggg)*: And as the day after, viz. Aſh-Wedneſday, was concluded on to treat finally about ſetting at liberty Edward, his eldeſt ſon, he commands them to attend him on that day. But ſhortly after, in the ſame year, being one of the Barons in arms againſt the King *(hhh)*, and made Knight in the field by *Mountfort (iii)* (the chief of them) he was, among others, ſurprized at *Kenilworth (kkk)*, a little before the battle of *Eveſham*, which proved ſo fatal to *Mountfort* and thoſe rebels. But afterwards, making his peace according to the tenor of that decree, called *Dictum de Kenelworth*, he, in 4 Edward I, was one of the council to whom was communicated a letter from *Lewellin*, Prince of Wales, refuſing to do his homage *(lll)*. Whereupon his Highneſs, by advice of his Council, forbids all correſpondence with the ſaid *Lewellin*; and, in the tenth year of this reign, Earl *Robert* was employed againſt the Welch *(mmm)*. He died in 24 Eward I. *(nnn)*, leaving iſſue by Alice, daughter and heir of Gilbert Lord Samford aforeſaid, Chamberlain to the Queen of England in fee, ſeveral children [Q], beſides his eldeſt ſon.

(fff) Rymer, Vol. I. p. 803.

(ggg) Ibid. p. 806.

(hhh) Eſcaet. 49 H. III. n. 3.

(iii) MS. in Bibl. Bodl. Med. 20. 119. a.

(kkk) Chron. MS. in Bibl. Bodl. K. 84. Cant. 63. a.

(lll) Rymer, Vol. II. p. 68, 69.

(mmm) Rot. de Scutag. Wall, 10 Edw. I. m. 4.

(nnn) Eſc. 24 Edward I. n. 26. Leiceſt.

Robert de Vere, who ſucceeded him, became *ſixth Earl of Oxford*, and was ſurnamed the good Earl of Oxford, his goverment, both in peace and war, being ſo prudent, his hoſpitality and works of charity ſo wiſely abundant, and his temperance with a reli-

[P] *The peace concluded between the King and his Barons.*] In this treaty are the following remarkable articles: 1. That three wiſe and loyal perſons ſhall be elected, with power from the King (who was then in their cuſtody) to nominate nine Counſellors, three of whom always to attend in court. 2. The King, by the advice of the ſaid nine, to order and diſpoſe all matters relating to the kingdom, and to elect a Juſtice, Chancellor, Treaſurer, and other officers, for the government of the kingdom; any of which nine ſhall, by the advice of the aforeſaid three, be removed, and others nominated. 3. That all officers may be removed by the aſſent of the Nine. 4. That Two of the Three, upon any difference, ſhall be a majority; and, in caſe of a difference between the Nine, the aforeſaid Three to determine it (47).

(47) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. I. p. 793, et ſeq.

[Q] *He left ſeveral children, beſides Robert, by Alice, his wife.*] Theſe were, 1. *Alphonſus de Vere*, Knt. who had to wife *Jane*, daughter of Sir *Richard Foliot*, Knt. by whom he had a ſon, *John*, hereafter mentioned, as ſucceeding to the title of Earl of Oxford (48). 2. *Hugh de Vere*, who eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf. In 21 Edward I, being then in the wars of France, he was made Governor of St *Cyverine*, having 200 horſe and many foot in that garriſon (49). And the next year he was there alſo, with *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaſter* (the King's brother) and *Blanch* his wife, the Queen of Navarre (mother to the Queen of France), and the Duke of Burgundy, at the ratification of the peace made betwixt both realms through the mediation of thoſe Queens (50). In 24 Edward I. he went Ambaſſador, to conclude a truce with the French King; alſo to *Reginald*, Earl of Guelderland, to treat about an alliance with him; likewiſe to take the oath of Florence, Earl of Flanders and Zealand, relating to the agreement of the ſaid Earl to furniſh the King with armed men (51). In 25 Edw. I. he was ſent with the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Ely*, *William de Valence* Earl of Pembroke, and others, to treat of peace between the Kings of England and France (52), and continued in Gaſcoigne, in the King's ſervice, a great part of that year (53); and, for his good ſervice in thoſe parts, had a ſpecial livery of the lands of William, the ſon of *Warine de Mountchenſi*, whoſe daughter and heir, *Dyonifia*, he had married, though ſhe was not then of full age (54). In 26 Edward I. the King at Ghent notified to the Pope, that, in order to ſettle a peace with the King of France, he ſends to him *Hugh de Veer* and *Otta de Grandiſon*, Knts, deſiring him to counſel and help them (55). And accordingly he went to the Court at Rome (56). 27 Edward I. he obtained a Charter for Free Warren in all his Demeſne lands within his Lordſhips of *Haiwode* in com. *Norfolk*, and *Haſingbroke* and *Phanges* in Eſſex (57): and he was at the Abbey of *Holmcoltham* in Scotland, Oct. 7, 1300, 28 Edward I, when Robert, Biſhop of Glaſcow, ſwore fealty to King Edward as his lawful Sovereign (58). In 29 Edward I. he was employed, with *John* Earl *Warren*, and others, to treat with certain French Ambaſſadors about the peace with the Scots (59), and, 32 Edward I, being returned to England, did his fealty to the King for the lands of his wife's inheritance (60). He was alſo the ſame year in the wars of Scotland (61). In 34 Edw. I. he was employed in the Scottiſh wars (62). In 1 Edward II. he was ſummoned to be at the King's coronation, as was alſo his wife *Dyonifia* (63), by whom it ſeems he had no iſſue: For, upon her death, 7 Edw. II, *Ademare de Valence*, ſon of the Lady *Joan de Valence*, was found to be her next heir, ſhe then dying ſeized of the manors of *Eaſt* and *Weſt Hanyngfeld*, *Stanford*, and *Fenge*, with the advowſons of thoſe churches; as alſo of the manors of *Rodefwell*, *Great Fordham*, and *Thuritone*, with the advowſon of the church of *Thuritone*, all in Eſſex (64).

(48) Miller's Cat. Hon. p. 682.

(49) Knighton, p. 2499. n. 10. and 2500. n. 20.

(50) Tho. Walſing. p. 24. n. 40.

(51) Rymer, Vol. II. p. 703, 704.

(52) Rot. Aleman. 25 Edw. I. m. 15.

(53) Rot. Vaſcon. 25 Edw. I. m. 14.

(54) Clauſ. 25 Edw. I. m. 10.

(55) Rymer, Vol. II. p. 808.

(56) Clauſ. 26 Edw. I. m. 12.

(57) Cart. 27 Edw. I. n. 29.

(58) Rymer, Vol. II. p. 867.

(59) Rot. Alem. 29 Edw. I. m. 7.

(60) Rot. Fin. 32 Edw. I. m. 2.

(61) Rot. Scoc. 32 Edw. I. m. 7.

(62) Ibid. 34 Edward I. m. 3.

(63) Rymer, Tom. III. p. 53, 60.

(64) Eſc. 7 Edward II. n. 51. Eſſex.

This Earl Robert had alſo two daughters; *Joan*, married to *William de Warren*, ſon of John, Earl Warren and Surrey, who had with her, by gift of her father, the manors of *Midingham*, *Tyburne*, *Pritewell*, *Wiſhamſtone*, *Nechamſtede*, and *Gynges*, with lands in *Ceſtreſham* of 10l. a year (65). He had by her a daughter, Alice, married to Edmund, the ſon of *Allan*, Earl of *Arundel*, and died before his father, 18th Kal. January, 1286, in the nineteenth year of his age, leaving the ſaid Joan his wife great with child, who, 2 Kal. July, was delivered of a ſon, named, after his grandfather, John, and ſucceeded him in the Earldoms of *Arundel* and *Surrey*, and was alſo Earl of *Strathern* in Scotland, but deceaſed, without lawful iſſue, on the anniverſary of his birth-day, anno 1347, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, leaving *Alice*, his ſiſter, heir to all his eſtates, married, as ſaid before, to Edmund Fitz-Allan, Earl of Arundel, and had by him a ſon, Richard, who ſucceeded in the Earldoms of Arundel and Surrey, which through the Mowbrays, Dukes of Norfolk, deſcended to the Howards, Dukes of Norfolk (66).

(65) Clauſ. 12 Edw. I. m. 5, and 13.

(66) Miller, p. 629, 630.

The other daughter of Earl Robert and Alice, his wife, was *Lora*, wife of Reginald de Argentein, with whom her brother, Earl Robert, gave the manor of Ketlingham in Norfolk in dower; and from her deſcended the families of the Lord *Fitz-Warin*, *St George of Hatley*, *St George* in Cambridgeſhire, and the *Allingtons* of *Horſeheath* in the ſame county (67).

(67) Ibid. p. 682.

This Earl Robert, in 18 Edward I, obtained the King's charter for an annual fair at his manor of *Lanham* in *Suffolk*, on Monday, Tueſday, and Wedneſday, in Eaſter week (68). And for works of piety it appears, that, for the health of his ſoul, he gave to the Knights Hoſpitalers all his royalty, and ſervices of two Knights fees in *Aſhly* and *Silverly* which Geffry Arſick had wont to perform unto them (69). And, 16 Edward I, 145 acres of land and meadow in *Bilchaungre* and *Takeleigh* in *Eſſex*, to the Canons of *Tremenkale*, for the health of the ſoul of *Gilbert* his ſon (70).

(68) Cart. 18 Edward I. n. 18.

(69) Mon. Angl. Vol. II. 507. a.

(70) Ibid. 24. b. p. 10. Eſcaet. 71 Edw. I. n. 75. Eſſex.

gious zeal ſo admirably conjoined, that the common people eſteemed him as a Saint (ooo). He inherited from his father the office of Great Chamberlain of England and the title of Lord *Bolebec*, and in right of his mother was Lord *Samford*. In 23 Edward I, his father then living, he was commanded by the King to attend his brother *Edmund*, Earl of *Lancaſter*, with horſe and arms to *Gaſcony (ppp)*. In 25 Edward I. the King required him to be preſent, with his Counteſs, at the marriage of his daughter *Elizabeth* to the Earl of *Holland* at Ipſwich *(qqq)*. In 26 Edward II. he attended the King on an expedition to Scotland *(rrr)*, and was alſo in that war the following year *(sss)*, and in 30 Edward I. was Sheriff of Northampton *(ttt)*. In 34 Edward I. he was ſummoned to aſſiſt at ſettling the aid in the knighting, at Weſtminſter, on the morrow of the Holy Trinity, of the King's ſon, *Prince Edward (uuu)*, afterwards Edward II, upon whoſe acceſſion to the throne, the Earl and his Counteſs were ſummoned, January 10, 1 Edward II, to attend at the King's coronation on the Sunday after Valentine's day at Weſtminſter, on which ſolemnity, *Thomas de Vere*, the Earl's eldeſt ſon, together with the *Earl of Arundel*, *Hugh de Spencer*, and *Roger de Mortimer* of *Wigmore*, bore the Royal robes *(wwww)*. July 30, 1309, 3 Edward II, he received the King's commands to march againſt the Scots at Michaelmas next enſuing. On which buſineſs he was alſo ſummoned again, 7 Edward II, and in the tenth of that reign he went by the Royal command againſt the Welch (*xxx*). In the 18th of Edward II. he attended the King into Gaſcony againſt the French *(yyy)*. In the 1ſt of Edward III. he was commanded to attend in arms againſt any hoſtile attempt that ſhould be made by *Robert de Bruce* and his adherents, who, in caſe he could not obtain a peace to his liking in treaty, to be negotiated on the marches of Wales, threatened to invade England (*zzz*). In the 4th of Edward II. the King, April 2, 1330, notified to his Treaſurer and Chamberlains, that Robert de Veer, Earl of Oxford, had ſet forth, that by inheritance he claimed to be Chamberlain to the Queen on the day of her coronation, and that he and his anceſtors, time immemorial, have enjoyed and exerciſed the ſame office. That, for the fee on that day, they received the Queen's bed, her ſhoes, and ſandals, three ſilver baſons in which the Queen is ſerved, viz. one for the waſhing of her head, and two for her hands; that the King was willing to deliver the ſame to him on account of the coronation of Queen Philippa his conſort, on which day he attended as Chamberlain; and that, as it evidently appeared he and his anceſtors had enjoyed the ſame, he had the ſhoes and ſandals delivered to him; therefore he now orders his ſaid Treaſurer and Chamberlains to pay him, in lieu of the ſaid bed, a hundred marks (*4a*). This Earl died the 19th of April, 5 Edward III, and was ſolemnly buried at the Priory of Colne (*4b*). He had iſſue by *Margaret*, his wife, daughter of *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of March, one ſon, Thomas de Veer [*R*], who dying in his life-time, the Earldom fell to his nephew,

John, the *ſeventh Earl of Oxford* (*4c*), who, at twenty years of age, ſubſcribed to that agreement the King made with *Patrick*, *Earl of March*, and others, for a ceſſation of arms on Tueſday, the feaſt of St Margaret the Virgin, 1333, 7 Edward III *(4d)*, and the year after he was in the expedition made into Scotland (*4e*). His Lordſhip attended the ſame King in his wars againſt the Scots in the ninth and tenth years of his reign (*4f*), and in the fourteenth went with him to Flanders. In the fifteenth he was at the great feaſt and juſting in London, which the King cauſed to be made in reſpect to the Counteſs of *Saliſbury* (*4g*), and the ſame year had an aſſignation out of the ſubſidy then levied of 300l. in part of a greater ſum due to him for his ſervices in the King's wars beyond-ſea (*4h*). He had alſo that year a ſummons, dated November 4, 15 Edward III, to be at *Newcaſtle* upon Tyne with forty *Gens d'Armes* and Archers on the 24th of January, ready to march againſt the Scots. In 16 Edward III. he was again in the wars of France, in which ſervice he had forty men at arms (himſelf accounted) one Banneret, nine Knights, twenty-nine Eſquires, and thirty Archers on horſeback, with an allowance of fifty-ſix ſacks of wool for the wages of himſelf and his retinue (*4i*). In 17 Edward III. he accompanied *Henry de Lancaſter* Earl of *Derby*, and other great Lords, into Scotland, for raiſing the ſiege of *Laumaban-caſtle* (*4k*); but before their arrival the Scots had retreated (*4l*). And ſoon after the King coming to *Berwick*, with all his forces, a truce was made for two years. After which, the ſame year, the Earl embarked with *William Montague* Earl of *Saliſbury*, and other Lords, to aid the Counteſs of *Montfort* in *Bretagne*; and in their way met with a fleet fitted out by the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, which lay to intercept them before the iſle of *Guernſey*; on which the two fleets engaging, the action was very bloody, being fought with much fury and bravery till night parted them. About midnight aroſe ſuch a ſtorm as ſeparated the fleets (*4m*). The Earl of Oxford, with

[*R*] *He had iſſue one ſon, Thomas de Veer.*] Sir *William Dugdale* (71), in his account of this family, has recited ſome particulars of *Thomas de Veer*, whom he makes a younger brother of the ſaid *Robert*, Earl of Oxford; but it does not appear, by any authority, that he had ſuch a brother; and what Sir William mentions of him is certainly true of Thomas de Veer, ſon of the ſaid Earl Robert, which is evident in what he ſays of him. In 32 Edward I. he was in the wars of Scotland (72), and in 34 Edward I. he was knighted with *Prince Edward*, by Bathing and divers other ſacred ceremonies, and is expreſsly ſaid to be ſon and heir to the Earl of Oxford (73). The ſame year he attended the Prince in his expedition into Scotland (74). On the coronation of Edward II. he attended, and is ſtiled *Thomas de Veer*, ſon and heir of the Earl of *Oxford*. In 12 Edward II. he was again in the wars of Scotland (75), and, in 18 Edward II, the King having appointed him guardian of the coaſts of Eſſex, the Biſhop of London had the King's orders to adminiſter to him the oaths for that office (76). He married, in 8 Edward II, Agnes, widow of Pain Tiptoft, but had no iſſue by her (77). His father, Robert Earl of Oxford, in 3 Edward III, obtained the King's charter for a court-leet at his manor of *Cheſham* in Bucks, with all thoſe profits and advantages that the Sheriff of that county uſed to enjoy there, paying yearly five marks into the King's Exchequer. As alſo another charter for his tenants of *Lavenham* in *Suffolk* to be *Toll free* throughout all England (78).

(ooo) Leland, p. 38. Miller's Cat. of Honour, p. 683. Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 616.
(ppp) Rymer, Vol. II. p. 688.
(qqq) Id. p. 736.
(rrr) Id. p. 823. and Rot. Scoc. 26 Edw. I. m. 9.
(sss) Ibid. 27 Edward I. m. 16.
(ttt) Fuller's Worthies, in cod. comitat.
(uuu) Rymer, Vol. II. p. 986.
(wwww) Idem, Vol. III. p. 52, and 63.
(xxx) Ibid. p. 108, et ſeq. et p. 463. and Vol. IV. p. 694.
(yyy) Ibid. p. 113. He had the other ſummons, 19 Edward III, but was excuſed afterwards, on the proſpect of a peace. Ibid. p. 217.
(zzz) Ib. p. 281.
(4a) Ibid. p. 217.
(4b) Eſc. 5 Edward III. n. 71. Leiceſt.
(4c) Ibid.
(4d) Rymer, Vol. IV. p. 564, 566.
(4e) Rot. Scoc. 8 Edw. III. m. 9. The truce expiring the next year, the King, about Midſummer, went to the head of his army at Newcaſtle, and was attended by this Earl of Oxford, and the Scots were obliged to ſubmit to King Edward at St Johnſton, where both were. Ibid. 9 Ed. III. m. 27. and Barnes's hiſt. of Edw. III. p. 94 to 99.
(4f) Rot. Scoc. 20 Edward III. m. 27. and Barnes, p. 102.
(4g) Froiſart, Chron. fol. 45.
(4h) Clauſ. 15 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 31.
(4i) Rymer, Tom. V. p. 290.
(4k) Tho. Walſingham, in cod. ann. p. 150.
(4l) Barnes, p. 269.
(4m) Id. p. 270.
(71) Baronage, Vol. II. p. 192. col. 2.
(72) Rot. Scoc. 31 Edw. I. m. 7.
(73) Comp. Joh. de Drokenesford Cuſtod. mag. garderobæ penes Remem. R. in Scacc. and Aſhmole's order of the Garter, p. 38.
(74) Rot. Scoc. 34 Edw. I. m. 9.
(75) Id. 12 Edward II. m. 13.
(76) Rymer, Vol. IV. p. 77.
(77) Clauſ. 8 Edward II. m. 4.
(78) Cart. 5 Edward III. n. 8. and 30.

the

he Engliſh, when the ſtorm was over, landed in *Bretagne*, near the city of *Vannes*, to which hey preſently laid ſiege, and took both the town and caſtle by ſtratagem, thus; the Earl of Oxford and his forces approaching ſilently to the walls without any difficulty, mounted up caling ladders, and entered the town, which ſo diſmayed the French, that every man ſhifted or himſelf, and eſcaped out of a privy poſtern (4n). The ſiege of Rennes and Nantes followed that of Vannes the ſame year, in both which our Earl ſignalized himſelf: but theſe, as alſo the particulars of the campaign the enſuing year, 18 Edward III, together with the famous battles of *Creſſy* and *Poictiers*, under the Black Prince, are too much known to be retailed here; and the glorious ſhare our Earl had in them is particularly enlarged on by Mr *Barnes*, in his hiſtory of this King, to which therefore we refer the Reader: And only obſerve, that, notwithſtanding the great and exemplary ſervices the Earl of Oxford had performed for his King and country, it does not appear that he had any beneficial grants; and probably his large eſtate made him leſs ſollicitous to obtain any ſuch favour, contenting himſelf with the glory he had atchieved. On the 24th of June, 32 Edward III, the truce between England and France (which from the battle of Poictiers had continued, with expectation of a full peace) being wholly expired, the French refuſed the conditions agreed on by King *Edward* and King *John* of *France*, then priſoner in England (4o). Hereupon Edward raiſed an army of 100000 fighting men (4p), and, having ſeen them muſtered and embarked between *Sandwich* and *Dover*, he notified, October 10, 1359, 33 Edward III, from *Sandwich* to the Earl of Oxford, that, for the diſpatch of the war with France, and for the defence of his kingdom, he was going beyond the ſeas, having conſtituted Thomas, his ſon, guardian of the kingdom of England; and the welfare of his kingdom lying much at heart, he had appointed a Council to be at Weſtminſter on Sunday next after St Martin's day (November 11) and commands him to be preſent there (4q). The Earl accordingly ſtaid to attend this Council, not embarking with the King; but he followed him not long after, and died in this expedition in the Engliſh army encamped before *Rheims*, January 24, 34 Edward III, in the forty-ſeventh year of his age. Before he ſet out he made his will [S], and thereby bequeathed his body to be buried in the chapel of our Lady, within the Priory of *Colne*, on the South ſide of the quire, at the head of John and Robert his ſons, there interred before. He married Maud, widow of *Robert*, ſon of *Robert Fitz-Pain*, and eldeſt daughter of *Bartholomew*, Lord *Badleſmere*, and ſiſter and co-heir of Giles, Lord Badleſmere, a great Baron in Kent (4r), by whom he had alſo other iſſue [T], beſides his eldeſt ſon,

(4n) Barnes, p. 271.

(4o) Froiſart, c. 201. f. 107.

(4p) They were raiſed by ſummons (which is ſtill the cuſtom in France) ſuffering none to ſtay at home (except ſome particularly named) between the ages of 20 and 60, ſo that, after many thouſands had been rejected, there remained 100000.

(4q) Rymer, Tom. VI. p. 138.

(4r) Vincent on Brook, p. 40.

(4s) He was then only 18 years of age; but there were knighted with him the King's two ſons, Lionel of Antwerp, and John of Gaunt, beſides other ſons to Barons of the realm, in the whole 27, all about the ſame age.

Thomas Vere, who ſucceeded him, and became the *eighth Earl of Oxford*, and, in the life-time of his father, attending the King in his expedition to France (29 Edward III.) was knighted on the Downs by his Highneſs (4s). On the death of his father he was likewiſe beyond the ſeas in the King's ſervice (4t). On the 15th of March, 1361, 35 Edward III, holding an eſtate in Ireland, the King ſignified to him, that, by the incurſions

(4t) Yet he had livery of the lands deſcended to him, and his homage was reſpited till his return. Rot. Fin. 34 Edw. III. m. 4.

Eſc. 34 Edward III. n. 84. and Knighton, p. 2609.

[S] *He made his will.*] It is dated at *Bentley* in Eſſex, on Friday the feaſt of All-ſaints, 33 Edward III. In it he appointed, that 400 marks ſterling, left by his anceſtors in aid of the *Holy-land*, ſhould be paid by his Executors with all convenient ſpeed, And towards the building of the church at *Colne* he gave 100 marks, and towards re-edifying the chapel, called the *New-Abbey* in *Caſtle-Heningham*, 100 marks, for celebrating maſſes, as formerly, by one or two prieſts. He bequeathed to Maud, his wife, all the utenſils of his houſe, as well ſilver as other; and to Maud, his daughter, for her marriage, 1000 marks. He died ſeized of the caſtle at Leonhals in com. Hereford, Langle and Bradele, com. Bedford; of the manors of Wykingſton in com. Leiceſter, Great Bentley, Fratynge, Great Kemfeld and Fingre in Eſſex; as alſo of the manors of Colne, the caſtle and manor of Heningham, the manors of Heningham-Sibill, Gelham-Le-Vaux in Beauchamp Otes, Dodinghurſt and Stanſted-Mountfitchet in the ſame, and Whitchurch in Bucks. And of the inheritance of Maud, his wife, he died ſeized of the manors of Market-Overton in com. Rotel, Welles in com. Hertford, Laughton, with the hundred of Sheplake, in com. Suſſex, in the poſſeſſion of the late Hon. Henry Pelham, Eſq; brother to the Duke of Newcaſtle, Palton and Milton in Northamptonſhire; and, for his wife's life, the manors of *Wroxhall* and *Worth* in com. *Dorſet*. Alſo jointly with her, by the endowment of Robert, ſon of Robert Fitz-Payne, her firſt huſband, of the manors of Storktone, Pole, and Hurdecote, in Wilts; and likewiſe, jointly with her, of the manors of Abyton and Campes in com. Cantabr. Flete, Rydlingwolde, Bokynfeld, Badleſmere, and Whitſtable in com. Kanc, Kenſington in com. Middleſex, Great Hormede in com. Hertford; of Lavenham, called Over-Hall and Nether-hall, Aldham and Cokefield in Suffolk, and *Bumſtede* in *Eſſex* (79). The ſaid Maud, then ſurviving, had, for her ſhare, part of the inheritance deſcended to her by the death of her brother, Giles de Badleſmere, the manors of Badleſmere and Bokynfeld in com. Kanc, with fifty acres of wood belonging thereto (80). Alſo the manors of Rylingwolde in com. Kanc, Laughton (except Waldern-wood) and Weſt-Dene in Suſſex, Welles in Hertford, and a fourth part of the manor of Thaxted in Eſſex (81). She died ann. 40, Edward III (82).

(79) Eſc. 34 Edward III. n. 84. Leiceſt.

(80) Rot. Fin. 32 Edw. III. m. 8.

(81) Clauſ. 15 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 111.

(82) Eſc. 40 Edward III. n. 38. Eſſex.

[T] *He had other ſons.*] Theſe were, 1. Another *John de Veer*, Knt. who died without iſſue by his wife, —widow of—Lutterel. She died on the 7th of Auguſt, 9 Richard II. (83). He had alſo two daughters; *Margaret*, firſt married to Henry, Lord Beaumont, who had iſſue by her, John, Lord Viſcount Beaumont, Knight of the Garter, father of Henry, whoſe grandſon, William, Viſcount Beaumont, dying without iſſue, his ſiſter and heir was Joan, wife of John, Lord Lovell of *Tichmerſh*, who by him had iſſue Francis, Viſcount Lovell, who dying without iſſue, his two ſiſters were his heirs, viz. *Jane*, wife of Sir Bryan Stapleton, Knt. anceſtor to the Stapletons of Yorkſhire; and *Fridiſide*, married to Sir Edward Norris, Knt. anceſtor to Francis Norris, Earl of Berkſhire, from whom the preſent Earl of Abingdon, and others are deſcended (84). The ſaid Margaret had, to her ſecond huſband, Sir John Devereux, Knt. Conſtable of Dover-caſtle, and Steward of the Houſhold to King Richard II, who left iſſue by her Joan, his daughter and heir (85), married to Walter, Lord Fitz-Walter, who had by her Walter, Viſcount Fitz-Walter, who, by Agnes, his wife, daughter of Sir John Chidiock, left Elizabeth, his ſole daughter and heir, married to Sir John Ratcliff, Knt. who had iſſue by her John Ratcliff, Lord Fitz-Walter, Burnell, and Egremond, father of Robert Ratcliff, Viſcount Fitz-Walter, whoſe ſon and heir, Henry, Earl of Suſſex, had two wives; 1. Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, by whom he had iſſue Thomas and Henry, ſucceſſively Earls of Suſſex; and by his ſecond wife, Anne, daughter of Sir William Calthorp, Knight, had iſſue Frances, his daughter and heir, married to Thomas Mildmay, Eſq; anceſtor to Benjamin, now Earl Fitz-Walter.

(83) Miller, p. 685.

(84) Chitting's deſcents of nobility, MS. Lanc. Ferial. penes nup. A. Collins.

(85) Vincent on Brooke, p. 403.

Iſabel, the ſecond daughter of the ſaid Earl of Oxford, was married to Sir John Courtney, Baron of Oakhampton, anceſtor to the Courtneys of Devonſhire, and 2dly to Sir Oliver Dinham (86).

(86) Chitting's MS.

of his enemies in Ireland, and the inability of the inhabitants there, by reaſon the owners of lands reſided in England, and receiving the iſſues and profits thereof, yet took no care to defend them, the King, willing to prevent the ſame, has appointed *Lionel*, Earl of *Ulſter*, his ſon, forthwith to repair thither with a great army, and requires thoſe who have eſtates there to go in company with his ſaid ſon for the defence thereof. And being deſirous to conſult with thoſe who have eſtates there before they go, he commands this Earl of Oxford to be at Weſtminſter in the Quindenes of Eaſter to conſult thereon (*4u*). In 37 and 38 Edw. III. he, by the title of Lord Great Chamberlain, was witneſs to two deeds executed by the King [*U*]. And in 43 Edward III. he was in the wars of France, the King then ſending an army, about Midſummer, under the command of *John of Gaunt* (*w*). He married, in his father's life-time, *Maud*, daughter of Sir *Ralph de Ufford*, Lord Chief Juſtice of Ireland, by his wife *Maud*, widow of *William de Burgh*, Earl of *Ulſter*, (who by her left Elizabeth, his daughter and heir, wife of *Lionel*, Duke of Clarence). The Earl of Oxford, by the ſaid Maud, his wife, had iſſue

(4u) Rymer, Tom. V. p. 318, 319. but the Earl neglecting to go, the King, Feb. 10, 1362, 36 Ed. III. commanded him to embark on the Quindenes of Eaſter at fartheſt. But that he be at Weſtminſter on Friday in the ſecond week in Lent, to conſult thereon. Ibid. P. 350, 351.

(4w) Rot. Franc. 43 Edw. III. m. 4.

Robert, their only ſon and heir, who, on the death of his father, September 18, 1371, 45 Edward III, became *ninth Earl of Oxford*; but being then in his minority, King Edward III, in the 45th year of his reign, granted his marriage to *Ingelram de Coucy*, then Earl of Bedford, to the intent he might take to wife the Lady *Philippa*, daughter of that Earl by *Iſabel*, daughter of King Edward III. (4*x*), which marriage being effected, King Richard II, in the ſecond year of his reign, granted to *William*, Biſhop of London, and *Roger de Beauchamp*, 100*l.* per annum, for his better ſupport till he ſhould arrive at full age (4*y*). Alſo, in 6 Richard II, wanting lands of ſufficient worth to maintain her the ſaid *Philippa*, he obtained from the King, in conſideration of his ſervice done and to be done, that, during her life, they ſhould enjoy all thoſe lands which were beſtowed by Edward III, in remainder after *Joane*, the wife of *John de Coupland*, upon the ſaid *Ingelram*, Earl of Bedford, and *Iſabel*, his wife, and the heirs of their two bodies (4*z*). After which, the ſame year, making proof that he was of full age, and then doing his homage, he had livery of his whole lands (5*a*), and the next year he was ſummoned among the Peers to parliament (5*b*). In the 9th of Richard II. the King, having retained him in his ſervice, gave him, in conſideration thereof, the caſtle and Lordſhip of *Okeham* in *Rutland*, with all the foreſt of Rutland, to hold to him and his heirs male. And purpoſing to confer on him the title of *Marquis of Dublin*, that he might the better ſupport the ſaid honour, he aſſigned unto him in reverſion, after the death of *James de Audeleigh*, the caſtle, manor, and borough of *Barnſtaple*; the manors of *Fremington*, *Ilferecombe*, *Combe-Martyn*, *South-Moulton*, *Holdeſworthy*, *Nemet-Bowe*, *Uppeye*, *Bovy-Tracey*, *Holne*, *Dertyngton*, *Kyngeſton*, *Blackdon*, and *Long-Acre*, with all other lands of the ſame *James de Audeleigh*, lying in the counties of *Devon*, *Cornwall*, and *Somerſet*, which, after the death of him the ſaid *James*, were to deſcend to the King (5*c*). He was accordingly created a Marquis of Dublin the ſame year (5*d*), which being conſented to in parliament (5*e*), the King granted him the land and dominion of Ireland, with all profits, revenues, and regalities, as amply as the King himſelf ought to have the ſame, reſerving to the King the homages, reſort, and ſuperiority of that country, which confirmation in parliament was made by the girding of a ſword, and putting a circle of gold upon his head (5*f*). The title of *Marquis* had never till then been heard of in England, and therefore was much diſtaſted by others of the nobility (5*g*). The King alſo granted him all the benefit which might be had by *John*, ſon of *Charles de Blois* (then priſoner in *Glouceſter*-caſtle) that he might be able to maintain 500 men at arms, and 1000 archers, at the accuſtomed wages of war, by the ſpace of two years after his arrival in Ireland (which he intended about Candlemas the ſame year) in order to the conqueſt of that realm. And to go thither, warrants were iſſued out to employ veſſels to tranſport him and his retinue (5*h*). And the King eſteeming that honour, ſo lately conferred upon his chief favourite, too low for his merits, he was advanced to the title of Duke of Ireland upon the feaſt-day of *Edward the Confeſſor* (5*i*). He alſo ordained, that the heir of *Charles de Blois*, who challenged the Dukedom of *Britany*, (and whoſe ranſom he had obtained) ſhould ſell it to the French for 30000*l.* to the intent that this Duke, with that money, might by force get the dominion of Ireland before Eaſter enſuing (5*k*) [*W*]. In 11 R. II. the King gave him liberty to reſide at *Berhemſtede*-caſtle in

(4x) Pat. 45 Edward III. p. 2. m. 13.

(4y) Ib. 2 R. II. p. 1. m. 45.

(4z) Ib. 6 R. II. p. . m. 15.

(5a) Clauſ. 6 R. II. p. 2. m. 17.

(5b) Cotton's Records, p. 290. He was alſo in parliament next year, where Walter Sibal, being accuſed of ſlandering him, was convicted to the damage of 500 marks to the ſaid Earl, for which, and for his fine and ranſom, he was committed to priſon. Ibid. P. 304.

(5c) Pat. 9 R. II. p. 1. m. 6. & Ibid. p. 2. m. 28.

(5d) Rot. Parl. 9 R. II. n. 17. Cart. 10 R. II. m. 1. n. 2.

(5e) Ibid.

(5f) Ibid.

(5g) They were chagrined at his being ſet above them, who was not their ſuperior either in wiſdom or valour, ſays Walſingham, p. 348. n. 40.

(5h) Walſingh. P. 352, 353, 354. n. 2. who ſays the Lords and Commons willingly aſſented, being rather content to want the money than be troubled any longer with his company.

(5h) Pat. 9 R. II. p. 2. m. 17. & Ibid. m. 14. & Rym. Vol. VII. P. 503, & 506.

(5i) Cart. 10 R. II. m. 1. n. 2.

[*U*] *Witneſs to two deeds.*] Theſe were, 1ſt, 37 Edward III, February, 1363, a confirmation of the treaty concluded between Peter, King of Caſtile and Leon, and Sir William Latimer, Knt. Lord Latimer, and John de Stretely, Dean of Lincoln, his Plenipotentiaries. The ſecond was articles of a contract of marriage, executed at Dover-caſtle, 38 Edward III, October 19, 1364, between Edmund de Langule, the King's ſon, and Margaret, Dutcheſs of Burgundy, daughter to the Earl of Flanders (87).

(87) Rymer, Tom. V. p. 401. and p. 444 to 449.

[*W*] *That he might get the dominion of Ireland.*] The Iriſh hiſtorian gives this account of him: 'The Engliſh 'parliament, ſays he, to get rid of him, gave him a 'debt of 30000 marks, due from the French King, 'upon condition that after Eaſter he ſhould paſs into 'Ireland, to recover the lands the King had given him 'there. He had 500 men at arms, at 12*d.* per day, 'and 1000 archers, at 6*d.* a day, appointed him for 'two years, for the reduction of that country. He was 'truſted with the whole dominion of the realm during 'his life, without paying any thing therefore, or making 'any account for it. He had power to paſs all writs 'under his own teſt, and to place and diſplace all officers, 'how great ſoever, even the Chancellor, Treaſurer, 'Admiral, &c. and to name his own Deputy, and all 'other miniſters. Afterwards he had a larger patent, 'whereby the King granted him the whole territory and 'government of Ireland, the iſles thereto adjacent, with 'caſtles, counties, burroughs, towns, ſeaports, &c. 'together with homages, obeiſſances, vaſſals, ſervants, 'and acknowledgments of the Prelates, Earls, and 'Barons, &c. with the royalties, regalities, liberties, '&c. with all other things belonging to the ſovereign 'power, with abſolute and joint authority, ſo fully, 'perfectly, and truly, as he the King held, or had the 'ſame, or any of his progenitors in times paſt. To 'hold by homage and allegiance (88).

(88) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, p. 135, 136.

'But that, ſays another hiſtorian, which is moſt ſtrange 'is, that thoſe letters patent ſhould be authorized by the 'aſſent of the Prelates, Dukes, and other Peers, and 'Com-

in *Hertfordſhire*, one of his own Royal palaces, granting him fire-wood out of his woods and parks there (*5l*). Thus puffed up with wealth and honour, he grew inſolent, and thereby raiſed ſuch powerful enemies, as obliged him to fly for his ſafety beyond-ſea with *Michael de la Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk* [*X*]. Yet it was not long e'er he again landed in England with about four or five thouſand men, and, being got into Oxfordſhire, came, on the feaſt-day of St Thomas the Apoſtle, to Radcote-bridge upon the river *Iſis*; which bridge Henry Earl of *Derby*, who with his power was not far off, had broken in three places, and placed ſoldiers there to ſtop his farther paſſage. The Duke therefore, ſeeing himſelf in this deſperate condition, diſplayed the King's banner, and animated his men to fight, advancing before them to the bridge; and finding it impaſſable, environed by the Duke of Glouceſter on one ſide, and the Earl of Derby on the other, he threw away his ſword, gauntlets, and armour, and, leaping into the river, eſcaped them. But the Lords, growing powerful, cauſed the King to ſummon a parliament, which met at Weſtminſter, 11 R. II, where articles of high-treaſon were exhibited againſt him by the Duke of *Glouceſter*, *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, and others; and he, not appearing, was forthwith baniſhed, and all his poſſeſſions confiſcated, excepting his entailed lands, which only were to remain to his right heirs (*5m*). Being likewiſe attainted, outlawed, and fled beyond ſea (*5n*), he was, after five years baniſhment, ſtruck by a wild boar in hunting (*5o*), and died of his hurts at *Lovaine*, November 22, 1392, 16 R. II. (*5p*), in great diſtreſs and penury, leaving nothing, ſays my Author, but his tomb and titles, and the world matter of talk (*5q*) [*Y*]. The Duke dying without iſſue, his heir was his paternal uncle,

(5l) Pat. 11. R. II. p. 1. m. 2.

(5m) Knighton, p. 2702, 2703, 2706, 2714, and 2726. in their purſuit of him, it is ſaid his chariot was taken, and in it the King's letters, appointing him to haſte to London with what ſtrength he had, expreſſing, that he was ready to live and die with him. Walſingham, p. 363. n. 10. and Rymer, Vol. VII. p. 567.

(5n) Ibid. 2727. n. 30 and 40.

(5o) Leland's Collect. Vol. I. p. 190. Ypod Neuſtr. p. 252. n. 40.

(5p) Milles, p. 688.

(5q) Borlaſe's Hiſt. of Ireland, p. 60.

Alberic de Vere, who, in 16 R. II, was reſtored to the honour (*5r*), and thereby became the *ninth Earl of Oxford*. This Alberic, before he had the title, was employed in ſeveral commiſſions in the ſervice of his country [*Z*]: But being now grown infirm, the office of Lord High Chamberlain of England was, on 17 R. II, beſtowed by the King on *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*, for life (*5s*). And the Earl of Oxford continuing ſtill weak, had ſpecial licence to be abſent from that parliament held at Shrewſbury, 21 R. II, in which the attainder of his nephew Robert, Duke of Ireland, was revoked and annulled (*5t*). He departed this life on St George's day, 1 Hen. IV (*5u*), leaving iſſue by his wife Alice, daughter of John, Lord Fitzwalter,

(5r) Rot. Parl. 16 R. II. n. 15.

(5s) Milles's Cat. of Nob. p. 690. & Pat. 17 R. II. p. 1. m. 23.

(5t) Ibid. 21 R. II. p. 2. m. 14. & 22. R. II. p. 3. m. 1.

(5u) Eſc. 1 H IV. & lib. ſcheduſ. p. 4.

Richard (*5w*), his heir, who thereby became the *eleventh Earl of Oxford*. The Commons the ſame year in parliament prayed in his behalf, that having married Alice, the daughter of the King's ſiſter, he might be reſtored to the office of Chamberlain of England, being his due inheritance, and taken away by violence by King Richard II; but the King, Henry IV, did not then aſſent (*5x*) [*AA*]. However, being a minor, his Majeſty, in the third year of his reign,

(5w) Milles, ubi ſupra, who mentions another ſon, John, that died unmarried, and a daughter, Alice, married to Sir John Fitz-Lewis, Knt.

(5x) Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. IV. n. 140

'Commonalty of the Engliſh parliament. Yet nothing 'violent is permanent: And that new ſtrange ſhadow 'of honour ſoon vaniſhed. He went as far as Wales, 'and the King with him, in order to go to his govern-'ment; but they could not be perſuaded to part; ſo he 'never went over, and deputed Sir John Stanley Lord 'Deputy (89).'

(89) Borlaſe's Reduction of Ireland, p. 60.

[*X*] *He fled beyond ſea, with the Earl of Suffolk.*] He grew inſolent and bluſtering, ſays *Walſingham*, and put away the fair Lady *Philippa*, his wife (kinſwoman to the King) with purpoſe to take another who came out of *Bohemia* with Queen *Anne*, and was of mean extraction; which gave great diſtaſte to the nobility, eſpecially to the Duke of Glouceſter, the King's uncle, who, though he could not at preſent vindicate his niece, ſo repudiated, reſerved himſelf for an opportune time to do it. But ſoon after, Eaſter being paſſed, and the expectation of his going to Ireland ſtill continuing, the King, to prevent any tumult by the Nobles, accompanied him part of his way; and continuing retired for a while, they conſulted together how to murder the Duke of Glouceſter, the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Derby, and Nottingham. And having ſtaid in thoſe remote parts of the kingdom, till they imagined the people had forgotten the ſo much talked of voyage into Ireland, he returned with the King to Nottingham caſtle, there to conſider farther how they might beſt put in execution the deſigned murders. The Nobles therefore, by way of prevention, raiſed all the power they could, and met at *Haringhay Park*, near High-gate in Middleſex, in an hoſtile manner; which ſo ſtartled the King, and his party then about him, that all of them began to deſire an accommodation, and to that end ſent to the Lords at Haringhay to come to Weſtminſter, that, upon a calm debate together, differences might be quietly compoſed: Who meeting there accordingly, the Lord Chancellor (Biſhop of Ely) made a ſhort ſpeech to them, in the cloſe whereof he ſaid the King deſired to know the cauſe of this their inſurrection; to which they anſwered, that it was for the King's advantage to rid him of thoſe Traitors he then had about him; among whom they firſt named Robert de Vere, *Duke* of Ireland. But the King, giving them fair words, and taking them into his chamber, where he made them drink together, told them they ſhould all meet in parliament, and equal juſtice ſhould be done to each. Matters being thus qualified, the Duke of Ireland, by the King's connivance, haſtes forthwith into Wales, there to raiſe what power he could (90); but diſcerning his danger, privily got away, diſguiſed, as was ſaid, in the habit of a ſervant, with a bow and a quiver of arrows at his back, and ſo, with five others in his company, alike accoutred, came to Cheſter, and ſoon after that fled beyond-ſea, with Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk (91).

(90) Walſingham, p. 358 to 362 inclusive.

(91) Knighton, p. 2702. n. 60. p. 2702.

[*Y*] *Leaving the world matter of talk.*] About three years after, viz. in November, 1395, 19 R. II, the King having cauſed his body to be embalmed, and brought over into England in a Cypreſs caſe, made a ſolemn funeral for him at *Colne* in Eſſex, which he honoured with his preſence, and cauſed the coffin of Cypreſs, wherein his body lay, to be opened, that he might behold his face, and touch him with his fingers, openly ſhewing his love to the dead carcaſs which he bore him when alive (92). And Speed relates (93), that he cauſed him to be apparelled in princely ornaments and robes, and put about his neck a chain of gold, and rings upon his fingers (94).

(92) Leland's Collect. Vol. I. p. 255. n. 10.

(93) In his Chronicles, p. 618. And Stow's Annals, p. 312.

(94) With the King, at his funeral, were the Counteſs of Oxford, the Duke's mother, the Abp. Cant. with many of the Bps, but few of the temporal Lords, their old hatred towards him being not then abated, ſays Walſingham, p. 389.

[*Z*] *He executed ſeveral commiſſions.*] On the 14th of May, 1377, 51 Edw. III, he was joined in commiſſion with the Biſhop of St David's, Lord Chancellor, *William de Montague*, Earl of Saliſbury, and others, to treat of a peace and truce with *Charles*, King of France (95). In 4 Rich. II, as Ambaſſador, he treated with the Emperor of the Romans, and ſigned the articles of marriage between Richard and Anne daughter of the ſaid Emperor (96). In 7 Rich. II, Oct. 4, 1383, he was commiſſioned with John Devereux, Governor of Calais, to treat about a time and place for meeting of Plenipotentiaries of France to conclude a peace and truce at (97). And, in 8 Rich. II, he was retained to ſerve the King in the wars of Scotland (98).

(95) Rymer Vol. VII. p. 145, 151. In this commiſſion he is wrote Sir Aubrey de Vere, Knt.

(96) Ibid. p. 290. The other Ambaſſadors were Edmund, Earl of Cambridge, and Hugh de Segrave, Steward of the Houſhold.

(97) Ibid. p. 422.

[*AA*] *The King did not then aſſent.*] However, in 2 Hen. IV, it was enacted by parliament, that, if this Richard Earl of Oxford, when he came of age, ſhould conſent that *Philippa*, Dutcheſs of Ireland, might enjoy her dower out of the entailed lands, confirmed and aſſured to her by Earl Aubery, his father, he ſhould have, to him and his heirs, all thoſe lands which were the Duke of Ireland's, in demeſne or reverſion, and in the King's hands, upon the 1ſt of March preceding (99).

(98) Ex Autog. penes Cleric. de Pall.

(99) Rot. Parl. 2 Henry IV,

granted him 100l. per annum for his maintenance, to be received out of the profits of his own lands (5y) [*BB*]. In the eighth of Henry V, being then of full age, he was one of the witneſſes to the King's altering the ſucceſſion of the crown, and ſettling it on his ſon Henry, Prince of Wales (5z), who ſucceeding to the throne, under the ſtile of King Henry V, did, in the third year of his reign, ſummon this Earl Richard, among other great Lords, to meet him in the *Quindenes* of Eaſter, when he thanked them, and declared his intentions of going beyond-ſea for the recovery of his rights (6a). Going ſoon after the ſame year, he was attended into France by the Earl (6b); but before the end thereof, finding himſelf infirm, he made his laſt will on the 6th of Auguſt, 1415, therein bequeathing his body to be buried in the conventual church of the Priory of *Colne* in *Eſſex*, where his anceſtors lay interred, and gave to Alice, his wife, all his perſonal eſtate, to pay his debts, diſcharge his funeral expences, and diſpoſe of for pious uſes (*). He was the ſecond Knight of the Garter elected in the reign of Henry V. (6c); and in the fourth of Henry V. he was retained to ſerve the King in perſon in his wars of France (6d), but died the ſame year on the morrow after St Valentine's day, leaving iſſue by *Alice*, his wife, daughter and co-heir of Sir *Richard Scrgeaux*, Knt. two ſons (6e) [*CC*], of which the eldeſt,

(5y) Pat. 3 H. IV. p. 1. m. 34.

(5z) Rymer, Vol. VIII. p. 463. It was ſettled upon the Prince and the heirs male of his body, with remainder to his other ſons, Thomas, John, and Humphrey, and the heirs male of their bodies.

(*) Chichley, Vol. I. p. 304. *a*.

(6a) Ibid. Tom. IX. p. 222.

(6b) Rot. Franc. 3 Hen. V. m. 14.

(6c) Eſc. 4 H. V. n. 53. Buck.

(6d) Aſhmole's Order of Garter, p. 610.

(6e) Ex Autog. penes Cler. Pell. p. 1. m. 3 & 5.

John, became the *twelfth Earl of Oxford*, being then only nine years of age (6f). On 4 Hen. VI. he was, among others, knighted by the King at *Leiceſter* on Whitſunday (6g). In 7 Hen. VI, being then in ward, and having married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Howard the younger, Knt. without licence, he was obliged to purchaſe his pardon at the expence of 2000l. paid into the Exchequer. And before the end of that year, making proof of his age, and doing his homage, he had livery of his lands (6h). In 13 Hen. VI. the King granted him his licence, with twelve perſons of his retinue, to go in pilgrimage to the Holy land (6i): As alſo his protection for two years, with allowance of carrying, in ſpecie or bullion, 1001. and to receive 500 marks more, by way of exchange, to defray his expences (6k). In 14 Hen. VI. he was one of the commanders under the *Duke* of *Glouceſter* ſent to the relief of *Calais*, then beſieged (6l); and the French, on hearing of their arrival, retired before it, July 18, in the night, with ſuch precipitation, that they left behind them their proviſions, tents, &c. (6m). In 17 Hen. VI. the Earl was joined in commiſſion with John Duke of Norfolk, and others, to treat in the marches of *Calais* with *Charles de Valois*, or his Ambaſſadors, about a perpetual peace between England und France (6n); and alſo about ſetting at liberty the Duke of Orleans, then priſoner in England (6o). In 18 Hen. VI, (Richard, Duke of York, being made Regent of France on the death of the Earl of Warwick) the Earl of Oxford was the principal commander under him; and, with other noblemen, going into *Normandy*, obliged the French King to raiſe the ſiege of *Ponthoiſe*, leaving behind great riches and much proviſion (6p). The Earl probably continued in the wars of France till the concluſion of a truce in 23 Hen. VI (6q), in which year (1446) the King, at his inſtance, as proprietor of the ſhip called the *Jeſus of Orwel*, granted licence, March 8, to the captain thereof to tranſport as many perſons as he ſhall think proper, going on a pilgrimage to St James in Galicia (6r). In 28 Hen. VI, a truce being made between England and France, he was appointed a conſervator thereof on the part of England; as he was alſo of another truce, made the year following, for three years, from Auguſt, 1451, to Auguſt, 1454; and likewiſe of a third, concluded at Newcaſtle in 31 Hen. VI, to continue from May, 1453, to May, 1457 (6s). In 32 Hen. VI. he, with the Earls of Saliſbury, Shrewſbury, and ſome other Lords, undertook to keep the ſeas for three years next following, being allowed the ſubſidies of tonnage and poundage then granted for that ſervice (6t). In 35 Hen. VI. he was again appointed one of the conſervators of the truce made for two years with Scotland; as alſo of another, concluded for five years, in 38 Hen. VI (6u). But when King Edward IV. attained the crown, he cauſed this Earl *John*, far ſtricken in years, and *Aubery*, his eldeſt ſon (with others) to be attainted in parliament, and afterwards (viz. Feb. 1, 1 Edw. IV.) beheaded them both on Tower-hill (6w), and they were buried in the church of the Auguſtin friars, London (6x). Beſides Aubery, he had, by his wife Elizabeth beforementioned, four ſons, of whom

(6f) Eſc. 4 H. IV. ut ſupra.

(6g) The King himſelf having received that honour at the hands of the Duke of Bedford. Leland's collections, Vol. I. p. 705.

(6h) Pat. 7 H. VI. p. 1. m. 3 & 5.

(6i) Rot. Franc. ibid.

(6k) Rymer, Vol. X. p. 602.

(6l) Rot. Franc. 14 H. VI. m. 5.

(6m) Hall's Chron. p. 133. In the ſame year performing his homage, he had livery of all the lands which deſcended to his wife by the death of her mother, being ſole heir to her parents. Rot. Fin. 16 Henry VI. m. 5. and Deſcents of Nobility, per Hen. Chiting. Lanc. Fecial.

(6n) Rot. Franc. 17 H. VI. m. 10.

(6o) Rymer, Vol. X. p. 728. Their inſtructions bear date May 22, 1439, 17 Hen. VI.

(6p) Stowe's Annals, p. 378, 379.

(6q) Hall's Chron. fol. 148. *b*.

(6r) Rymer, Vol. XI. p. 79.

(6s) Ibid. p. 247, 248, 293, & 327.

(6t) Ex Autog. penes Cler. Pell. The following year, 1455, he was one of the Council, who, with the King, ſigned a mandate for releaſing the Duke of Somerſet out of the Tower upon bail, Feb. 15; and was with the King in Council at Greenwich, when he declared the Duke his true and faithful ſubject, and diſcharged his bail, March 4. Rymer, Vol. XI. p. 361, 362.

(6u) Ibid. p. 389, 426, et ſeq.

(6w) Stowe's Annals, p. 416. Holinſhead, p. 665. *b*. n. 20. Hall's Chron. fol. 139.

(6x) Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 418.

John, the eldeſt, became the *thirteenth Earl of Oxford*, who was then twenty-three years of age (6y). The Earl, during the reign of King Edward, went through great hardſhips for his loyalty to the Lancaſtrian party; and being in France in the 9th of Edward IV, was at the conſultation at Amboya with the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Warwick, and the French King, Queen Margaret, Henry VI's Queen, and Edward her ſon, to reſtore Henry VI; which being effected, the Earl of Oxford bore the ſword in the proceſſion from

(6y) Eſc. 3 Edward IV. n. 23. Oxon.

[*BB*] *Out of the profits of his own lands.*] About this time, or not long before, Maud, Counteſs of Oxford, widow of Earl Thomas, and mother to Robert, Duke of Ireland, ſtill ſurviving, cauſed it to be divulged, that King Richard II. was alive, and that he would forthwith lay claim to his crown; and procured hearts to be made of ſilver and gilt, (badges that King Richard gave to his friends, ſoldiers, and ſervants) to be in the King's name diſtributed in the country, whereby the people might be the ſooner ready to riſe on his behalf: Giving it farther out, that he was privately kept in Scotland till he could have a fit opportunity to come in with an army of French and Scots. Hereupon ſhe was committed to priſon, and her goods confiſcated (100). But the King, at the requeſt of his Queen, pardoned her, and reſtored her to all her lands and tenements, fees, advowſons, goods, and chattels (101). This Maud, by her will, dated at Bentley, Jan. 20, 1412, (14 Hen. IV.) bequeathed her body to be buried in the Nuns church-yard at *Bruſezard*, and gave thoſe nuns the manor of Wrabnaſe in pure alms, and died on the converſion of St Paul the ſame year (102).

(100) Walſingham, p. 421. n. 20, 30, 40.

(101) Rymer, Vol. VIII. p. 379.

(102) Arundel, Vol. II. f. 161. *a*.

[*CC*] *He had two ſons.*] Viz. John and Robert. The younger of which took to wife Joan, widow of Nicholas, Lord Carew, daughter to Sir Hugh Courtney of Haccomb, Knt. and heir to her mother *Philippa*, one of the daughters and heirs to Sir Warine Archdecon, Knt. and had iſſue John, who married Alice, daughter and heir to Walter Kilrington of Treſithryn in Cornwall, by whom he had iſſue *John Vere* (103), who, after the death of that Earl John, commonly called *Little John of Campes*, became Earl of Oxford, as will be ſeen preſently.

(103) Vincent's Com. of Brook, n. 406.

the Tower (where the King was impriſoned) to St Paul's cathedral (6z). Upon the recovery of the Crown, King Henry VI. called a parliament, wherein Edward being declared a Traitor and Uſurper, the Earl of Oxford, attainted by him (7a), was reſtored in blood, dignities, and ancient poſſeſſions. On the 23d of December following he was commiſſioned, with Richard Earl of Warwick, and others, to levy all perſons capable of bearing arms, and to muſter and review them as often as occaſion ſhould require; and to lead and command them in oppoſing King Henry's enemies, with a mandate to the Sheriffs of Cambridgeſhire, Huntingtonſhire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Eſſex, and Hertford, to aid and aſſiſt as often as required (7b). And John Tiptoft, Earl of Worceſter, having rendered himſelf very obnoxious to the Lancaſtrians, he was ſeized and brought to London, where the Earl of Oxford ſat High Steward on his trial, and, pronouncing the ſentence of death upon him, he was beheaded on Tower-hill (7c). On the firſt news of King Edward's return and landing, the Earl of Oxford repaired immediately to the Earl of Warwick in Warwickſhire, and was with him when Clarence's meſſage was delivered, unto which he made this reply: *Go, tell your Duke, that I had rather be an Earl, and always like myſelf, than a falſe and perjured Duke; and that e'er my oath ſhall be falſified (as his apparently is) I will lay down my life at my enemy's foot, which I doubt not but ſhall be bought very dear (7d)* [DD]. Soon after followed the memorable battle of *Barnet-field*, where the Earl of Oxford commanded the right wing of the army againſt Edward, and led the van-guard; but, by miſtake, his own men ſhooting againſt each other (7e), he and all his party were routed; whereupon he fled into *Wales* [EE], and thence to St *Michael's mount* in *Cornwall* (7f); but being beſieged there, after a ſtout reſiſtance, was forced to ſurrender a priſoner to King Edward, who ſent him to the caſtle of Hams in *Picardy* (7g); and in the parliament begun at Weſtminſter, Oct. 6, 14 Edw. IV. he (together with his brothers, Sir George and Sir Thomas) were attainted, but pardoned for their lives (7h). In 2 Rich. III, being ſtill priſoner in the caſtle of Hams, and obſerving what hopes of aid the Earl of *Richmond* then had from the French and others, he eſcaped thence, and together with Sir *James Blount*, Governor of that caſtle, and Sir *John Forteſcue*, Porter of *Calais*, went to the Earl of *Richmond (at Montarges)* to aſſiſt him in gaining the crown of England; *Richmond* received him with much joy, being a perſon of high nobility, expert in military affairs, and withal of high integrity; as Polydore Virgil relates (7i); and our other hiſtorians mention the great joy *Richmond* had on ſeeing him, looking on it as a preſage of his happy ſucceſs. When *Richard* received this news, he appointed part of the garriſon at Calais to march out to regain the caſtle of *Hams*; but the garriſon ſending to the Earl of Richmond for more aid, he diſpatched the Earl of Oxford with a choice number of expert ſoldiers, who, by his ſkilful conduct, drew off thoſe in the caſtle without any loſs. After which he haſted to the Earl of Richmond in Paris, and never left him till he had ſettled the crown of this realm upon his head, by the name and ſtile of Henry VII. (7k) [FF]. Upon which event the Earl was immediately reſtored to all his poſſeſſions (7l), and choſen of the Privy Council (7m). Alſo, at his coronation, was conſtituted one of the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Lord High Steward of England (7n), and was the firſt Knight of the Garter elected in that King's reign (7o) [GG]. And September 22, the ſaid firſt

(6z) Hall's Chron. f. 206 to 210, and again, f. 423, and f. 693. See alſo the Gen. Hiſt. of England.

(7a) Hall, f. 210. and Speed, p. 693, 364.

(7b) Rymer, Vol. XI. p. 677, 678.

(7c) Speed's Chron. p. 693, who tells us, that Tiptoft was found hidden in the top of a tree in the foreſt of Weybridge, not far from Huntington.

(7d) Ibid. p. 694, 695.

(7e) For an account of this battle, ſee the Gen. Hiſtories of Eng. The miſtake was owing to the Earl's men having ſtars with ſtreams for their liveries, which, by reaſon of a miſt, rendered them not diſtinguiſhable from thoſe of K. Edward; whereupon the Earl's ſoldiers crying treaſon, he fled, with 800 of them. See Holinſhead, Hall, and Speed.

(7f) Polydore Virgil, p. 526, 527, and 532.

(7g) Hall, f. 224.

(7h) Cotton's Records, p. 699, 700.

(7i) In his Hiſt. P. 556. n. 20.

(7k) Ibid. p. 558.

(7l) Rot. Parl. 1 H. VII. m. 10, Rec. de Term Hil. 2 H. VII. Rot. 5.

(7m) Pol. Virg. p. 566. n. 30.

(7n) Pat. 1 Henry VII. p. 2. m. 17.

(7o) Aſhmole's Order of Garter, p. 712.

[DD] *It ſhall be bought dear.*] King Edward, upon his landing at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire, laying aſide all claim to the crown, pretended he was come only to enjoy his dutchy of York, whereupon he was admitted into that city, on taking his oath to be true to King Henry (104). But after that growing more potent, and the Duke of Clarence, brother to King Edward, falling from the Earls of Warwick and Oxford, to whom, in France, he had taken an oath to continue in firm amity with them, Edward took on himſelf the title of King at Nottingham (105). The Earl of Oxford was linked in cloſe friendſhip with the Earl of Warwick, having married Margaret his ſiſter, and had cauſe of inveteracy againſt King Edward, who had baniſhed him, and put his father and brother to death, as beforementioned. Therefore it may be preſumed he had ſome influence on the Earl of Warwick, in keeping him ſteady in the intereſt of King Henry; when the *Duke of Clarence*, who had married Warwick's daughter, endeavoured to reconcile him to King Edward, promiſing *him to work his peace, and that with ſuch honour, as Warwick ſhould know himſelf not only a father to* CLARENCE, *but likewiſe to Edward, England's King* (106).

(104) Speed, p. 694.

(105) Hall, fol. 215.

(106) Speed, p. 694, 695.

[EE] *He fled into Wales.*] Leland ſays he fled into Scotland (107); but others ſay more truly that he fled towards Scotland, and finding danger in ſo long a journey, he altered his purpoſe, and turned into Wales, and thence, with the Earl of Pembroke, into France, and having gotten much at ſea, came into the Weſt country, where by ſubtlety he entered St *Michael's mount* in Cornwall with 397 men (108), on the laſt of September, and divers times coming down there into the adjacent villages, had good cheer of the inhabitants: Whereupon Bodrigan, the King's Lieutenant in that county, being commanded by the King, beſieged the Mount, but ſo favourably, that the Earl revictualled it; ſo that *Richard Forteſcue*, Eſq; of the body to the King, Sheriff of Cornwall, was ſent to continue the ſiege. And King Edward, by ſending pardons, ſo wrought with the ſoldiers in the Mount, that, had not the Earl ſubmitted, his own men would have made him priſoner, whereby Forteſcue entered the Mount on the 15th of February following, wherein he found victuals enough to have ſerved till Midſummer (109).

(107) Collect. Vol. I. p. 728.

(108) Ibid. Stowe, Chron. p. 426. ſays he had only 77 men.

(109) Stowe, as before.

[FF] *He ſettled the crown upon Richmond's head.*] Upon Richmond's arrival in England, he marched with him to Boſworth, where King Richard being ready to give him battle, Richmond marſhalled his army, and appointed this Earl to command the vanguard, conſiſting of archers. And he behaved with ſuch great courage in the battle, that when they came to the ſword, fearing to be encompaſſed, he commanded that no ſoldier ſhould ſtir above ten feet from his colours: and then moſt valiantly charging the enemy in form of a wedge, put them to the rout, in which he ſlew many, and thereby became one of the chiefeſt inſtruments in obtaining the happy victory that day, Auguſt 22, 1458 (110).

(110) Pol. Virg. p. 563. n. 10, 20, 40.

[GG] *He was the firſt Knight of the Garter, &c.*] He alſo ſtood in ſuch high favour with the King, that he obtained a grant to himſelf, and *Margaret* his wife, and to the heirs of Margaret, of the lordſhip of *De la More*, in com. Hertford and Middleſex, late belonging to *George Nevil*, Archbiſhop of York; alſo of the manors of *Framlingham*, *Kelſall*, *Hareſtone*, *Peſenhall*, *Walton*, with *Tremley*, and the hundred of *Looſe* in Suffolk, and of the manor of *Willington* in com. Bedford, which were part of the poſſeſſions of John, late Duke of Norfolk, attainted: Likewiſe of the manors of *Berham*, *Walkefare*, and *Powers*, in *Waltham-parva* in *Eſſex*, late the lands of *Francis Viſcount Lovell*, attainted; and of the manor of *Botefworth* in com. Northampton, late *William Cateſby's*, Eſq; attainted: Alſo of the houſe called the *Herber*, in the pariſh of St *Mary Bothawe* in the ward of Dowgate,

firſt year of his reign, he was made Conſtable of the Tower of London for life (7p), and likewiſe Lord High Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, and the Dutchy of *Aquitain* (7q). In the 3d of Henry VII. he was conſtituted one of the commiſſioners to exerciſe the office of High Steward of England at the coronation of the Queen (7r). And, upon the inſurrection made by John Earl of Lincoln on the behalf of *Lambert Simnel*, this Earl, with Jaſper Duke of Bedford, was chief commander of the King's forces againſt thoſe rebels, and vanquiſhed them, June 16, in a pitched battle at Stoke, near Newark upon Trent (7s). In 4 Hen. VII. he was empowered to examine what number of archers, armed at the King's expence, the counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Eſſex*, and *Hertford*, could provide for the relief of *Britany*; and to article with them, and review them, and to certify their names before the Quindenes of Eaſter (7t). And the ſame year, with the Duke of Bedford, had the command of thoſe forces ſent by King Henry into Flanders, in aid of Maximilian the Emperor againſt the French (7u). In the 8th of Henry VII. this Earl had the chief command of the army ſent againſt the French, and the King, in October, met him, then come from beating down the town of ARDE, at *Mergiſon* (7w), in his way to Bulloign. Two days after which they came before that town, and beſieged it till the 8th of November, when a peace being concluded with the French at *Staples* upon the ſea near that town, the Earl of Oxford aſſented, and ſigned the ſame (7x). In 9 Hen. VII. he was conſtituted Conſtable of the caſtle of Clare in Suffolk (7y), and, in 11 Hen. VII, he was one of the Guarantees on the part of England for keeping the peace then concluded with the Archduke of Auſtria (7z). In 12 Hen. VII. he was the chief commander againſt the Lord *Audley* and the Corniſh rebels at the battle of *Black-heath*, and environing the hill with his archers and horſemen, ſet on them with great valour, killing 300, and taking 1500 priſoners (8a). In 23 Hen. VII. he, with other great Lords, entered into a recognizance of 50000 crowns each, for performance of the articles of marriage between *Charles*, Prince of *Spain*, and *Mary*, the King's third daughter; and was preſent at that marriage, ſolemnized in the palace at Richmond, December 7, 1508, 24 Hen. VII. (8b). On the acceſſion of Hen. VIII. the Earl's patents were renewed for the office of Lord High Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, and the dutchy of *Aquitain*, and of the conſtableſhip of the caſtle of *Clare*, and both were made to him for life (8c). He had alſo, May 16, 1 Hen. VIII, a grant and confirmation, to him and his heirs, of the caſtle and tower of *Colcheſter* (8d); and likewiſe a confirmation of the office of Lord Great Chamberlain of England (8e). After this there does not appear any mention of him, but that he made his will [*HH*] near five years before his death, which happened on Thurſday, March 10, in 4 Hen. VIII, having been Earl of Oxford full fifty years, and was buried in the priory of Colne, according to his deſire (8f). He largely contributed to the finiſhing St Mary's church in Cambridge (8g), and, in the eſtimation of all that knew him (8h), was a very wiſe, learned, religious, and magnificent man [*II*].

(7p) Vol. XII
(7q) 1 He m. 1
(7r) 3 Hen m. 17.
(7s) Pol. Virg. p. 573. n. 10. and Stow, p. 473.
(7t) Rymer, Vol. XII. p. 356.
(7u) Pol. Virg. p. 584. n. 40.
(7w) Stow's Annals, p. 477, who ſays the King landed at Calais on Oct. 15, and departed thence towards Bulloign, lying the firſt night at *Sandingfield*, and the next at *Mergiſon*.
(7x) Rymer, Vol. XII. p. 720.
(7y) Pat. 9 H. VII. p. 1. m. 25.
(7z) Rymer, Vol. XI. p. 588.
(8a) Stow, p. 480, and Hall, f. 42, 43.
(8b) Rymer, Vol. XIII. p. 176, 177, 237, 238, where we find the King and Prince of Wales bound themſelves in 250000 crowns; and that John de Berghis, Chamberlain to the Emperor, and Knight of the Golden Fleece, ſtood as proxy to the Prince of Spain.
(8c) Pat. 1 Hen. VIII. p. 1. m. 26.
(8d) Rymer, Vol. XIII. p. 251.
(8e) Pat. 1 Hen. VIII. p. 1. m. 26.
(8f) MS. I. 7. in Offic. Armor.
(8g) Weever, p. 617.
(8h) Hiſt. of Eng. Vol. I. p. 560.

Dowgate, London, part of the poſſeſſions of *George*, late Duke of *Clarence*; to hold to him and to the heirs male of his body (111).

(111) Pat. 1 Hen. VII. p. 2.

[*HH*] *He made his will.*] It was dated April 10, 1508, being (as his words are) *in good health and perfect mind, not grieved, vexed, troubled, nor diſeaſed with any bodily ſickneſs.* He bequeathed to the figure of the bleſſed Lady at *Walſingham*, his eagle of gold, diſplayed and garniſhed. He alſo bequeathed, in honour of the holy and bleſſed King, Maiden, and Martyr, St *Edmund*, to his monaſtery at *Bury*, his beſt whole ſuit of veſtments of cloth of gold of tiſſue, viz. for Prieſt, Deacon, and Subdeacon. And he wills and requires his Executors, as haſtily as they can after his departure, to cauſe 2000 maſſes of *requiem* to be ſaid and ſung for his ſoul by every Fryar, being a Prieſt, in any of the houſes of the black Fryars in Cambridge and Oxford, and the white Fryars of Lynn, which houſes were of the foundation of his anceſtors. And alſo to the brethren of the *Charterhouſe*, London, *Shene* and *Sion*; and every Monk, Chanon, or every other religious perſon, being a Prieſt, or abiding within any houſe of religion of the foundation of any of his anceſtors, ſhall ſing and ſay *Placebo* and *Dirige*, and commendations, and have 3s. 4d. for their labour. And every other Fryar, Monk, Chanon, or Prieſt, within any houſe of religion in the ſhires of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Eſſex*, ſhall have, for their labour, 1s. 6d. His other bequeſts to Prieſts are very numerous. He wills that, if he has iſſue male of his body, lawfully begotten, they ſhall have his image of the Trinity, ſilver and gilt, and his croſs of gold, wherein lie two pieces of the holy croſs, with the garniſhing of the ſame; his bed of *Roote*, which he had by reaſon of his office of Great Chamberlain of England at the King's coronation; alſo his hangings of Tulins, a Celonanda Teſter of rich Arras, with a Torney thereon, which he had at the coronation of the Queen that is dead, by reaſon of his ſaid office, with ſeveral other particulars recited, which were to go to his heirs male, and in default to his nephew *John Veer*, ſon of his brother Sir *George Veer*, when he comes to the age of twenty-one years; and in default to his couſin John *Veer*, ſon and heir to Sir *Robert Veer*, Knt. his uncle, and in default to his right heirs. To the ſame heirs he alſo bequeathed the caſtle and honour of Hedingham and Gelham, with his manors of Bumſted, Canfield, Praiers, Bowre-hall, Greys in Hedingham-Sibille, Earls-Colne, Bentley, Crepinghall, Downham, Lavenham, Overhall, Nether-hall, Cokefield, Walſham-hall, Campes, Abingdon, Saxton, Swaffham-Bulbeck, Kenſyngton, and his place near Biſhops-gate in London. All which were of the old inheritance of the Earldom of Oxford, as by old gifts thereof made to his anceſtors manifeſtly did appear. He farther bequeathed to his nieces, *Dorothy* and *Urſula*, 600 marks, and conſtitutes executors, Elizabeth his dear wife, Sir Thomas Lovel, Sir James Hobart, Sir Robert Drury, Sir William Waldegrave, Sir Robert Lovel, Knts. Dr William Cook, John Veer the elder, Humphry Wingfield, John Daniel, John Joſſelyn, Eſqs; and William Okeley, Gent. each of which, being of the degree of a Knight, he bequeaths 10l. and to every other, ten marks (112).

(112) *By a codicil*, dated Sept. 1. 1512, 4 H. VIII, he confirms this will, of which the probate is dated May 10, 1514, and adminiſtration granted to Sir R. Drury, Sir W. Waldegrave, Knts. J. Veer, J. Joſſelin, and J. Daniel, Eſqrs; and W. Okeley, Gent. See the probate of his will in cur. prærog. Cant.

[*II*] *He was a magnificent man.*] Of his hoſpitality, and the great poſt he lived in, we have the following inſtance by Lord Bacon. The King, ſays that learned Author, was on a time entertained by the Earl of Oxford (that was his principal ſervant both for war and peace) nobly and ſumptuouſly at his caſtle at Heningham: And, at the King's going away, the Earl's ſervants ſtood in a ſeemly manner in their livery coats, with cognizances, ranged on both ſides, and made the King a lane. The King called the Earl unto him, and ſaid, *My Lord, I have heard much of your hoſpitality; but it is greater than the ſpeech: Theſe handſome gentlemen and yeomen, which I ſee on both ſides of me, are ſure your menial ſervants.* The Earl ſmiled, and ſaid, *That were not for mine eaſe: They are moſt of them my Retainers, that are come to do me ſervice at ſuch a time as this, and chiefly to ſee your Grace.* The King ſtartled a little, and ſaid, *By my faith, my Lord, I thank you for my good cheer; but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my ſight: My Attorney muſt ſpeak with you.* And it is part of the report, that the Earl compounded for no leſs than 15000 marks (113).

(113) Bacon's life of Hen. VII. in Hiſt. of Eng. Vol. I. p. 630.

He

He firſt married *Margaret*, daughter to *Richard Nevile* Earl of *Saliſbury*, and ſiſter to Richard the great Earl of *Warwick*, ſurnamed the *King-maker* (8*i*), by whom he had iſſue one ſon, *John* [*KK*], who died young in the Tower of London during his father's exile (8*k*). Margaret dying, he married Elizabeth Counteſs, daughter of Sir *Richard Scrope*, Knt. and widow of Willam Lord Viſcount *Beaumont* (8*l*); but, having no iſſue by her [*LL*], the earldom devolved on his nephew,

(8*i*) Pat. 21 Edward IV, p. 1. m. 10.

(8*k*) Vincent's Diſcourſe of Brooke's errors, p. 408.

(8*l*) Miller's Cat. of Nob. p. 695.

John [*MM*], the *fourteenth Earl of Oxford*, who had alſo the titles of Lord *Bolebec*, *Samford*, and *Scales*. On the death of his uncle he was in his minority, and being ſmall of ſtature, and reſiding at *Caſtle-Camps* in Cambridgeſhire, a ſeat that had been in his family from the Conqueſt, he was by the common people called *Little John of Campes* (8*m*). In 12 Hen. VIII, being of full age, he had a ſpecial livery of his lands (8*n*); and the ſame year attended the King at Canterbury, in order to that grand interview appointed by King Henry VIII. and Francis the French King between *Guiſnes* and *Ardres*; and had in his retinue three chaplains, ſix gentlemen, thirty-three ſervants, and twenty horſes (8*o*) [*NN*]. This Earl John took to wife *Anne*, daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of Norfolk (8*p*), and dying July 14, 1526, 18 Hen. VIII, without iſſue, was buried with his anceſtors at *Colne* (8*q*). Whereupon the inheritance, by his will, devolved, together with the Earldom, upon his next heir

(8*m*) Ib. p. 696. and Vincent's Baronetage MS. in Offic. Armor.

(8*n*) Pat. 12 H. VIII. p. 2.

(8*o*) MS. penes John Anſtis, Armig. ſuper Gart. Reg. Arm.

(8*p*) Milles's Cat. of Hon. p. 636.

(8*q*) Weever, p. 617.

Sir *John Vere* (8*r*), who was the fifth of that name, and the *fifteenth Earl of Oxford*; and, on the 15th of October following, he was, with Francis the French King, elected Knight at the battle of the *Spurs*. Cat. of Knights, MS. col. per Nich. Jekyl, Armiger.

(8*r*) He was knighted, 5 Henry VIII. for his valiant behaviour

[*KK*] *One ſon, John, by Margaret his wife.*] This Lady, while her huſband was priſoner in the caſtle of Hams, was not ſuffered to have acceſs to him, and was forced to live upon the charity of others and by her needle-work, both very ſhort to ſupply her great wants. This unmerciful and moſt inhumane uſage was the more extremely followed, for that Oxford himſelf, his father, and brother, had ever ſided with the Lancaſtrians. And ſhe, being ſiſter to Richard Earl of Warwick, the capital enemy of King Edward, was held either dangerous, if her wealth balanced her birth and eſtate, or elſe unworthy of his favour, whoſe good fortunes, as was ſuggeſted, ſhe ever maligned (114). However King Edward, toward the latter end of his reign, granted her, being in great want, and her huſband ſtanding attainted as the patent ſets forth, an annuity of 100l. per annum during her life, to be paid out of the impoſts upon wines in the port of London (115).

(114) Speed's Chron. p. 698.

(115) Pat. 21 Edward IV. p. 1. m. 10.

[*LL*] *He had no iſſue by his ſecond wife Elizabeth*, &c.] This Counteſs, by her laſt will, dated May 30, 1537, 29 Hen. VIII, ordered her body to be buried in the pariſh-church of *Wyvenho* (116). And foraſmuch as ſhe had found from experience, that the rich, as well as the poor and needy, reſort to common doles, ſhe therefore would have no ſuch; but that her executors deliver to the curates, churchwardens, &c. of every pariſh near adjoining to the place of her burial, ſuch ſums of money as ſhall be thought convenient for the relief of poor and impotent perſons of the ſaid pariſhes; as alſo to the poor of every pariſh where ſhe was patroneſs, and had lands, to pray for her ſoul, &c. To the ſame end ſhe likewiſe bequeaths 12d. a maſs for 200 maſſes, viz. of the Trinity, the Holy Ghoſt, and requies; and the five wounds 50 each: Alſo to the picture of the Lady of Walſingham her wedding-ring: Likewiſe to the pariſh-church of *Wyvenho* her beſt veſtment, her beſt cope of crimſon velvet, her beſt chalices, and her two altar-cloths of crimſon velvet, and a fruntelet of the ſame ſuit; being a benefactor beſides to many other churches and religious houſes. And after bequeathing much rich furniture (117), &c. to John, then Earl of Oxford, and her brothers and ſiſters, and other near relations, ſhe leaves the overplus among the pooreſt of her ſervants, and in other deeds of charity, at the diſcretion of her Executors, who were, her brother Sir *William Kingeſton*, her ſiſter *Jane Kingeſton*, *Philip Parrys*, Eſq; *John* and *Margaret Rider*. And ſhe appoints overſeer of her will, *Thomas Cromwell* Lord *Cromwell*, and Lord Privy Seal, to whom ſhe bequeaths, for a poor remembrance, 10l. The probate bears date November 6, 1537, which ſhews ſhe died that year.

(116) By that of her former huſband, Lord Beaumont.

(117) Conſiſting of Arras hangings, ſeveral diamond rings, a little croſs of gold, with a piece of the holy croſs incloſed, which ſhe daily wore about her neck, a great ſilver ſhaving baſon, weight 24 oz. a baſon and ewer of ſilver, chaſed and gilt, &c.

[*MM*] *The earldom devolved on his nephew John.*] This John was ſon and heir of Sir *George Veer*, brother to the late Earl of Oxford. Which Sir *George Veer* was alſo ſteady in the Lancaſtrian intereſt, and was a commander in thoſe forces his brother John brought againſt King Edward, which obliged him to leave the kingdom. And when that monarch, in order to regain his crown, attempted to land in Eſſex, this Sir George, by his power and intereſt in that country (his brother being with King Henry) appeared ſo ſtrong, that Edward was obliged to land, ſore weather-beaten, at *Ravenſpur* in *Holderneſs* (118). Sir George and his brother Thomas were with the Earl in the bloody battle of Barnet, and thence followed him, firſt into *Wales*, and after into *France*, and thence embarked with him, and were with him at the ſurrender of *St Michael's mount* in *Cornwall*: whereupon all three were attainted (119), but pardoned for their lives: and the attainder of Sir *Thomas Veer*, Knt. was afterwards revoked (120). This Sir Thomas, being one of the commanders under Sir *Edward Poynings* at the ſiege of *Sluys*, 5 Hen. VII, 1489, loſt his life in the aſſault thereof, without leaving iſſue (121). Sir *George Veer* made his will Auguſt 21, 1500, wherein, bequeathing his body to be buried in the conventual church of the priory of *Earls-Colne*, he appoints, among other maſſes, twelve poor men to ſay to the twelve Apoſtles, at his funeral, before the high altar, the *Lord's prayer*; alſo in Engliſh, *The Lord have mercy upon the ſoul of* George Veer, *and on the ſouls of all the faithful deceaſed* (*). He bequeaths to the high altar at *Heningham-caſtle*, 10s. to the nuns at *Heningham*, 100 ewes; to the *Franciſcans* at *Colcheſter*, to the Carmelites at *Malden*, to the Friars preachers at *Chelmſford*, and to the *Auguſtine* Friars at *Clare*, 13s. 4d. each; to his Executors 40l. to be laid out on his funeral; to *Margaret* his wife 40l. and all the ſilver plate and utenſils of his houſe; to his three daughters, *Elizabeth*, *Mary*, and *Dorothy*, a gold chain, weight twenty-ſix ounces; a paper miſſale and a ſilver chalice to the high altar before which he was buried, and 3l. for gilding the ſaid chalice; to the Friars preachers at Cambridge, 40s. to St Oſith's convent, 5l. to the high altar of that convent, a covering and caſe for the ſame of purple velvet with his arms upon it: That all his tenements in *Colcheſter* be ſold, and the monies ariſing by ſuch ſale be applied to the uſe of his will; the remainder to be divided between his wife and his boys at the diſcretion of *John* Earl of *Oxford*, his brother, whom he appoints ſuperviſor of his will (122), which being proved April 3, 1503, ſhews he lived almoſt three years after the making of it. Adminiſtration was granted to *Margaret* his widow, who was daughter and heir of *William Stafford* of *Litchfield* and *Frome* in com. *Dorſet*, and had iſſue by her Sir George Vere, and John, the fourteenth Earl of Oxford (123); George was buried at Halſtead in Eſſex, where a monument was erected to his memory, much defaced in Weever's time (124): Their daughters were, *Elizabeth*, wife of Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Knight of the Garter; *Dorothy*, wife of *John Nevile*, Lord *Latimer*; and *Urſula*, firſt married to *George Windſor*, Eſq; and ſecondly to Sir Edmund Knightly, of Faverley in Northamptonſhire.

(118) Stowe's Annals, p. 423.

(119) And he reſtored to the manor of Dillingham in com. Cantabr. and all other his hereditaments. Cotton's Records, p. 699, 700.

(120) Ann. 13 Ed. IV. Tit. 35. Ibid. p. 700.

(121) Hall's Chron. fol. 23. *a. b.*

(*) Alſo that a poor man ſay every day, for one year, the maſs of the Virgin Mary, and that a poor woman, every Saturday, in honour of the Virgin Mary, do the office of the Prieſt.

(122) With a codicil, dated Dec. 2, 1502, wherein he bequeaths to John Vere, his ſon and heir, his gold ſeal, called *Le Signet*, and a gold ring with a ruby in it, beſides his black velvet gown, with ſoines, to Ric. Fitz-Lewis, Kt. his kinſman, and a gown to each of his ſix ſervants.

(123) Vincent's Baronetage in Offic. Armor.

(124) Fun. Mon. p. 619, there was only remaining Georgio Vere filio Georgii Vere - - Militis - - 1498.

[*NN*] *He attended the King at Canterbury*, &c.] Whilſt they were at Canterbury, *Charles* the Emperor landed at *Dover*, where the King met him, and from thence they rode to *Canterbury*, where the Emperor was magnificently entertained for three days, and took leave of the King on the laſt of May. The ſame day the King, Queen, and his train, ſailed from *Dover*, and landed at *Calais*, and in the Queen's train were the Counteſs of Oxford, conſort to this Earl, as alſo the Counteſs dowager of Oxford (125).

(125) Rymer, Vol. XIII. p. 911.

of the Garter (8s). In 21 Hen. VIII. he received his writ to take his place in parliament (8t), and, October 1st following, sat among other nobles in the Star-chamber on the accusation of Cardinal *Wolsey*, and subscribed the articles against him, which were preferred to parliament (8u). July 13, 22 Hen. VIII, he subscribed that memorable letter, sent by the nobility of England, &c. to *Pope Clement VII*, intimating to his Holiness, that, unless he complied with King Henry in his divorce from Queen Catharine, his supremacy in this realm was not like to be long acknowledged (8w). In 24 Hen. VIII. the clergy, and other of the religious, to ingratiate themselves with the King, presented him with new-year's gifts very liberally, considering those of the nobility, of which notice was taken that the rich Earl of Oxford presented but nine *sovereigns*, valued at 10l. 2s. 6d. (8x); the Earl of Rutland 6l. 13s. 4d. &c. In 25 Hen. VIII. he was commissioned, with the Duke of Norfolk, to settle the household of the Lady (afterwards Queen) Mary (8y). In 28 Hen. VIII, on the rebellion of *Aske* and the northern rebels, the King, in justification of himself against their complaint of grievances, sets forth, that he had chosen of his Council *Nobles of birth and condition, wherewith his subjects seemed to be content*, and among them he mentions the Earl of Oxford (8z). In 29 Hen. VIII. he attended at the Christening of *Prince Edward* at Hampton-court, October 12 (9a.) And departed this life at his seat at *Colne* in Essex on Saturday, March 21, 31 Hen. VIII, and was buried at *Castle-Heningham* on Monday, April 12, following (9b). He married *Elizabeth*, daughter and heir of Sir *Edward Trussel*, Knight Banneret (son and heir of Sir William Trussel, Knt.) (9c), by whom he had issue three sons [OO], of whom

John de Veer, the sixth of that name, became the *sixteenth Earl of Oxford*, and, in 32 Hen. VIII, had livery of all the lands which descended to him by Elizabeth his mother, sister and heir to *John Trussel*, Esq; (9d). In 36 Hen. VIII. he was at the siege and taking of *Bulloigne*, having command in the rear of the King's army, under the conduct of John Lord Russel, Lord Privy Seal (9e). In 37 Hen. VIII. he received a commission of array to raise as well archers as horse and foot, to be in readiness to suppress the enemy as occasion required (9f). At the funeral of Henry VIII. at *Windsor*, *Henry Grey*, *Marquis* of *Dorset*, attending as chief mourner, the Earls of *Oxford* and *Arundel* were the two next (9g). At the coronation of Edward VI. he was made Knight of the Bath, and, being created with great royalty, was commanded to pay to the Heralds double fees (9h). July 28, 1562, 4 Eliz. he made his will, ordering his body to be buried in the body of the church of *Earl's Colne* (9i). He died in less than a year after this (9k). He married first *Dorothy*, daughter to *Ralph Nevile*, Esq; of Westmorland, who died, leaving him only a daughter *Catharine* [PP], whereupon he married secondly Margaret, daughter of *John Golding*, and sister of Sir *Thomas Golding*, Knt. by whom he had issue

(8s) Ashmole, p. 322, 323. On their installation, 19 H. VIII, he was placed in the 11th stall on the Sovereign's side; but on the election of the King of Scots, in 27 Hen. VIII, he was honoured with a higher stall. Ibid. p. 324.

(8t) Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 303.

(8u) Herbert's Life of H. VIII. in Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 125, 129.

(8w) Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 405, 406.

(8x) Strype's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 137.

(8y) Ibid. p. 155.

(8z) Herbert, p. 207, 208.

(9a) Strype, Vol. II. p. 4. who tells us, p. 7, that his Countess attended at the funeral of Queen Jane at Windsor, November 12 following.

(9b) Fun. Certif. I. 11. in Offic. Armor. 686.

(9c) Vincent's Baron. MS. in Offic. Armor.

(9d) Pat. 32 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(9e) Herbert, as before, p. 244, et seq.

(9f) Rymer, Vol. XV. p. 71, 72.

(9g) Appendix in Strype's Mem. p. 15, who observes, that they, receiving from Garter the King's embroidered coat of arms, were conducted by him to the Offering, which being delivered again to Garter, he laid it reverently upon the altar.

(9h) Ex Regist. Chayre, qu. 22, in cur. Prærog. Cant.

(9i) As were also the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Hertford, and other nobles, who were created at the same time. Strype's Mem. Vol. II. p. 23.

(9k) This appears from the administration, which was granted May 29, 1563.

[OO] *He had issue three sons.*] His second son, *Aubrey de Vere*, married Margaret, daughter of *John Spring*, of *Lanham* in Suffolk, and had issue *Hugh de Vere*, who, by Eleanor his wife, daughter of - - - *Walsh*, Esq; was father of *Robert* Earl of *Oxford*, as will be shewn hereafter. The third son, *Geffery Vere*, was father of Sir *Francis* and Sir *Horace Vere* Lord *Vere* of *Tilbury*, of both whom we have before treated. The said *John* Earl of *Oxford* had also three daughters; *Elizabeth*, married to *Thomas* Lord *Darcy* of *Chich* in *Essex*, who had issue by her *John* Lord *Darcy*, father of *Thomas* Lord *Darcy* of *Chich*; and *Elizabeth*, the second wife of *John* Lord *Lumley* (126). The said Thomas Lord Darcy married *Mary*, daughter and heir of Sir *Thomas Kitson* of Hengrave in Suffolk, and, July 5, 1621, (19 Jac.) was created Viscount *Colchester* for life, with remainder to Sir *Thomas Savage*, Knt. and Bart. (who had married Elizabeth his eldest daughter) and to their heirs male (127). Also, Nov. 4, 2 Car. was created Earl *Rivers*, with like remainder to Sir *Thomas Savage* (128), from whom the *Earls* of *Rivers* descended. He had also three other daughters, who were, with the said Elizabeth, coheirs to the said Earl Rivers, who died Feb. 21, 1639, 15 Car. and was buried in the church of St *Osith* at *Chich*, whereby the Earldom devolved as beforementioned. His three daughters were, Mary, wedded to *Roger Manwood*, Esq; Penelope, to Sir *G. Trenchard*, of Wolveton in Dorsetshire, Knt. who died in a week after her marriage, and she was secondly the wife of Sir *John Gage*, of *Firle* in com. *Sussex*, Bart. ancestor by her to the present Viscount *Gage*; Susan, the youngest daughter, died unmarried; so that, by the family of *Savage*, Earls of *Rivers*, being extinct, the barony of Darcy is in abeyance, having its rise in the said *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*, who married the *Earl* of *Oxford*'s daughter as aforementioned, and had summons to parliament 5 Edward VI.

Anne, the second daughter of the Earl of Oxford, was married to *Edmund Lord Sheffield*, from whom proceeded the *Earl of Mulgrave*, and *John Sheffield*, and his son *Edmund*, the last Duke of Buckinghamshire.

(126) Descent of Nob. by Henry Chiting, MS. Lanc. Fecial.

(127) Pat. 19 Jac. p. 2.

(128) Pat. 2 C. I. p. 5.

Frances, third daughter, was espoused to *Henry Howard*, Earl of *Surrey* (grandson and heir to Thomas Duke of Norfolk); *Jane*, married to *Charles Earl of Westmoreland*; *Margaret*, to *Henry Lord Scrope of Bolton*; and *Catharine*, to *Henry Lord Berkley*; and Descendants are remaining from all of them (129).

(129) Descent of Nobility.

[PP] *He left only a daughter Catharine.*] A marriage was agreed on, and indentures signed between her and Henry, son to the Duke of *Somerset*; but after the Duke's attainder and execution, a bill was brought into parliament, and enacted, 6 Edw. VI, 1551, that the indentures should be void and of none effect (130); and the Lady Catharine was afterwards married to *Edward* Lord *Windsor*, who died at Venice, Jan. 24, 17 Eliz. and had issue by her four sons and four daughters; Frederic Lord Windsor (from whom the present Lord Windsor is descended); *Edward* and *Andrew*, that were married; *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, who died in their infancies; *Margaret*, wife of *John Talbot*, of *Grafton* in com. Wigorn, Esq; (ancestor to the present Earl of *Shrewsbury*); and *Catharine*, wife of *Robert Audley*, of *Berechurch* in *Essex* (131), Esq; who are all recited in an inscription on a noble monument erected to her memory in the chancel of *Tarbick* in Warwickshire, wherein is this further mention of her Ladyship and her Lord:

(130) Strype's Mem. Vol. II. p. 309.

(131) Chitting's Descents of the Nobility, MS. p. 63.

'D. O. M.
'Katharinæ Oxoniæ filiæ, Westmerlandiæ neptis, Staffordiæ, Buckinghamiensis abneptis, Windsoriæ conjugis, hîc jacent cineres. Quæ ortu Vero, partu clara, clarior virtute, Edwardo chariss. marito Venetiis defuncto, ætate, forma florens 33 vitæ anno, viduam castitatem more prisco incœpit, usque ad sexagesimum vitæ ultimum sancte tenuit; novo tunc flagrans amore, novum quæsivit et sponsum in cœlis Christum: Terrestrem hæc terra tenet partem; æthereum æther. Obiit 17 Jan. 1599.
'Sed ne exemplar castitatis & pudicitiæ, honore merito, posteri exemplo, hic carerent, aviæ suæ digniss. Thomas, et Henrico filio nepos, hoc monumentum poni curavit.'

Edward,

Edward, his ſon and ſucceſſor, the *ſeventeenth Earl of Oxford* [*QQ*]. This Earl travelled in his youth to Italy, and, on his return, was the firſt that brought embroidered gloves and perfumes into England; and preſenting the Queen [Eliz.] with a pair of perfumed gloves, ſhe was pictured with them on her hands (*9l*). He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in two juſts and tournaments before the Queen; the firſt in 1571, and the ſecond in 1580 [*RR*]: And he was the chief of thoſe nobles that embarked with *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter* for the relief of Holland and Zealand in 1585, 28 Eliz. (*9m*). The next year he was one of the commiſſioners on the trial of *Mary* Queen of *Scots* (*9n*). In the memorable year 1588, 31 Eliz. the Earl, at his own charge, hired ſhips, and joined the grand fleet employed againſt the Spaniſh *Armada* (*9o*). In 32 Eliz. he ſat on the trial of *Philip Howard*, Earl of *Arundel*, who was unanimouſly found guilty of high-treaſon (*9p*): Yet he was ſuch an intire friend to *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, that, when he diſcerned the Duke's life in danger by the charge againſt him touching the Queen of Scots, he earneſtly interceded with Burleigh (his wife's father) for ſaving him, which being declined by the Treaſurer, the Earl, in great indignation, ſaid he would do all he could to ruin his daughter (*9q*) [*SS*]. The Earl died June 24, 1604 (*9r*), and was ſucceeded in honour and eſtate by his only ſon and heir,

Henry Vere, the *eighteenth Earl of Oxford*. In 1605, the King being at Oxford, he was created A. M. with other nobles then attending (*9s*). In 1610 he was the firſt choſen to be of the *order of the Bath* at the creation of *Henry* Prince of Wales (*9t*) [*TT*]. He afterwards travelled into Italy (*9u*), and returned home in 1618 (*9w*) [*UU*]. His exploits in 1620,

(*9l*) Stowe's Annals, p. 686.

(*9m*) Ibid. p. 711.

(*9n*) Camden's Eliz. ubi ſupra, p. 519.

(*9o*) Ibid. p. 547.

(*9p*) Ibid. p. 551, who informs us alſo that he ſat on the trials of Eſſex and Southampton, in 44 Eliz. Ibid. p. 563.

(*9q*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 199.

(*9r*) Vincent on Brooke, p. 410. and Milles, p. 702.

(*9s*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 172.

(*9t*) Anſtis's Obſervations on the Knighthood of the Bath, p. 62, & ſeq.

(*9u*) Sir Henry Wotton's letters MS. in the paper office.

(*9w*) Camden's Annals under that year.

[*QQ*] *He had iſſue Edward his ſon.*] He had alſo a daughter *Mary*, maried to *Peregrine Bertie*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Ereſby*, who in right of his mother, in 2 Car. I, had the office of Lord Great Camberlain adjudged to him by the Houſe of Peers, which office is ſtill in his deſcendants (132).

(132) See rem. [*P*] in the article of HOLLES [JOHN], firſt Earl of Clare, Vol. IV. p. 2642.

The ſaid John Earl of Oxford, in his will, bequeaths to his loving ſon-in-law the *Lord Windſor*, and to his daughter the Lady *Catharine* his wife, 300 marks; to the Lady *Mary* his daughter, 200 marks at the day of her marriage; to Hugh and John, ſons of his brother Aubrey de Veer, 20l. each, to be paid when they come to the age of twenty-one; to Ann Veer, eldeſt daughter of his ſaid brother Aubrey, 100 marks; and to his other daughters, *Bridget* and *Jane*, 40l. each on the day of their marriage; to his brother Robert Vere's daughter, 40l. and 20l. to each of the two ſons of his brother *Jeffery* at their age of twenty-one; to his three loving ſiſters, the Ladies *Darcy*, *Surrey*, and *Sheffield*, each of them one of his cups of ſilver and gilt; to the Lord Keeper, 10l. and one of his great horſes; to Sir William Cecil, 10l. and another of his great horſes. He makes his Executors, his well-beloved wife *Margery* Counteſs of Oxford, his ſon *Edward* Lord *Bulbeck*, his loving friend Sir *John Wentworth*, Knt. his truſty ſervants, *Henry Golding*, *Robert Chriſtmas*, and *John Turner*; and ſupervifors of his will, his ſingular good Lord the *Duke's* Grace of *Norfolk* and the Lord *Robert Dudley*, and bequeaths to each of them 20l. and one of his beſt horſes or geldings. In a ſchedule annexed he gives legacies to his ſervants, *Henry Golding*, Eſq; 20l. to *Robert Chriſtmas*, 20l. and to twenty other gentlemen, who were his ſervants, the moſt of them 20l. He alſo bequeaths legacies to forty-four yeomen his ſervants, and to twenty-two grooms that were his ſervants (133): Whence he appears to have lived in great grandeur.

(133) Ex Regiſt. Chayre, qu. 22 in Cur. Prærog. Cant.

[*RR*] *He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in two tournaments.*] In the firſt, this *Earl* of *Oxford*, *Charles Lord Howard*, Sir *Henry Lea*, and Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, afterwards Knights of the Garter, were challengers; and the Lord *Stafford*, Lord *Henry Seymour*, *Thomas Cecil*, and others, were defendants; and on each of the challengers her Majeſty beſtowed a prize, for the receiving whereof they were led armed by two ladies into her preſence-chamber. This triumph continued three days; the firſt at *Tilt*, the ſecond at *Tourney*, and the third at *Barrier*. In the ſecond, in 1580, the *Earl of Arundel*, and his aſſiſtant Sir *William Drury*, challenged all comers: The Defenders were the *Earl of Oxford*, the *Lord Windſor*, the famous Sir *Philip Sidney*, and others; and the prize was given by her Majeſty to the *Earl of Oxford* (134).

(134) Seager's Hon. Milit. and Civil, p. 194, 195.

[*SS*] *He would do his beſt to ruin his daughter.*] Sir William Dugdale, who relates this, ſays further, that, in the ſame reſolution, the Earl not only forſook his wife's bed, but ſold and conſumed that great inheritance deſcended to him from his anceſtors. But for that part relating to his inheritance, Sir William cites *Camden*, who only ſays *he was in a fair way to ſpend his eſtate* (135): and it is certain the greateſt part deſcended to his ſon and heir, and, on his deceaſe without iſſue, devolved on his kinſman Robert Earl of Oxford, who died ſeized thereof, as will appear preſently. By this wife Anne the Earl had three daughters: *Elizabeth*, born July 2, 1575, married at Greenwich, Jan. 26, 1594, to *William Stanley*, *Earl of Derby* (136); 2. *Bridget*, born April 6, 1584, married to *Francis Lord Norris* of *Ricot*, after created Earl of Berkſhire; and 3. *Suſan*, born May 26, 1587, married to *Philip Herbert*, *Earl of Montgomery*, and, on the deceaſe of his elder brother *William*, was alſo *Earl of Pembroke* (137). Their mother *Anne* died at Queen Elizabeth's court at *Greenwich*, June 6, 1588 (138), and was interred in Weſtminſter-abbey on the 25th, attended by many perſons of great quality and honour: The chief mourner was the *Counteſs of Lincoln*, ſupported by the Lords Windſor and Darcy, and her train borne by the Lady *Stafford*; and among other mourners at her funeral were the Ladies *Ruſſel*, *Elizabeth Vere*, *Willoughby* ſiſter to the Earl of Oxford, *Cobham*, *Lumley*, *Hunſdon*, *Cecil* wife to Sir *Thomas Cecil*. Six bannerets were borne by *Michael Stanhope*, *Edward Wotton*, *Anthony Cook*, *William Cecil*, *John Vere*, and *Richard Cecil* (139). We have an account of this Earl from the Oxford Antiquarian, who, having acquainted us, that in his younger days the Earl was a penſioner of St John's college in Cambridge, proceeds in the following terms: 'This moſt noble Earl of Oxford, 'Sept. 6, 1566, waiting on Queen Elizabeth at Oxford, 'had the degree of A. M. conferred upon him by the 'Univerſity. He was in his younger days an excellent 'poet and comedian, as ſeveral of his compoſitions that 'were made public ſhewed, which I preſume are now 'loſt and worn out. All that I have yet ſeen are certain 'poems on ſeveral ſubjects thus: 1ſt, *His good name being 'blemiſhed, he bewaileth.* 2d, *The complaint of a Lover 'wearing black and tawnie.* 3d, *Being in love he com-'plaineth.* 4th, *A Lover rejected complaineth.* 5th, *Not 'attaining his deſire, he complaineth.* 6th, *His mind not 'quietly ſettled, he complaineth.* With many ſuch like 'things that were highly valued in their times (140).'

(136) Milles's Cat. of Hon. p. 701.

(137) MS. de Fam. de Nobil. collected by T. Miller.

(138) Milles, p. 702.

(139) MS. by Sir W. Delhicke, Garter. Not. A. 31. in Bibl. Joh. Anſtis, Arm.

(140) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 99.

[*TT*] *He was the firſt choſen of the order of the Bath.*] The bill was ſigned by the King June 2, and he repaired to Durham houſe in the afternoon. The next day the Knights rode to the court, their pages riding before them, carrying a ſword in a white ſcabbard with a belt, with gilt hilts, and a pair of gilt ſpurs hanging thereon. Being alighted at the court-gate, the Earl of Oxford proceeded with his page before him, between his two governors; and the others followed according to their priority into the hall, where the King came, accompanied with the nobility. The Earl of Oxford was firſt preſented by the Governors to him ſitting under his State, the Page delivering the ſword to the Lord Chamberlain, and he to the King, who girt it about the Earl's neck, and the Earl of Northampton put on his ſpurs; the reſt were received accordingly (141).

(141) Anſtis's Obſervat. on the Knighthood of the Bath, p. 63, et ſeq.

[*UU*] *He travelled into Italy.*] Sir *Henry Wotton*, in a letter from Venice, Feb. 3, 1617, to Mr Secretary *Lake*, acquaints him, That my Lord of Oxford, having at *Florence* heard of the impriſonment of Mr *Henry Bertie*, his near kinſman, by the inquiſition at *Ancona*, went the next day poſt to *Rome*, after he had firſt procured the Great Duke's palace there for his own ſecurity, and letters of favour, which were to follow him. Since which time Mr *Bertie* was removed, perchance upon his interceſſion, as ſafe for himſelf as it is nobly done. Now having never yet, by any intelligence,

(135) Camden's Life of Q. Elizabeth in Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 392.

1620, for the recovery of the Palatinate, have been already recited (9x); to which we muſt not omit to add, that, in 1622, being one of thoſe peers that aimed at public liberty more than their own intereſt, and ſpeaking freely, he was taken into cuſtody, being accuſed by one *White*, a Papiſt, (called after in deriſion *Oxford White*) of ſpeaking ſome words to the diſparagement of the King and diſhonour of his government; whereupon he was committed to the Tower. The Earl continued in the Tower a great while; and being an active man, the King ſent him at laſt to ſea, to be one of *Buckingham*'s Vice-Admirals for the Engliſh coaſt (9y). He was ſo deſirous of a martial employ, that he propoſed to purchaſe of Robert Lord *Vicount Liſle* his regiment encamped in *Cleveland* in 1624 (9z). However, that not taking effect, he went into the ſea-ſervice as beforementioned. But, in the ſpring of that year, 1624, four regiments being raiſed to aſſiſt Prince *Maurice* againſt *Spinola* the Spaniſh general, after the defeat at *Breda*, the Earl went to the Hague, and ſtaid there the whole winter. But Henry Prince of Orange ſucceeding his brother (who died at the Hague, April 23, 1625.) and attempting one of the enemy's ſtrong works at *Terheiden*, either to relieve the town or drive the enemy from their trenches, failed in both, and loſt many gallant men, eſpecially Engliſh, in the enterprize. The Earl of Oxford led the van, and being a man corpulent and heavy, got ſuch a heat in the ſervice, that though he came off without hurt from the enemy, yet he brought death along with him; for falling ſick preſently after, he went to the Hague, and there died in the middle of ſummer, 1625 (10a). His body was brought to England, and interred in St *John Baptiſt*'s chapel in Weſtminſter-abbey. On the 15th of July that year he had married Lady *Diana*, ſecond daughter to *William Cecil*, Earl of *Exeter*, one of the moſt eminent beauties and fortunes of the times (10b); but by her leaving no iſſue (10c), the honour devolved upon his kinſman,

(9y) Camden's Annals, p. 657. and Wilſon's Life of K. James, p. 786, 748.

(9z) In the preceding article of Horace Lord Vere of Tilbury.

(9z) Sidney's State-Papers, Vol. I. p. 351.

(10a) Wilſon's Life of K. James, p. 793.

(10b) Ibid. p. 736

(10c) Seagar's Baronage MS.

Robert Vere, who was the *nineteenth Earl of Oxford* (10d). The Earl of Clarendon hath given ſome account of his Lordſhip's temper, which will be hereafter mentioned (10e). This Earl took to a military life [*WW*], had the command of a regiment in the ſervice of the States, and was ſlain at the ſiege of Maeſtricht, Auguſt 7, 1632. He died rich, having married *Beatrix*, daughter of *Van Hemima* of Friezland, by whom he had iſſue three ſons (10f), of whom

(10d) He was only ſon and heir of Hugh Vere, only ſon of Aubrey Vere (by his wife Margaret) ſecond ſon of John, 5th Earl of Oxford, whereupon he was reſtored to the title in the parliament held at Weſtminſter, 2 Car. I, after a conteſt with Rob. Bertie, Lord Willoughby of Ereſby, who obtained the office of Great Chamberlain. Journal of Parl. 2 Car. I. See the article of Hollis, firſt Earl of Clare.

(10e) In the article of the firſt Duke of Buckingham.

(10f) The two younger ſons, Horace and Francis, died young, as did alſo his three daughters, Mary, Magdalen, and Suſan.

Aubrey, the eldeſt, ſucceeding to the honour and eſtate, became the *twentieth Earl of Oxford*. Being not five years and a half old at his father's deceaſe, he was in ward to King Charles I; but the civil wars breaking out, being then with his mother and her friends in *Zealand*, he entered early on a military life in the ſervice of the *States*, in which he had the command of a regiment of Engliſh foot about the year 1648 [*XX*]. June 20, 1654, he, with

gence, underſtood the particular cauſe of his reſtraint, I will ſet down what I conjecture upon certain circumſtances. Mr *Porie*, Secretary to the Ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, took pains to tranſlate the King's book againſt Cardinal *Perron* out of French into Italian, upon requeſt of the Venetian ambaſſador; whereupon I am fallen into a conceit, that Mr Porie did ſend the ſaid book by an Italian, and that Mr *Bertie*'s man, who was a Papiſt, did bewray it in *Ancona*. To this conjecture I am led by finding, in all Mr *Porie*'s letters, a very eager deſire to know whether Mr *Bertie* were ſafely arrived at *Venice*. If my fancy ſhould be true, his caſe is the very ſame as Mr *Mole*'s (*), and then I fear it will go hard with him.

(*) See an account of Mr Mole's caſe in remark [*B*] of Villiers, ſecond Duke of Buckingham.

In another letter from Sir *Henry Wotton* from Venice to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Secretary of State, dated June, 1617, is this account: 'Now becauſe it is likely that 'his Majeſty will be preſſed to the aſſiſtance of this 'Republic, my Lord of Oxford intendeth to employ 'the interceſſion of his friends at home, that he may 'have leave to contract with them here, and to tranſ'port unto them ſome volunteer troops; wherein, as 'I conceive it, the King ſhall but leave his ſubjects in 'their natural liberty, and yet much oblige this ſtate 'unto him, without any change of his own, or ſo much 'as any direct engagement of himſelf in the cauſe. 'My Lord himſelf is grown a goodly gentleman, of 'great ability, for his years, both of body and judg'ment, and has already taken a way to make both his 'affection and reſolution well known to them here, by 'going in a very noble manner, both himſelf and his 'followers, to the ſiege of *Gradiſca*, as the public voice 'leadeth him. And of this I ſhall need ſay no more, 'becauſe he propoſeth to write himſelf to you, upon 'whoſe friendſhip he maketh much foundation, as he 'telleth me, &c. (142).'

(142) Sir H. Wotton's letters, MS. in the Paper-office, as in the text.

[*WW*] *He died rich.*] The inquiſition taken after his death at *Stratford* in *Eſſex*, Jan. 30, 8 Car. I, ſets forth, that he died ſeized of a Knight's fee in *Heningham-Sible*, a Knight's fee in *Willingale*, a Knight's fee in *Bumſted*, a Knight's fee in *Ramſay*, two Knights fees and a half in *Finchingfield*, one Knight's fee in *Aldham* and *Feering*, one Knight's fee in *Zerdale*, half a Knight's fee in *Goſfield*, and twelve Knights fees in *Yardley*, *Little Canfield*, *Willingale-Spaine*, *Wendon*, *Weddington*, *Salcot*, *Verley*, *Margaret-Rothing*, *Wytham*, *Wormenſford*, *Aſhen*, *Toleſhunt magna*, *Little Bentley*, *Burch*, *Ravenhall*, and *Mapleſted magna*, late appertaining to the honour of *Stanſted-Montfichet*, with divers lands, woods, &c. all in the county of Eſſex. And in Hertfordſhire, of the ſcite of the manor and park of *Northwood*, and all meſſuages, lands, and tenements, &c. there and in *Thornbury*, with the advowſon of the church of *Thornbury*.

And by another inquiſition, taken at the caſtle of Oxford, May 30, 10 Car. I, it was found that he was ſeized, at the time of his death, of the Earldom of Oxford, and honour of Earl of Oxford, &c. held of the King *in capite* by the ſervice of two Knights fees and a half. And in Oxfordſhire of two Knights fees in Lachbroke, one Knight's fee in Little Rycote, one Knight's fee and a half in Ewelme, one Knight's fee and a half in Stoke-Liſle, and one Knight's fee in Bodicote. And in Cambridgeſhire, of one Knight's fee in Balſham, half a Knight's fee in Miſſenden parva, half a Knight's fee in Wavyndon, half a Knight's fee in Burton, half in Leckhamſted, and half in Weſton. In Hertfordſhire, one Knight's fee in Bayninge, one in Damſlete, one in Alſiodwyke, one in Meeſden, one in Beugh, half a Knight's fee in Thele, and half a Knight's fee in Cokenhacht. In Eſſex, of a Knight's fee in Hengham and the caſtle. A third of two Knights fees in Tilberry near Gelham, one Knight's fee in Stemington and Aſhden, one in Bertilſdon, one in Bromley parva, one in Toleſhunt-Boyes, two in Beaumond, two in Davercourt and Colne, and divers other parcels of fees in Hengham, Gellam-magna, Langdon, Donton, Leyndon, Finchingfield, Raye, Aſhe; with divers woods, &c. (143).

(143) Cole's Eſſex. Lib. 3. p. 147, note 61. A. 14 in bibl. Harl. now in the Brit. Muſæum.

[*XX*] *He had a regiment of foot in* 1648.] The famous Algernoon Sidney, in a letter to Robert Earl of Leiceſter, dated January 10, 1648, informs him, that, old Berington being dead, his brother Robert Sidney was made Lieutenant-colonel to the Earl of Oxford, then abroad (144). This regiment, on the breaking out of the war with the Dutch, was ſent for to England, and the ſaid Robert Sidney was made colonel thereof by King Charles II, May 31, 1665 (145); and it is yet ſubſiſting by the name of the *Holland regiment*. The Earl had afterwards a quarrel with his Lieutenant-colonel Sidney,

(144) Vide his letter in the memoirs of the Sidneys, before the letters and memorials of State, p. 131.

(145) Sidney's letters, p. 161.

with Wentworth, of the Bed-chamber to the King, was committed to the Tower for high-treaſon, with others, as conſpirators againſt the Lord Protector *(10g)* [*YY*]. But the Earl was never brought to a trial, and obtained his liberty ſoon after; though he was ever conſtant to the Royal cauſe [*ZZ*]. And upon Sir George Booth's riſing in 1659, he, with others, was apprehended, Auguſt 13, on ſuſpicion of being in the preſent plot [*AAA*]; but was diſcharged, on the 2d of November following, by the Committee of Safety *(10h)*, on ſecurity to live peaceably. As he had been a great ſufferer in the Royal cauſe, he was the firſt of the ſix Lords deputed by the Houſe of Peers, with twelve of the Commons, to preſent to the King, at the Hague, the Parliament's ſupplication for the King's return *(10i)*. His Lordſhip returned to England with the King, who, on the day of his arrival at Whitehall, deſigning to confer the Garter upon him, ſigned the letter for that purpoſe the laſt of May; and the next day, Friday, June 1, 1660, the Earl received the order in the Council-chamber *(10k)*. His Lordſhip, Auguſt 20 this year, was Lord Lieutenant of the county of Eſſex *(10l)*; and was alſo the ſame year appointed Lord Chief Juſtice in Eyre of all the King's foreſts, parks, and chaſes, on this ſide the river *Trent*. At the King's coronation, which was performed with great ſplendor on the 23d of April, 1661, the Earl of Oxford bore the ſword called the *Curtana (10m)*. In 1665, on the war with the Dutch, a regiment of horſe being raiſed, the command of it was conferred on this Earl, and retained the name of Oxford's horſe to his death, and is now the royal regiment of horſe-guards blue. On Jan. 5, 1669, his Lordſhip was ſworn of the Privy Council *(10n)*. In 1679, on the eſtabliſhment of a new Privy-Council, which met at Whitehall, April 21, his Lordſhip was left out of it; though he had ever behaved with great moderation, not being violent in any meaſures *(10o)*; and on Jan. 6, 1680, he was again ſworn into it *(10p)*. On King James's acceſſion to the throne, the Earl carried the ſword of ſtate at his coronation, April 23, 1685 *(10q)*, but was left out of the commiſſion of Lord Lieutenant of the county of Eſſex, the Lord *Petre* having that truſt till Oct. 25, 1688, when his Majeſty conferred it again upon the Earl as a perſon more acceptable to the people *(10r)*. On the landing of the Prince of Orange, he joined the Proteſtant Lords in the petition to King James for a free parliament *(10s)*, which being delivered Nov. 17, and rejected, his

(10g) Diurnal Occurrences, p. 58, and Whitlock's Memorials, p. 574.

(10h) Ibid. p. 688, 691, who ſays it was done to ingratiate with the Cavaliers.

(10i) Clarendon, Vol. VI. p. 768, 769.

(10k) Sir Edw. Walker's Hiſt. Account of Elections, Inſtallations, &c. of the Garter, MS. p. 32, et ſeq.

(10l) Bill ſignat. 12 Car. II.

(10m) Cook's Life of King Charles II, p. 247.

(10n) Pointer's Chron. Hiſt. p. 230.

(10o) Comp. Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 4[illegible].

(10p) Ibid. p. 523.

(10q) The Earl, among others, deſired a clauſe to be inſerted, that the Peers who had joined the Prince ſhould ſit in that free parliament; but the reſt thought it needleſs. Ibid. p. 529.

Sidney, as appears from the following account in the *Mercurius Politicus* (146) from the Hague, April 19, 1651: 'On Saturday laſt the Lord of Oxford, and 'Lieutenant-colonel *Sidney*, Lord Leiceſter's ſon, fell 'out at play here, and are gone into Flanders to fight, 'with their ſeconds, Colonel *Gerard* and Captain *Clerk*.' After which is this relation from the Hague, of the 13th of May: 'The two duelliſts, *Oxford* and *Sidney*, have 'had their quarrel taken up by ſome friends, who pre-'vented them in the way to Flanders (147).'

(146) P. 749. This was a weekly paper publiſhed in theſe times.

(147) Ib. p. 793. and Whitlock, p. 467.

[*YY*] *A conſpiracy againſt the Protector.*] Colonel *John Gerard*, brother to Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, with others, were tried by the High Court of Juſtice, and charged with a conſpiracy to murder the Protector as he ſhould go to Hampton-court, to ſeize the guards, and make themſelves maſters of the Tower, &c. and proclaim the King, for which he was ſentenced to be hanged; but, upon petitioning the Protector, was beheaded on Tower-hill. Sir Gilbert Gerard, with another of his brothers, Colonel Aſhburnham, Mr Joſeph Aſhburnham, and ſeveral others, were under cuſtody for it (148). How long the Earl of Oxford continued in confinement does not appear. In *Thurloe*'s State-papers he is mentioned as follows, in a letter from Paris, May 8, 1654, N. S. to Mr *Thomas Scot, at his houſe at Lambeth, London*, intercepted: There is gone from hence lately, Colonel *John Gerard*, and with him Major *Hallſey*, who killed Mr *Aſcham*, with intent to kill the Protector. They have another deſign in the city; the Earl of Oxford is to be the Chief. *Beverning*, *Nieuport*, and *Jongeſtall*, the Dutch Ambaſſadors in England, in their letter, dated from Weſtminſter, July 3, 1654, to the States-General, write thus, 'Since our laſt, ſome more 'priſoners are ſent to the Tower, who are ſaid to have 'a hand in the conſpiracy; and, among the reſt, the 'Earl of Oxford is ſaid to be in no danger; and though 'there are ſtill above 300 priſoners, many are of opi-'nion they will put to death no more (149).'

(148) Whitlock, P. 575.

(149) Thurloe, Vol. II. p. 258, 395, 481, 482.

[*ZZ*] *He was ever conſtant to the Royal cauſe.*] Secretary *Thurloe*, in a Letter to Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy of Ireland, from Whitehall, April 20, 1658, informs him of the deſigns of the Royaliſts (Cavaliers he calls them) and that they were ſure of the Earl of Oxford. And, in a letter of intelligence from beyond the ſeas, July 18, 1658, this further account is given: 'There are none at preſent going for England, who are 'ſuſpicious perſons; but the Lord *Gerard* is very buſy 'in engaging for another trouble in England. It is 'thought, when any thing comes to the birth, the Lord 'of *Oxford* and the Lord *Camden* will be deeply en-'gaged (150).' This was relating to Dr Hewet's plot, who was tried before the High Court of Juſtice, May 25 that year, and condemned (151). And in letters of information relating thereto is this mention of the Earl: 'I hear they ſtill go on with their preparations in the 'city, and that many are engaged therein. It is thought 'they aim at the Earl of Oxford for their General (152).' However, his Lordſhip was not then taken into cuſtody.

(150) Idem, Vol. VII. p. 83, 84, and 247.

(151) Whitlock, p. 674.

(152) Thurloe, Vol. I. p. 723.

[*AAA*] *He was taken up on Sir George Booth's riſing.*] The Earl was apprehended with the *Lord de la Ware* and *Lord Falkland*, on the 13th of Auguſt, and they were all ſent to priſon (153). The Earl of Clarendon gives the following account of this attempt of the Royaliſts: 'There was, ſays he, to be a general riſing of 'all who would declare for the King, on a day named 'about the middle of July, there being commiſſions in 'every county, directed to fix or ſeven known men, 'with authority to chuſe one to command in chief in 'that county, till they made a conjunction with other 'forces under the command of one who had a ſuperior 'commiſſion from the King, who was to be on the day 'appointed at *Calais*. But, by the treachery of Sir 'Richard Willis, who continually gave *Thurloe* intelli-'gence of all that he knew, the deſign had no proſper-'ous effect, and every poſt brought news to the King 'of perſons of honour and quality committed to ſeveral 'priſons throughout the kingdom (154).' And of all the enterprizes for ſeizing on ſtrong places, only that ſucceeded which was undertaken by Sir *George Booth*, who, having ſeized *Cheſter*, was joined by the principal gentlemen in the parts adjacent, and the Earl of Derby appeared in Lancaſhire. *Lambert* marched immediately againſt them, and, Auguſt 19, defeated Sir *George Booth*, who, eſcaping from the battle, was taken in diſguiſe at Newport Pagnel in Bucks, and the *Earl of Derby* was alſo taken priſoner; whereby all the hopes of the Royaliſts were at that time totally deſtroyed, and the Rump parliament thought of tranſporting the loyal families into Barbadoes, and other plantations, leſt they might hereafter produce in England children of their fathers affections. This ſpirit had not however any long continuance; for the army aſſuming ſupreme power, there were again ſeveral ſudden changes in England. The *Committee of Safety*, appointed by the army on the 2d of November, 1659, diſcharged from impriſonment the Earls of *Oxford* and *Northampton*, the Lord *Falkland*, and other Lords, on ſecurity to live peaceably; and this, ſays *Whitlock*, *was to ingratiate with the Cavaliers*. Alſo Sir *George Booth* was releaſed ſoon after upon ſecurity (155); and, on the arrival of *Monk* with his army, the face of affairs ſoon changed, and, a new parliament being ſummoned to meet, April 25, 1660, reſtored the ancient conſtitution of monarchy and epiſcopacy.

(153) Whitlock, p. 683, who ſays the D. of Buckingham was alſo taken up and diſcharged. Vide alſo his article.

(154) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 670, 671, 8vo edition.

(155) Ibid. p. 691. and Whitlock, p. 683, 684.

Majeſty the ſame day began his journey towards *Saliſbury*, and the Earl of Oxford immediately after went over to the Prince; and on King James's return from *Saliſbury*, and appointing the *Marquis* of *Halifax*, the *Earl* of *Nottingham*, and the *Lord Godolphin*, to treat with his Highneſs, who were to meet the Prince of Orange at *Ameſbury*, December 6, they were informed by the Earls of *Oxford* and *Clarendon* from his Highneſs, to make their propoſals in writing, which meſſage induced the King to ſend away his Queen, with her ſon, into France; and on the 10th of December he himſelf privately withdrew (10t). The Earl marched with the Prince into London, heartily concurred in the Revolution, and was among thoſe Peers who voted for the vacancy of the Throne (10u). Upon their Majeſties acceſſion, he was ſworn of the Privy Council, and made a Lord of the Bedchamber to the King (10w). He likewiſe continued in the command of his regiment, and was conſtituted Lieutenant-general of horſe and foot, Feb. 13, 1688-9, having precedency of the *Earl of Marlborough*, whoſe commiſſion for that poſt was dated the next day. His Lordſhip carried the ſword of ſtate at the coronation, April 11, 1689 (10x), and, on the 14th of June following, his patent was renewed for Lord Lieutenant of the county of Eſſex, and for Cuſtos Rotulorum, Auguſt 29 (10y). In 1690 his Lordſhip embarked with the King for Ireland, and was preſent at the battle of the *Boyne*, and the reduction of that kingdom; but, on his return to England, being in an advanced age, he never after engaged in the military ſervice abroad; though he kept the command of his regiment (10z). On the acceſſion of Queen Anne, his patent was renewed for Lord Lieutenant of the county of Eſſex, July 25, 1701 (11a). And he departed this life at his houſe in *Downing-ſtreet*, Weſtminſter, in the 78th year of his age, on March 12, 1702-3; at which time he was Colonel of her Majeſty's royal regiment of horſe-guards, Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of Eſſex, one of the Lords of the Privy Council, ſenior Knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter; and the twentieth Earl of this noble and ancient family, by whoſe death, without iſſue male, the Earldom became extinct therein (11b). His Lordſhip was buried, March 22, 1702-3, in St John Baptiſt's chapel, Weſtminſter-abbey, by the remains of *Henry Vere*, *Earl* of *Oxford*, buried 1625 (11c). He was of a humane and generous diſpoſition, ſteady in aſſerting the liberty of the ſubject, and the prerogative of the crown, and ſo tender of ſcrupulous conſciences, that he was the firſt of the Lords who entered their diſſents, 1 Will. and Mary, on rejecting the clauſe, allowing every one to be ſufficiently qualified for any employment or truſt, who, within a year before or after his admiſſion, did receive the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, either according to the uſage of the church of England, or in any other proteſtant congregation (11d). To his firſt wife he had *Anne*, daughter and coheir of *Paul*, Lord Viſcount *Banning*, by whom he had no iſſue (11e). He married ſecondly *Diana*, daughter of *G. Kirk*, Eſq; Groom of the Bedchamber to King Charles II, by whom he had iſſue one ſon and three daughters (11f), beſides *Diana*, who, Tueſday April 13, 1694, was married to *Charles Beauclerk*, Duke of St *Albans* (11g).

(10t) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 532.

(10u) Ibid. P. 537.

(10w) Ibid. P. 550.

(10x) Gazette, No. 2444.

(10y) Bill ſignat. 1 W. and M.

(10z) Hiſt. Eng. Vol. III. p. 598.

(11a) Bill ſignat. 1 An. Reg.

(11b) Contin. Heylin, p. 441. Pointer's Chron. Hiſt. p. 484. and Le Neve's Mon. Anglic. Vol. I. p. 50.

(11c) Ex Regiſt. Eccleſ. iſtius.

(11d) Hiſt. Eng. Vol. III. p. 554.

(11e) She died ſoon after her marriage, and was buried in St John Baptiſt's chapel, Sept. 27, 1659.

(11f) The ſon, Charles, died in his infancy, as did Charlotte; but Mary and Henrietta lived to be aged, and died unmarried.

(11g) Peerage of Engl. Vol. I. edit. 1756.

P

VERSTEGAN [RICHARD] well deſerves a place in theſe memoirs as a great reviver of the Engliſh antiquities, and an admirable critic in the Saxon and Gothic languages. He was deſcended from an ancient and worthy family in the Dutchy of Guelderland in the Low-countries, where his grandfather, *Theodore Rowland Verſtegan*, was born (a); but, being deprived of his friends by the inteſtine wars which depopulated and ruined that dutchy [A], he looked out for ſome other and better reſidence, and caſting eyes upon the then flouriſhing ſtate of England, he reſolved to croſs the ſea, and accordingly arrived here about the latter end of King Henry VIIth's reign. He was a young man, in the prime vigour of his age, and, falling into acquaintance with the female ſex, he entered into matrimony, and probably would in ſome meaſure have repaired his broken fortune, had not he

(a) Verſtegan's Epiſtle, prefixed to his book, intituled, *A Reſtitution of decayed intelligence*, &c.

[A] *The civil wars had depopulated that dutchy.*] This dutchy, which is one of the ſeventeen United Provinces, is bounded to the North by Overyſſel and the gulf of the German ocean called *Zuiderzee*; to the South, the Meuſe, the dutchy of Cleves, the country of Liege, and the dutchy of Juliers; to the Eaſt, by the biſhoprick of Munſter, the dutchy of Cleves, and the territory of Cologne; and to the Weſt, the *Zuiderzee*, the province of Utrecht, Holland, Dutch Brabant, and the country of Liege. It lies in a plain, containing twenty-two towns, the chief of which are Nimeguen, Ruremonde, Arnheim, and Zutphen. The province is divided into four quarters, all very fertile, abounding with wood and paſture. Formerly it had its proper Lords, who made themſelves maſters of it under the Kings of France of the ſecond race. The firſt of theſe Lords flouriſhed ann. 878, from whom, after ſix generations, deſcended Wichard III, who ſucceeded to it ann. 1061; but having iſſue only a daughter, named Alix or Adelaide, ſhe by marriage brought Guelderland into the poſſeſſion of Otho of Naſſau, whom the Emperor Henry IV. created a count; and to him, after eight deſcents, ſucceeded Renaud II, ann. 1326, who was created a Duke by the Emperor Lewis IV, ann. 1339, with the privilege of inveſting and crowning the Emperor, and of coining money. This Duke Renaud, after five generations, was ſucceeded by Arnoul Count of Egmont, whoſe ſon Adolfus, turning rebel, roſe up in arms againſt him, and taking him priſoner, kept him confined a long time; whereupon Arnoul ſold the dutchy to Charles, ſirnamed the *Raſh*, Duke of Burgundy; but upon his death, in 1372, his daughter, Mary of Burgundy, ſurrendered it to Adolfus, who married, in 1463, Catharine of Bourbon, daughter of Charles I, and was killed in 1477, leaving his ſon and ſucceſſor Charles, who was diſturbed in his poſſeſſion by the Emperor Charles V, grandſon of the forementioned Mary of Burgundy. This war ended in a peace, whereby Duke Charles, in caſe of his leaving no iſſue, yielded up the Dutchy to the Emperor. And it was in the times of the Emperor Charles V, and his ſon Philip II, that the States General got poſſeſſion of almoſt all the Dutchy of Guelderland, the upper quarter of which was granted to Spain by the treaty of Munſter, whence it has the name of the Spaniſh Guelderland, comprehending the towns of *Venlos*, *Ruremonde*, and *Gueldres*. By the peace of Utrecht in 1713, and the barrier treaty in 1715, the dutchy was divided into three parts, of which *Ruremonde* and its dependencies were aſſigned to the Emperor; *Gueldres*, or *Gelre* (1) as it is called by the people of the country, was ceded to the King of Pruſſia; and the Dutch had, for their ſhare, *Venlo* and *Stevenſwaert* (2).

(1) The allies had taken it in 1703. The town is but ſmall, though it gives name to the province. It lies upon the river Niers, which ſerves it for a foſſe. The caſtle is very ſtrong, and paſſed for impregnable. It is diſtant four good leagues from the Weſer, weſt-ſouth-weſt. Cluver, Ortelius Guicciard.

(2) Strada de bello Belgico, & Grotius Belgic. Hiſt.

been

been cut ſhort by death ſoon after his marriage, leaving behind him a ſon not more than nine months old. The mother however took care of the child, and, having brought him up to the age of ſixteen years, put him apprentice to a cooper [*B*], which trade he afterwards followed, and, ſettling in the pariſh of St Katharine near the Tower of London, he had by his wife this *Richard Verſtegan* our Author, who was born in that pariſh. The boy ſoon diſcovered a pregnant genius, and an inclination to letters, and his father, by diligence and frugality improving his circumſtances, reſolved, though a mechanic, to be at the expence of a liberal education for him; in which ſpirit, having given him a proper foundation of claſſical learning at ſchool, he ſent him to Oxford (*b*). The Student happily anſwered his father's hopes, and applying himſelf particularly to ſome branches of literature not much known then in the Univerſity, he made a diſtinguiſhed figure therein, and became much eſteemed. But, not being ſatisfied with the oaths required on taking a degree, he left this nurſery of learning without receiving that teſt of his literary merit; and, being by this time confirmed a zealous Roman catholic, he quitted his native country, went into the Spaniſh Netherlands (*c*), and fixing himſelf at Antwerp, he wrote and publiſhed a piece there againſt Queen Elizabeth [*C*], upon whom, according to the virulent ſpirit of that religion, he ſcattered the uſual flowers of hereſy and cruelty with an unſparing hand. Upon the breaking out of the rebellious league in the Netherlands [*D*], he removed with his

(*b*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 508.

(*c*) Idem, Ibid.

[*B*] *Put him apprentice to a cooper.*] This having been thrown out in diſparagement of our Author by ſome of his adverſaries, on an occaſion which will be mentioned preſently; by way of anſwer thereto the Oxford antiquary very juſtly obſerves, that there is not any diſcredit in it; to confirm which he takes notice, that the father of *Wolfgangus Muſculus* was of that trade; and it may be added in our Author's behalf, that Cooper *Muſculus* was not ſo well to paſs in the world as Cooper *Verſtegan:* And therefore, though the former ſaw his ſon's inclination to letters, and deſigned him for a ſcholar, yet he left him to his own ſhifts for a ſubſiſtence, which he procured by begging and ſinging from door to door till he came to a town called *Raſponſwil*, where he was taken into the houſe of a poor widow who gave him lodging; and being aſſiſted by the Lord of the manor, he went to ſchool: And afterwards proceeding to *Schleſtadt*, he ſung there ſo happily one day, at the veſpers of a convent of Benedictines, that the ſociety preſented him with the habit of their order gratis. He was then fifteen years of age (3), and applying cloſely to his ſtudies, he became at length a diſtinguiſhed preacher, and was choſen Prior of the houſe. But ſoon after, being obſerved to ſpeak in favour of Lutheraniſm, he was obliged to fly to Straſburg, where, throwing off his frock, he publickly married one *Margaret Barth*, to whom he had been betrothed before he left the monaſtery. As he had now no ſubſiſtence, he put his wife to ſervice with a clergyman, and bound himſelf apprentice to a weaver, an Anabaptiſt; but entering warmly into diſputes againſt the doctrines of that ſect with their Miniſter, who lodged in the houſe, the Weaver diſmiſſed him. Thus again reduced, he reſolved to earn his bread by working as a common labourer in the fortifications of the town. But the famous *Martin Buter*, having been informed of his merit, procured him the evening before to be appointed Catechiſt in the village of *Dorliſheim* near Straſburg. Here he preached every Sunday, and lodging the reſt of the week with *Bucer*, ſupplied the place of his Amanuenſis. Bucer, it ſeems, wrote ſo ill a hand, that the Printers could not read it (4). Muſculus therefore, being a great maſter of his pen, was very ſerviceable to his Patron in tranſcribing the work he was then buſied upon for the preſs. But this employ was put an end to in ſome months. Our Catechiſt was called by his pariſhioners to reſide among them; ſo that, receiving no part of his ſtipend (5), he ſet up a petty ſchool for a ſupport. Thus he paſſed a year in very hard circumſtances (6), till the Magiſtrates of Straſburg, who had aſſiſted him before with a purſe out of the public Treaſury, made him Miniſter-Deacon of their principal church. About two years after he went, on an invitation, to Augſburg, where he began to preach in January, 1631. He continued eighteen years at Augſburg, and procured the abolition of Popery there; but, upon the Magiſtrates receiving the *Interim* in 1548, he left that city, and, paſſing into Switzerland, was made next year Profeſſor of Divinity at Bern. This office he diſcharged with great reputation till his death, which happened there Auguſt 29, 1563, aged 66 years. He publiſhed ſeveral works, an account of which may be ſeen under his article in Moreri and Bayle; from the latter of whom we learn, that he left a ſon, *Abraham Muſculus*, who wrote his father's life, which was prefixed to the *Synopſis concionum feſtalium, Wolfgangi Muſculi*, printed at Baſil in 1595, 8vo.

(3) This muſt be therefore in 1512, Muſculus being born September 8, 1497, at Dreuze in Lorrain. Moreri's Dictionary, under his article, Vol. VI. Edit. 1740, in 8 Vols. folio.

(4) Mr Jortin, in the life of Eraſmus, Vol. I. Edit. 1758, has given a ſpecimen of Bucer's hand-writing, with that of ſeveral other eminent ſcholars, which confirms Mr Bayle's remark, that there were very few men of learning who poſſeſſed at that time the contrary accompliſhment, as Muſculus did. Bayle's Critical Dictionary, under the article of Muſculus.

(5) The Abbe of the convent of Hohenforſt, who gathered the tenths and revenues of the church, refuſed to pay him. Bayle.

(6) He lay on the ground, covered with a little ſtraw, quitting the bed which he had brought from the Convent to his wife, who was ready to lye in. Baillet, cited by Bayle.

[*C*] *He publiſhed a piece againſt Queen Elizabeth.*] It bears this title: *Theatrum credulitatum Hereticorum noſtri temporis.* The book is full of cuts, which repreſent the hanging, quartering, and beheading, or butchering of Popiſh Martyrs, engraven from the drawings of Verſtegan, who was obſerved, while in England, to be much delighted in drawing and painting (7). There are verſes put under each cut, to explain the meaning of it, which were made by *John Boch*, or *Bochius*, or *Boqui*, a famous Latin poet, who was born at Bruſſels in 1555; and having travelled for his improvement into Italy, Germany, Poland, and Muſcovy, was made, at his return, Secretary to the *Maiſon de Villt*, or Regiſter, of *Antwerp*, by the Duke of *Parma*, which place he was poſſeſſed of at the time of reprinting *Verſtegan*'s book in 1602. He died there January 13, 1609. His poeſies are much cried up by the critics of the Netherlands, who even give him the title of the *Belgick Virgil* (8).

(7) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(8) Dictionaire Portatif, under his article, Tome I. Paris, 1755, in two Tomes, 8vo.

[*D*] *Upon the breaking out of the rebellious league, &c.*] The Oxford Antiquary, though in general a careful Timiſt, has ſuffered himſelf, in our Author's memoir, to wander in great confuſion for want of his uſual and commendable accuracy in dates. In order therefore to fix the time of Verſtegan's journey to Paris, it will be neceſſary to give ſome account of this rebellious league, as follows. The project was firſt deſigned by the *Cardinal of Lorrain*, who obſerved at the Council of *Trent*, that the ſureſt method of maintaining their religion againſt the Heretics [viz. the Proteſtants] was to form a league, to which proper means ſhould be uſed to bring in all Catholic ſovereign Princes and great Lords, eſpecially the King of *Spain*, to be under the direction of a Leader or Chief, appointed by the Pope, who was to be declared Protector of the League. The motion was approved, and the Cardinal's brother, the Duke of *Guiſe*, was about to be elected Chief, when the news arrived of his death. The Cardinal however did not drop his enterprize; but waiting ten or eleven years, till the young Duke of *Guiſe*, *Henry of Lorrain*, his nephew, came of age to execute it, he then propoſed the ſame thing to the Pope and the King of Spain, who came into his ſentiments, though upon different motives; the Pope in the deſire of ſeeing hereſy extirpated; the Spaniard in the view of making advantage of the diſturbances which the League would evidently occaſion in France. After the Cardinal's death in 1574 (9), the Duke of Guiſe, purſuing the ſame deſign, cauſed a form to be drawn up in 1576 conſiſting of twelve articles, in the view of getting it privately ſigned by ſuch Catholics as were moſt attached to his family; but, communicating it in confidence to the Governor of *Peronne* in Picardy, was betrayed by that Lord (10), who drew up another form in eighteen articles, in favour of the King. This act was ſigned at *Peronne*, Feb. 12, 1577, by near two hundred gentlemen and officers of the province, whoſe example was ſoon followed by all the provinces of the kingdom; and in November following all exerciſe of the reformed religion was prohibited by the eſtates of Blois. The King alſo, ſeeing the Leaguers aim more to leſſen his authority than to cruſh the Huguenots, put himſelf at the head of the League, in the deſign of making himſelf maſter of it; but not caring to enter into a war, he granted the Huguenots a toleration by the *Edict of Poictiers* in 1578. The Leaguers did not ſtir for ſome years after the King had declared himſelf their Chief; but in 1581 they

(9) He died Dec. 12 that year. Bayle, under his article.

(10) He was Count of Hautmieres.

his books (*d*) to Paris. Here the Engliſh Ambaſſador complaining of him to Henry III, then King of France, and urging, that, as he was born a ſubject to Queen Elizabeth, and a fugitive, who, in deſpite of his natural allegiance, had abuſed his Sovereign by a malicious repreſentation of cruelties, he might be delivered into his hands to be ſent to England, there to receive the proper reward of his demerits (*e*). The French monarch, though far from being diſpleaſed with the book, thought proper ſo far to yield to the Ambaſſador's ſuit, as to order Verſtegan into confinement [*E*]. How long he lay in priſon does not appear: But upon his releaſe he quitted France, apparently to eſcape a further proſecution, and, returning to *Antwerp*, republiſhed his book (*f*), and taking up the buſineſs and trade of a Printer, he acquired thereby a handſome ſubſiſtence, maintaining the port and figure of a gentleman [*F*]. It was during this interval that he was drawn into the quarrel which had been carried on ſeveral years with great animoſity between the regular and ſecular Prieſts of the Romiſh Church in England (*g*); and we are told, that on this occaſion, he mingled as much gall with his ink as the bittereſt of the Jeſuits, though he was no member of that fiery ſpirited ſociety, being rather a ſecular Clerk. Whether he ever publiſhed any of theſe railings ſeparately, or whether they were only inſerted as fit ſupports and decorations in other pieces, is no eaſy matter to find out at this diſtance of time: In whoſe iron arms, under this inſcription, that *the beſt tempers have been unhinged by the heat of controverſy* (*b*), let the filth lie faſt buried in oblivion, while the more worthy productions of his genius ſtill ſurvive to embalm his memory. It is certain, that, about the time of Queen Elizabeth's death, he turned his ſtudies on a more noble ſubject, which, being finiſhed, he publiſhed under the title of *A Reſtitution of decayed intelligence in Antiquities concerning*

(*d*) This muſt be the firſt impreſſion of it, as appears from remarks [*D*] and [*E*] below.

(*b*) His antagoniſts ſpared not to return him filth for filth, as may in part be ſeen in his character drawn by Will. Watſon in his Quodlibet, And Mr Wood obſerves, in his courſe language, that the Author of the pamphlet againſt the Jeſuits, intituled, *Another letter*, &c. has thrown out ſtuff enough, againſt the rules of charity, to run down a dog. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 504.

(*e*) Guil. Barclay de regno & regali poteſtate, &c. Parag. 1600, lib. 6. cap. 7. p. 438, 439.

(*f*) Viz. in 1592, which was the Edition cited by Mr Wood, who never ſaw the firſt.

(*g*) See Carte's Hiſtory of England, under the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

they put themſelves openly in defiance, under the conduct of the *Duke of Guiſe*, upon his Majeſty's entering into an alliance with the King of *Navarre*, a heretic. The *Duke of Guiſe* drew the *Cardinal of Bourbon* into his party, which was further ſtrengthened by the junction of the particular league of the Pariſians under the name of the *Seize* [ſixteen] (11). And, in 1584, the Duke withdrew from Court, and going to his government of *Champaigne*, went thence to meet the agents of the Cardinal of Bourbon and the King of Spain at *Joinville*, where a compact was made, that the Cardinal of Bourbon ſhould ſucceed to the crown, excluſive of all heretical Princes, in caſe the King died without iſſue; that the King of Spain ſhould furniſh fifty thouſand piſtoles a month for the ſupport of the League; and that, reciprocally, the Princes of the League ſhould aſſiſt his Catholic Majeſty in reducing to obedience his rebellious ſubjects of the Netherlands. This war commenced in 1585; but, ſome months after, the French monarch granting the League an edict, by which he revoked all thoſe that had been made in favour of the Huguenots, and took away the toleration, the war was thereupon rekindled through all the provinces of France, by the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* on the ſide of the Huguenots, and by the Duke of *Guiſe* and the *Leaguers* on the other ſide, aſſiſted by the Pope [Sixtus V.] (12). The French King, ſiding with the League, publiſhed an edict in their favour, called the *Edict of Reunion*, in 1588, declaring his reſolution to exterminate herefy, and exclude every heretical Prince from the ſucceſſion to his crown, if he ſhould himſelf die without male iſſue. But ſoon after, ſuſpecting the Duke of Guiſe to harbour ſome ill deſigns againſt him, he cauſed him to be put to death, together with the Cardinal his brother. The King himſelf, Henry III, was aſſaſſinated the next year, 1589, and was ſucceeded by the King of *Navarre*, Henry IV, who, after ſeveral ſtruggles with the League, at length profeſſed himſelf a Roman Catholic in 1593, upon which the Leaguers laid down their arms. From this narrative it appears to our preſent purpoſe, what breaking out of the rebellious League it was that drove *Verſtegan* out of the Netherlands, mentioned above, viz. undoubtedly that which commenced in 1585, a point which is left unſettled by the Oxford Antiquary. And a further uſe of this narrative will be ſeen in the next remark.

(11) This particular league was begun by a citizen of Paris, by name La Roche Blond. They had forty Chiefs, among whom the government was diſtributed according to the ſixteen wards or quarters of Paris, whence they were called the Seize or Sixteen.

(12) His Holineſs fulminated a bull againſt the King of Navarre and the Prince of Conde, depriving them of their eſtates, and declaring them incapable of ſucceeding to any principality whatſoever; and the King of Navarre cauſed a proteſt againſt it to be fixed up at Rome.

(13) Barclay, de regno et regali poteſtate, adverſus Buchananum, Brutum, Bourchierum, et reliquos monarchomacos, &c. Parag. 1600. lib. 6. c. 7. p. 438, 439.

(14) So his name is written by his own countrymen; though Mr Wood writes it Bouchier, and WilliamBarclay, Bourchier.

(15) Wood from Boucher's book *De Juſta Henrici III. abdicatione*, &c. Lugd. 1591, 8vo. lib. 2. cap. 16. p. 223.

[*E*] *Verſtegan was impriſoned by Henry III.*] We are told, that Henry III. was ſo much pleaſed with the pictures, and gave ſo much credit to them, that he did not ſpare to accuſe Queen Elizabeth of great cruelty, calling her a *wicked and cruel woman* (13). But her Majeſty was revenged, though undeſignedly, by John Boucher (14), who preſently kindled into a flame on Verſtegan's impriſonment, charging it on Henry as an heretical fault (15). This Boucher, who was a native of Paris, is called by Mr Wood an active firebrand of the League, and the character is confirmed by their own writers, who give the following account of him: That he was Rector of the Univerſity of Paris, and Prior of the Sorbonne in 1580, and afterwards became a Doctor of Divinity and Curate or Parſon of St Bennet's pariſh in Paris: that he was not wanting for parts; but that a falſe zeal rendered him one of the moſt ſeditious preachers of the League: That it was in a chamber, which he had in the college of Fortet, that the Leaguers held their firſt aſſembly in 1585. He declaimed publickly in the pulpit againſt Henry III, and alſo his ſucceſſor Henry IV; but, upon the converſion (16) of this laſt monarch, Boucher retired into Flanders in 1594, being then Canon and Dean of *Tournay*, where he died in 1644, having changed his ſentiments (17). Beſides the piece cited by Mr Wood, there are ſeveral ſermons of his in print (18). And the Apology, or defence of *John Chatel*, who was executed for rebellion, is alſo attributed to him, though publiſhed under the feigned name of *Francis of Verona Conſtantin*. To which muſt be added, that he publiſhed ſome things againſt Richer, as we are told by Mr Bayle, who obſerves, that he was not only the moſt ſeditious, but the moſt ſtubborn and unruly perſon among the rebels; that it was he who, giving order to ſound the alarum bell in his church, contributed more than all the reſt to the inſurrection; that on that ſucceſs he became more inſolent, and preached inſolently next day againſt the perſon of the King and his Counſellors; that his piece of the juſt depoſition of Henry III. was the moſt infamous ſatire that could be written; that it is very probable he was an accomplice with James Clement, who aſſaſſinated that King; that he was ſtill bolder againſt Henry IV. as an heretic; that after Henry profeſſing himſelf a Roman Catholic, Boucher ſtill retained his former ſentiments; and that he went into the Netherlands with the Spaniſh garriſon, which was at Paris during the league: That *he died well changed in temper, and as zealous a Frenchman againſt ſtrangers, as he had been a furious Spaniard in France.* To conclude with a remark on our preſent ſubject: Theſe tranſactions, paſſing between *Henry III.* and *Verſtegan*, ſhew, that his book againſt Queen Elizabeth was printed before the death of the French monarch, which happening in 1589, is an undeniable proof that the book had been printed before the edition of 1592, as Mr Wood was informed. The narrative in the preceding remark makes it more than probable, that the firſt edition went through the preſs at Antwerp not later than 1585, which year our Author went to Paris.

(16) It is a Papiſt that writes this.

(17) Dictionaire Portatif, and Moreri under his article.

(18) Particularly nine, wherein he maintained, that the converſion of Henry IV. was a piece of diſſimulation, and his abſolution null. Printed in 1594, but they were burnt at the croſs next day after the reduction of Paris.

[*F*] *He maintained the port and figure of a gentleman.*] Proſperity is the genuine prey of Envy. No wonder then that *Verſtegan*'s good fortune and ſucceſs fell under the ridicule of his adverſaries. The Author of a pamphlet againſt the Jeſuits, entituled, *Another letter of Mr A. C. to his diſjeſuited kinſman, concerning the Appeal, State, Jeſuits*, &c. thus gibes upon him: '*By his riſing up only by Brocage*, ſays he, *and Spierie for the Hiſpaniſhed Jeſuits, he lived then and there* [at Antwerp] *as if he were an* HIDALGO, *as who may not be a gentleman, who lives ſo far from home, where he is not known* (19).

(19) Another letter of Mr A. C. &c. p. 24. edit. 1602. 4to. p. 24.

cerning

cerning the moſt noble and renowned Engliſh nation [G]. He proſecuted the ſame ſubject many years, and continued to employ the preſs by printing ſome other works, which ſhew him to be ſkilled both in painting and poetry [H]. Several years before his death he had the good fortune to marry a thrifty and prudent woman, who was a great help in ſupporting his credit; ſo that he lived, under the notion of a Spaniſh ſtipendiary, in good condition at Antwerp, among the Engliſh who had fled thither for the ſake of religion. It appears, by ſome letters written by him to the great Antiquary Sir Robert Cotton (*b*), that he was living in the end of King James, and the beginning of King Charles I's reign; but, dying abroad, the exact date of his death has not been preſerved amongſt us.

(*b*) Mr Wood ſays he ſaw two of theſe letters in the Cotton library; but I do not find them in Dr Smith's catalogue, and no other has been yet made of that library for the uſe of the Britiſh Muſæum.

[G] *He publiſhed A Reſtitution of decayed Intelligence*, &c.] This curious piece was firſt publiſhed at Antwerp in 1605, 4to. The ſubject is well handled, contains many things which were little known before his time, and was well received by the public, eſpecially on account of ſeveral prints engraven from his own drawings, among which are figures of thoſe Saxon and Daniſh deities from whom our days of the week take their names; yet Mr Wood obſerves, that the fame and ſale of it was hurt by the firſt edition of Camden's Remains, which unluckily came out the preceding year, 1604. However the book kept up a good ſhare of eſteem among the curious and learned in antiquities, as is evident from the ſeveral editions it has gone through, being reprinted in 4to at London, 1634, after which a ſecond impreſſion was made there in 1653, in a large 8vo, and a third in 1674, 8vo (20). *The Reſtitution*, &c. being our Author's maſter-piece, and that by which he is eſpecially known, and his memory and reputation ſtill preſerved in England, it will be proper to take notice of the two copies of recommendatory verſes prefixed to his book, chiefly becauſe we thereby come to know two of his friends and fautors, which is a part of his hiſtory: Theſe are *Richard Whyte* (21) of *Baſingſtoke*, and *Richard Stanyhurſt*; both men of diſtinction in the literary republic. The latter will fall under our notice hereafter (22). We ſhall therefore give here the following account of Dr Whyte from the Oxford Antiquary, who informs us (23), that the Doctor was the ſon of *Henry Whyte* of *Baſingſtoke* in Hampſhire, Gent. in which town his mother, the daughter of *Richard Caplin* of Hampſhire, brought him into the world in 1536. After going through Wincheſter-ſchool he was ſent to Glouceſter-hall (now Worceſter-college) in Oxford, whence he removed to New-college, being choſen a fellow there, and admitted perpetual in 1557. He proceeded A. B. May 30, 1559 (24); but before commencing Maſter, he withdrew from the college, and, continuing abſent till the time limited for abſence by the ſtatutes was ſpent, his fellowſhip was declared void in 1564. He had, it ſeems, croſſed the ſea to *Louvain*; whence going to *Padua*, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Civil and Canon Law, and was created Doctor in that faculty. At length, removing to *Doway*, he was there made Regius Profeſſor of Law; in which place he continued about twenty years, married two rich wives (one being an heireſs), grew wealthy, was made, by order of the Pope, *Magnificus Rector*, though out of his ordinary turn; and about the ſame time was created *Comes Palatinus* (25). At length, having buried two wives, he was, by the diſpenſation of Pope Clement VIII, ordained Prieſt, and about the ſame time obtained a canonry at St Peter's church at *Doway*. The firſt thing that made him known to the curious in literature was his expoſition of that ancient ænigmatical epitaph, which in his time was remaining near *Bononia*, the title of which is, *Ælia Lelia Criſpis—Epitaphium antiquum in agro Bononienſi adhuc videtur: noviſſime autem a Ric. Vilo* (26) *Baſingſtochio amicorum precibus explicatum. Patav.* 1568, in 4to, with a dedication to *Chriſtopher Johnſon*, head-maſter of Wincheſter-ſchool. Afterwards he wrote and publiſhed, 1ſt, *Orationes quinque de circulo artium & philoſophiæ—Pro dignitiis Regum—Pro doctoratu—De ſtudiorum finibus cum notis. Atrebat.* 1596, 8vo. The two firſt, which were ſpoken at Louvain, were publiſhed by Chriſtopher Johnſon beforementioned, about 1564, and ordered by him to be read publickly by the ſcholars in Wincheſter-ſchool. 2d, *Notæ ad leges Decemvirorum in* XII *tabulis. Atreb.* 1597, 8*vo.* 3d, *Hiſtoriarum Britannicæ Inſulæ ab origine mundi ad annum Domini octingenteſimum, libri novem. Duaci* 1602, in a thick 8vo (27), with a preface, to which is prefixed a print of the Author, with his arms, viz. Parted per Chevron, embattled Argent and Gules, three roſes leaved vert, countercharged of the field, on a chief of the ſecond a Lyon paſſant, Or; all within a bordure Ermine. Creſt a Stork or Crane ſtanding, reſting its right foot on the top of an hour-glaſs, with this Motto under all, *Plus vigila*. Allowed to our Author, *Count Richard Whyte*, with two Dragons for the ſupporters, by Sir *William Dethicke*, Garter Principal King of arms, in alluſion to the arms of his kinſman Dr *John Whyte*, Biſhop of Winton (28). Dr Whyte alſo publiſhed, 4th, *Explicatio brevis privilegiorum juris et conſuetudinis circa ven. Sacramentum Euchariſtiæ*. Duac. 1609, 8vo. 5th, *De reliquiis et veneratione ſanctorum*. Ibid. 1602. And ſome other things, which may be ſeen in *John Pits* (29). At length this learned perſon, dying at Doway about the year 1612, was buried in the pariſh-church of St James there.

(26) So our Author uſually wrote his name.

(27) The firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth, were printed in 1597, the ſixth in 1598, the ſeventh and eighth in 1600, and the ninth in 1602, ſeparately.

(28) Whoſe arms are quite different from thoſe of his brother, Sir John Whyte, who was Lord-Mayor of London, ann. 1563.

(29) De Illuſtrib. Antiq. Script. æt. 17. an. 1057.

[H] *He publiſhed ſome other pieces*, &c.] The titles of ſome of theſe are, 1ſt, *Odes in imitation of the ſeven penitential pſalms, with ſundry other poems and ditties, tending to devotion and piety*, printed abroad in 1601, with the Jeſuits mark in the title. In theſe poems many matters of antiquity and ancient Saints of England are touched upon by the Author, who, ſubſcribing himſelf R. V. is claimed by Mr Wood for *Richard Verſtegan*, who, as he had been informed, had ſome ſkill in poetry as well as in painting. 2d, *The ſundry ſucceſſive regal governments of the realm of England*. Antwerp, 1620, printed in one large ſheet, wherein are copper-plate prints of a *Briton*, *Roman*, *Saxon*, *Dane*, and *Norman*. Mr Wood alſo aſcribes the following Engliſh tranſlation, which is ſubſcribed R. V. to our Author, intituled, *A Dialogue of dying well*. Antwerp, 1603, 8vo. written in Italian by *Don Peter of Luca*, a Canon regular and D. D. and by the Tranſlator dedicated to the Lady *Joan Berkley*, Abbeſs of the Engliſh Benedictine Nuns at Bruſſels. Moreover *Verſtegan*, ſays Mr Wood, hath written and tranſlated other things; but, few of them coming into England, we ſeldom or never ſee them.

(20) Since which time, being garbled by other writers, and the ſubject much improved by later inquiries, it has ſuffered the fate of many other valuable pieces, by having ſerved the turn, to be neglected as uſeleſs.

(21) His father, Thomas Whyte, was the ſon of Jenkyn Whyte, who was poſſeſſed of almoſt half the town of Baſingſtoke, being ſon of Thomas Whyte of Purvile in Hampſhire, grandfather to John Whyte, ſome time Biſhop of Wincheſter.

(22) In the article of Archbiſhop Uſher.

(23) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 381, 382.

(24) Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 88.

(25) This title is commonly conferred by the Imperialiſts on their Profeſſors. Vide Shadwell's article, rem. [*A*].

P

VILLIERS [GEORGE], the firſt Duke of Buckingham of this family, and the greateſt favourite of two ſucceeding Monarchs, that was ever known in this, or any other Kingdom. He was the third ſon of Sir George Villiers, Knight, by Mary, daughter of Anthony Beaumont of Cole-Orton, Eſq; names on each ſide of ancient extraction (*a*). He was born Auguſt 28, 1592, at Brookſby in Leiceſterſhire, where his Anceſtors had chiefly continued about four hundred years [*A*], though rather without obſcurity, than with any great luſtre.

(*a*) They had been ſeated long before at Kinalton in Nottinghamſhire. Life and Death of the Duke of Buckingham, by Sir Henry Wotton. Edit. 1642. 4to.

[*A*] *Of ancient extraction.*] The family of Villiers was deſcended from the ancient and noble houſe of Villiers, Seigneurs of Liſle Adam in Normandy (1), and came into England at the time of the conqueſt. But the firſt that was written of Brokeſby was *Alexander de Vylers* (2), who flouriſhed in the reign of Edward I, and was father to Sir Nicolas de Villiers, who, following that King into the holy Land, took on him the Croſs, chuſing that of St George, the Patron of his country, and five eſcallop ſhells on it to ſhew the cauſe of his expedition, being

(1) Philip de Villiers Liſle Adam was the laſt great maſter of Rhodes, and defended it ſix months againſt the Turkiſh Emperor Solyman. Memoirs of the Life of G. Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, &c. p. 24. by Bryan Fairfax, Eſq; Edit. 1758, 4to.

(2) The name is variouſly written, as Villers, Villiers, Vileret, Vylers, &c. Peerage of England, Vol. III. edition 1756, Earl of Jerſey,

where the pedigree is drawn at length under the article of the a deſcendant of this family.

luſtre. Being carefully bred under his mother till ten years of age, he was then ſent to ſchool at *Billiſden* in the ſame County, where he was taught muſic, and other ſlight literature, till thirteen, when his father dying, he was taken home to her houſe at Godby by his mother, to whom both the elegant beauty of his perſon, and the gay ſprightlineſs of his temper rendered him a particular favourite. Under her tuition little regard, it ſeems, was had to grammar, or claſſical learning. He was inſtructed in dancing, fencing, and other ornamental accompliſhments, in which leſſons he had ſuch a natural and prompt dexterity, as obliged his maſters to reſtrain his forwardneſs for the ſake of his brothers, who being under the ſame training, might otherwiſe have been too much diſcouraged by his prodigious outſtripping them. At the age of eighteen, he travelled into France for a further improvement in the exerciſes of that nobility, and having ſpent three years in thoſe academies, he came home perfectly poſſeſſed of every qualification they could give him, without affecting any of the airs peculiar to that people. Upon his return, he paſſed a whole year, as before, under the wing and counſels of his mother. At the end of which, being now arrived to the age of manhood, he began to think of marriage, and in that view, fixed his eye upon a daughter of Sir Roger Aſhton, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King James I, and Maſter of the Robes. But he was diverted from all purſuits of that kind by Sir *John Graham*, into whoſe acquaintance he fell about this time, who being one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſty's Privy-Chamber, encouraged him greatly to puſh his fortune at Court (*b*). This advice exactly concurring with his own taſte and humour, made a deep impreſſion upon his mind: he purſued it with ardour and addreſs, and the reſult anſwered the moſt ſanguine of his wiſhes. For not long afterward, the King (as his manner was) from ſome accidental glances (the firſt of which was at Abthorp, in a progreſs) took ſuch a liking to his perſon, that he reſolved to make him his *mignon* (*c*): and not content with barely being the architect of his fortune, he put his hand alſo to ſome part of the work; giving Sir John Graham ſecret directions how, and by what degrees, he ſhould bring him into favour. To this purpoſe, firſt an intimation of the King's pleaſure was conveyed to him to wait in order to be ſworn his Majeſty's ſervant, and ſhortly after his Cup-Bearer at large, ann. 1613, to which he was admitted in ordinary the ſummer following. An entrance being thus opened, favours came thick upon him, liker main-ſhowers, than ſprinkling drops, or dews. For the next St George's Day, 1615, he was knighted, and made Gentleman of the King's Bed-Chamber, and the ſame day had an annual penſion ſettled upon him of a thouſand pounds out of the Court of Wards. At New-Year's-Tide following, the King appointed him Maſter of the Horſe, and in July, 1616, he was inſtalled Knight of the Garter. On the 22d of Auguſt, he was created Baron of Whaddon, in the County of Bucks, and Viſcount Villiers; and January the 5th, the ſame year, was advanced to be Earl of Buckingham, and ſworn of the Privy-Council. In March, 1617, he attended the King into Scotland, where he was likewiſe ſworn a Privy-Counſellor of that Kingdom; and on the ſucceeding New Year's-Day, he was created Marquis of Buckingham, and made Lord High-Admiral of England, Chief Juſtice in Eyre of the Parks and Foreſts on the ſouth ſide of Trent, Maſter of the King's-Bench Office, Steward of Weſtminſter, and Conſtable of Windſor-Caſtle (*d*). With theſe great honours, and as great employments, he was likewiſe the ſole diſpenſer of the King's favours, ſo that he exalted all his own numerous family, and dependents. In February, 1623, he embarked for Spain [*B*], with Prince

(*b*) Life and death of the Duke of Buckingham, page 1. to page 4.

(*c*) The merit of recommending him firſt of any one to the Queen, was claimed afterwards by Archbiſhop Abbot, who tells us alſo, that he was knighted with the Prince's ſword, and that *Somerſet*, the preceding mignon, oppoſed his being ſworn of the bed-chamber, and importuned his Majeſty, that he might be only ſworn a Groom. See Archbiſhop Abbot's article, remark [*M*].

(*d*) Gen. Hiſt. of England.

being ancient badges of thoſe Croiſades. From this Sir Nicholas deſcended, after eleven generations, Sir George Villiers, who became Father to the ſubject of the preſent article by his ſecond wife, daughter to Anthony Beaumont, of Glenfield in com. Leiceſter, Eſq; which Lady, ſurviving him, became ſecondly wife to Sir William Rayner, and laſtly to Sir Thomas Compton, Knight of the Bath (3), brother to William Lord Compton, Earl of Northampton, who, it is ſaid, had a great hand in the riſe of the Duke of Buckingham at Court. *Weldon*, in his *Court and Character of King James I*, having thrown ſome indecent reflections upon the Duke (4), there was publiſhed, in 1650, An Anſwer thereto, wrote by a perſon of figure in the ſame court, in which the Author relates, that the Duke's 'mother, a widow, 'being lately married to Sir *Thomas Compton*, brother 'to the Lord *Compton*, who by chance falling on a 'wonderful match for matchleſs wealth with Alderman 'Sir *John Spencer*'s daughter (5) and heir, and his father 'then lately dead, this Lord was maſter of all, which 'was of more than credible; and ſo might be enabled 'bountifully to ſet up a kinſman without help or alms 'of the pariſh; and that, on Villiers's ſucceeding the 'old Earl of Nottingham in the Admiralty, who re'queſted of the King that he might have his place, he 'went in perſon to acknowledge the kindneſs, and 'preſented his young Lady with a very noble and 'valuable reward, which my Lord Compton paid 'for (6).' It is ſomewhat remarkable, that this noble friend and promoter of the Duke's riſe was taken out of the world by a ſudden act. 'Yeſterday ſevennight, 'ſays my Author, the Earl of Northampton, Lord 'Preſident of Wales, after he had waited on the King 'at ſupper (and had alſo ſupped himſelf) went in a boat, 'with others, to waſh himſelf in the Thames, and ſo 'ſoon as his legs were in the water but to the knees, 'he was ſeized with the colic, and cried out, *Have me 'into the boat again, for I am a dead man.*' Accordingly he died a few hours after at his lodgings in the Savoy, June 24, 1630 (7). His ſon and ſucceſſor, Spencer Compton, married Mary, daughter of Sir Francis Beaumont, brother to the Counteſs of Buckingham, by whom he had ſix ſons, the youngeſt of which, Henry, became Biſhop of London (*), and his eldeſt ſon James was father to the right honourable Sir *Spencer Compton*, being his third ſon, who was Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in that parliament, which paſſed an act to continue themſelves for ſeven years, tempore Georg. I, and was afterwards created Earl of *Wilmington*. The eldeſt brother *George* ſucceeded to the earldom of Northampton, as did alſo his eldeſt ſon *James*, and after his death the ſecond ſon *George*; but this laſt dying without iſſue in 1758 (8), the title became extinct in this family.

(3) She brought him two daughters; *Anne*, married to Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, of Whitby in com. Ebor. Bart. and *Penelope* to Sir John Nicholas, Knight of the Bath, one of the principal Secretaries of State to K. Ch. I. and II. Ibid. Vol. IX. p. 228.

(4) P. 89, et ſeq.

(5) He was uſually called the *rich Spencer*: He was Lord-Mayor of London in 36 Queen Elizabeth.

(6) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 165, and 168.

(7) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. l. 2. p. 36.

(*) See his article.

(8) There being no male iſſue left, Peerage of Engl. Vol. III.

[*B*] *He embarked for Spain.*] Some time before this extraordinary frolic, the Duke's high favour with the King had tranſported him into a forgetfulneſs of his duty to the Prince, whom he was very near ſtriking. For that affront his Highneſs having conceived very great indignation againſt him, to remove it he projected this frolic, which ſucceeded to his wiſh, and fixed him in the Prince's favour (9). They ſet out on Tueſday, February 18, from a houſe lately purchaſed by the Marquis at *Newball* in Eſſex (10), with diſguiſed beards, and the feigned names of Thomas and John Smith, attended only by Sir Richard Graham, Maſter of horſe to the Marquis. On paſſing the Thames againſt Graveſ-

(9) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. Fol. Edit.

(10) Now in the poſſeſſion of Mr Olmius, member of the preſent parliament, 1762, for Weymouth.

Prince Charles (*e*), (afterwards King Charles I.) to make up the long agitated match with the Infanta of that Kingdom; and, in his abſence, he was created Earl of Coventry, and Duke of Buckingham, the 18th of May following. After his return from Spain, in September, he was made Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and Steward of the Manor of Hampton-Court. The death of King James, which happened March 27, 1625, brought no diminution to the power of the Duke; he continued in the ſame degree of favour with the ſon, which he enjoyed ſo many years under the father. The new King ſent him to conduct into England, his lately eſpouſed conſort (*f*), the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria* of France [C]. On which Embaſſy, he arrived at Paris, May the 24th, 1625 (*g*); and

(*e*) Sir Simonds d'Ewes calls this journey *an accident*, though at the ſame time he obſerves, that the King was privy to it. See his article, in remark [B].

(*f*) By his proxy, the Duke of Chevreux. Salmon's Chron. Hiſtorian, who ſays the marriage was ſolemnized at Paris on the 11th of May, 1625.

(*g*) Peerage of England, Vol. III. p. 206. Edit. 1756.

end, having no ſilver, they gave the Ferryman a gold piece of twenty-eight Shillings, which ſtruck the poor fellow into ſuch a melting tenderneſs, that ſuch good gentlemen ſhould be going, as he ſuſpected, upon ſome quarrel beyond ſea, that he could not forbear to acquaint the officers of the town with what had befallen him. The officers thereupon ſent preſently poſt to ſtop them at Rocheſter, but they were paſſed through it before. On the brow of Chatham-hill they were ſomewhat perplexed by ſpying the French Ambaſſador, with the King's coach and others attending him, which made them baulk the road, and teach Poſt-hacknies to leap hedges. At Canterbury, whither ſome bruit was run before, the Mayor of the town came himſelf to ſeize on them, as they were taking freſh horſes, alledging, in his blunt manner, a warrant to ſtop them, firſt from the *Council*, next from Sir *Lewis Lewknor*, Maſter of the ceremonies, and laſtly from Sir *Henry Mainwaring*, then Lieutenant of Dover-caſtle; at all which confuſed fiction the Marquis had no leiſure to laugh, but thought it beſt to diſmaſk his beard, and ſo told the Mayor *that he was going covertly with ſuch a ſlender attendance to take a ſecret view (being Admiral) of the forwardneſs of his Majeſty's fleet, which was then in preparation on the narrow ſeas.* On the way afterwards a Poſt-boy, who had been at Court, got ſomehow a glimmering who they were, but his mouth was eaſily ſhut. To Dover, by reaſon of bad horſes and theſe petty impediments, they came not before ſix at night; where they found Sir *Francis Cottington*, then Secretary to the Prince, and Mr *Endymion Porter* (11), who had been ſent before to provide a veſſel for their tranſportation. The next morning (for the night was tempeſtuous) taking ſhip at Dover about ſix, they landed the ſame day at Boulogne in France, near two hours after noon, reaching Montreil that night, and Paris the next day (12), viz. Friday the 21ſt. Here the Prince ſpent one whole day to view the city and the court; and, for a better diſguiſe, his Highneſs and the Marquis bought each a perriwig, ſomewhat to overſhadow their foreheads. They got ſight of the King and Queen, without being diſcovered, no not by Monſieur *Cadinet*, who had been lately Ambaſſador to England, and ſaw them both. Towards evening, by meer chance, they had a ſight of the *Infanta* and of the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, with other great Ladies, at the practice of a maſking dance which was then in preparation; having overheard two gentlemen who were going to that ſight, they preſſed after them, and were let in by the *Duke de Mount-Baſon*, the Queen's Lord Chamberlain, out of civility to ſtrangers, when diverſe of the French were put by. Leaving *Paris* next day at three in the morning, they ſpent ſix days at *Bayonne*, the laſt town of France, having before at *Bourdeaux* bought them five riding-coats, all of one colour and faſhion: and Sir *Francis Cottington* was employed to prevent their being entertained by the *Duke* of *Eſpernon*, telling him they were gentlemen of mean degree, and formed yet to little courtſhip or politeneſs (13). It being now Lent ſeaſon, they could get no fleſh in their inns, which occaſioned the following incident. Near *Bayonne* was a herd of goats with their young ones, upon which ſight Sir Richard Graham tells the Marquis he would ſnap a kid, and make ſome ſhift to convey it unſeen to their lodgings; the Prince overhearing it, *Why Richard*, ſays he pleaſantly, *do you think you may practiſe here again your old tricks upon the borders?* In this humour having ſatisfied the goat-herd, while the Marquis and his ſervant on foot chaſed the kid about the ſtack, the Prince killed him by a ſhot in the head with a Scotch piſtol (14). At Bayonne both their perſons and behaviour were eyed narrowly by the Count de *Grammont*, Governor of that jealous frontier, who told ſome of his train, that he thought them to be gentlemen of much more worth than their habits beſpoke them; yet he let them courteouſly paſs (15): and four days after they arrived at Madrid (16), where alighting at the Earl of Briſtol's houſe, the Marquis [Mr Thomas Smith] came in firſt, with a portmanteau under his arm; then [Mr John Smith] the Prince was ſent for, who ſtaid a while on the other ſide of the ſtreet in the dark. They were received with all poſſible politeneſs at this court. But the Duke ſoon began to be diſreliſhed for his behaviour to the Prince, which, together with his perſonal animoſity againſt the Duke of *Olivarez*, the ſole favourite at that court, was one reaſon that this journey intirely diſſolved the Spaniſh match, ſo many years in agitation (17).

[C] *To conduct Henrietta from France.*] Sir Henry Wotton takes notice (18), that in this embaſſy, which conſiſted all of meer ſhew, there wanted no ornaments or bravery to ſet it off; and he thinks it worthy ſome little remembrance, that the Duke on a ſolemn day gorgeouſly clad in a ſuit all overſpread with diamonds, and having loſt one of good value, perchance he might be dancing, after his manner, with loſty mien, it was ſtrangely recovered next morning in a court full of pages; *ſuch a diligent attendant*, ſays he, *was fortune upon him every where, both at home and abroad.* However, it ſeems, he experienced at this time one of her croſs purpoſes, if we may believe the Lord Clarendon, who, having obſerved, that in this embaſſy his perſon and prudence was wonderfully admired and eſteemed, and that he appeared in it with all the luſtre the wealth of England could adorn him, and outſhined all the bravery that court could dreſs itſelf in, and over-acted the whole nation in their own moſt peculiar vanities, proceeds thus: 'He had the ambition to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his moſt violent affections to, a Lady of a very 'ſublime quality, and to purſue it with moſt importunate addreſſes, inſomuch as when the King had 'brought the Queen his ſiſter as far as ſhe meant to do, 'and delivered her into the hands of the Duke, to be 'by him conducted into England, the Duke, in his 'journey, after the departure of that court, took a 'reſolution once more to make a viſit to that great Lady, 'which he believed he might do with much privacy: 'But it was ſo eaſily diſcovered, that proviſion was 'made for his reception; and if he had purſued his 'attempt, he had been without doubt aſſaſſinated; of 'which he had only ſo much notice, as ſerved him to 'decline the danger: But he ſwore in the inſtant, that 'he would ſee and ſpeak with that Lady in ſpight of 'the ſtrength and power of France. And from the 'time that the Queen arrived in England, he took all 'the ways he could to undervalue and exaſperate that 'court and nation, by cauſing all thoſe that fled into 'England, from the juſtice and diſpleaſure of that King, 'to be received and entertained here, not only with 'ceremony and ſecurity, but, with bounty and magnificence; and the more extraordinary the perſons were, 'and the more notorious their King's diſpleaſure was 'towards them (as in that time there were many Lords 'and Ladies in thoſe circumſtances) the more reſpectfully they were received and eſteemed. He omitted 'no opportunity to incenſe the King againſt France, 'and to diſpoſe him to aſſiſt the Huguenots, whom he 'likewiſe encouraged to give their King ſome trouble. 'He alſo took great pains to leſſen the King's affection 'towards his Queen, being exceeding jealous leaſt her 'intereſt might be of force enough to croſs his other 'deſigns, and had even brought himſelf (againſt his 'nature) to a habit of neglect, and even of rudeneſs, 'towards the Queen. One day, when he unjuſtly apprehended, that ſhe had ſhewed ſome diſreſpect to his 'mother, in not going to her lodging at an hour ſhe 'intended to go, and was hindered by meer accident, 'he came into her chamber in much paſſion, and after 'ſome expoſtulations, rude enough, he told her ſhe 'ſhould repent it. Her Majeſty anſwering with ſome 'quickneſs; he therupon replied inſolently to her, 'that there had been Queens in England who had loſt 'their heads. And it was univerſally known, that, 'during his life, the Queen never had any credit with 'the King, in reference to any public affairs (19).'

(17) Howel's Letters, as before, No. XV.

(18) In his life of the Duke, p. 15.—Cardinal Barberini, it is ſaid, came with great pomp from Italy to hinder this match. Vide Letter LXXIX in Parr's Collection of Letters, annexed to Archbiſhop Uſher's Life.

(19) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. Fol. Edit.

(11) He was taken in, not only as a bed-chamber ſervant of confidence, but, as uſeful for his ſkill in the Spaniſh tongue, and his ſingular credit in Spain, which we are told by Sir Henry Wotton; and theſe two qualities are intimated in ſeveral addreſſes to him by Mr Howel, in Epiſtol. Ho-Elianæ &c.

(12) About two poſts before, they had met with two German gentlemen, come newly from England, where they had ſeen the Prince and the Marquis taking coach together with the King, and retained ſuch a ſtrong impreſſion of them, that they now bewrayed ſome knowledge of their perſons, but were outfaced by Sir *Richard Graham*.

(13) The Earl of Carliſle was ſent into France ſoon after, to excuſe the Prince's ſudden and ſecret paſſing through his kingdom, without giving him a viſit. Sir Simonds d'Ewes, as above in note (*e*).

(14) It is part of K. Charles's character, that he was a good markſman. Gen. Hiſt. of England. Particularly by Mr Hume.

(15) In this, ſays Mr Howel, they had very good luck; for the Count was informed who they were the next day, and would certainly have ſtopt them. Howel's Letters, Vol. I. Sect. 3. No. XVI. Edit. 1650.

(16) Sir Henry Wotton, as before.

when

when he was arraigned in the Parliament, which met at Oxford in Auguſt, the King diſſolved that Parliament. At his Majeſty's Coronation, February the 2d, the ſame year, the Duke was Lord High-Conſtable for that day; and in the new Parliament, which met four days after, being impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanours by the Commons (*b*), the Duke put in his anſwer, which not giving content, the King, impatient of all proceedings (*i*) againſt him, choſe to diſſolve this Parliament alſo, rather than part with the Duke, and that too at a time when he was actually engaged in a war with Spain [*D*]. In the proſecution whereof, the Duke went not long after with the Earl of Holland to the Hague, in order to negotiate a treaty with the States about a common diverſion for the recovery of the Palatinate [*E*]. Within a month after the diſſolution of the parliament, the

(*i*) Sir Dudley Diggs and Sir John Elliot, two of the Members of the Commons, who carried up the impeachment, were committed to the Tower for ſome obnoxious expreſſions on that occaſion, though upon explaining themſelves, releaſed ſoon after.

(*b*) In this Parliament the Earl of Bristol exhibited Articles against the Duke, May 1, 1626, charging him with endeavouring to pervert the Prince (now King) to the Romiſh Religion in Spain, the King ſent a meſſage to the Lords, aſſerting the Duke's innocence of his own certain knowledge.

(20) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, as before.

[*D*] *Notwithſtanding he was then engaged in a war with Spain.*] Lord Clarendon (20) having obſerved, that the Duke's anſwer to the impeachment was civilly couched; and, though his heart was big ſavoured of an humble ſervant, proceeds to inform us, 'that they who 'flattered him moſt before, mentioned him now with 'the greateſt bitterneſs and acrimony; and the ſame men 'who had called him *Our Saviour*, for bringing the 'Prince ſafe out of Spain, called him now the *corrupter 'of the King, and betrayer of the liberties of the people*, 'without the leaſt crime imputed to him, to have been 'committed ſince the time of that exalted adulation; 'or that was not then as much known to them as it 'could be now: *ſo fluctuating and unſteady a teſtimony is 'the applauſe of popular councils.* This tranſported him 'with indignation, and created in him a greater contempt of parliaments than he had before ſhewn, and 'which he did not forbear to publiſh in the moſt open 'manner. Such as had given any offence were impriſoned and diſgraced, and new projects were ſet on foot 'for money, which ſerved only to offend and incenſe 'the people, and brought little ſupplies; yet raiſed a 'great ſtock for expoſtulation, murmur, and complaint; 'many perſons of the beſt quality (excepting Peers) being committed to ſeveral priſons with unheard of circumſtances, only for refuſing to pay money required 'of them by thoſe extraordinary ways. And the Duke 'himſelf would paſſionately ſay, and frequently do, 'many things, which only grieved his friends, and incenſed his enemies, and gave them ability to do him 'harm.'

[*E*] *He went to the Hague.*] He ſet out in the beginning of November, as appears from a letter, dated November 7, from Sir *Arthur Ingram* to Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Bart. in which is the following paſſage: 'The Duke [of Buckingham] is now gone over to the 'Hague, and from thence cometh to France, and, it is 'thought, will be here again before Chriſtmas. He 'hath carried all the great jewels of any value, of the 'King's, and all the gilt plate, it is ſaid, to borrow 'money upon them, to ſupply the King of *Denmark* 'withal (21).' Theſe jewels being crown jewels, and of very great value, it was neceſſary to have a warrant from the King himſelf, both for the delivering them to and receiving of them by the Embaſſadors, with a particular deſcription and weight of each jewel, which being very curious both in the form and richneſs of them, we ſhall lay before our readers (*). The warrant is directed to the *Duke* of *Buckingham*, the Earl of Holland, *Lord Conway*, Lord *Compton*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Maſter of the Jewel-Office, and *Endymion Porter*, one of the Grooms of the Bed-chamber, in theſe terms: 'Whereas we have lately employed the ſaid Duke and Earl as Embaſſadors to the States of the United Provinces, and for our eſpecial ſervice have commanded the ſaid Lord Compton to deliver into the hands of the ſaid Lord Conway the ſeveral jewels hereafter particularly mentioned, being at that time in his cuſtody, that is to ſay,

(21) Strafford's Letters and State Papers, &c. Vol. I. p. 27, Edit. 1737, in 2 Vols. Folio.

(*) From Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XVIII. p. 236, et ſeqq.

Imprimis, A great rich jewel of gold, called *the Mirror of Great Britain*, having two fair table diamonds, and two other large diamonds cut lozenge-wiſe, garniſhed with ſmall diamonds, and a pendant of a fair diamond cut in fancetts without foyl.

Item, A fair jewel, in faſhion like a feather of gold, having in the midſt one great diamond, and thirty other diamonds of different bigneſs, and five ſmall diamonds in form of a croſs.

Item, A flower of gold, with three great ballaces, in the midſt a great pointed diamond, and three great pearls fixt, with a fair pearl pendant, called *the Brethren*.

Item, A great pointed diamond, with a collet taken from a collar of gold, wherein yet remains eight great rock rubies, and twenty great pearls, ſet in twoes, and a long pearl pendant.

Item, A broken collar of gold of thirty pieces, whereof fifteen are roſes, and fifteen crowned cyphers of the King and Queen's names, wherein are eleven pointed diamonds, and eight table diamonds.

Item, A jewel of gold of the letter I, having one long fair table diamond, and two leſſer ſquare table triangled diamonds, and a roſe-diamond, and a great oval pearl pendant.

Item, The great collar (*) of ballaſt rubies, containing twenty pieces of gold, whereof ten are ſet with great ballaſt rubies, and ten with ſixteen great round pearls in each piece.

(*) This was called the inеſtimable collar of rubies: it was made by the order of Hen. VIII. and is introduced in the portraits of that King.

Item, One great ſapphire cut in foſſets, one pendant ſapphire cut in foſſets, one ballaſt ruby with a long pearl pendant, one ballaſt ruby without foyl in a collet of gold enamelled.

Item, A great amethyſt in a collet of gold.

All which jewels the ſaid Lord *Compton*, according to our command, did deliver to the ſaid Lord *Conway*, and the ſaid Lord *Conway*, by our command, did deliver them upon or near the 8th of November laſt paſt, to the ſaid *Endymion Porter*, to be carried beyond the ſeas into Holland, and there to be delivered to the ſaid *Duke* of *Buckingham* and *Earl* of *Holland*, by them two to be diſpoſed of as we have eſpecially directed them for our ſervice.

And whereas the ſaid Sir Henry Mildmay, Maſter of our Jewel-office, by our ſpecial commandment, upon or about the 26th of October laſt paſt, did deliver out of his cuſtody and charge, unto the ſaid Duke and Earl, or their ſervants for them, theſe ſeveral parcels of rich plate and jewels hereafter particularly mentioned in theſe preſents, that is to ſay,

Imprimis, One baſon of gold, in the bottom whereof are ſet two fair diamonds, two fair rubies, and two emeralds, and ſeventeen fair pearls, and the brim of the ſame garniſhed with four fair diamonds, four fair rubies, four fair emeralds, and forty-eight cluſters of pearls, there being four fair pearls in every cluſter. Of the weight of 113 ounces.

Item, One very fair layer of mother of pearl, being a ſhell crazed in ſundry places, and ſimited again, garniſhed with gold, the foot thereof cut eight ſquare, in the lower part whereof is one diamond without a foil, four rock rubies, two fair emeralds, and one ſapphire, and upon the upper part of the ſame ſquare is one very great diamond without foyl, one fair rock ruby, two fair emeralds, the ſhank thereof garniſhed with two very fair rubies, two very fair emeralds, and three very fair pearls pendant, the body thereof garniſhed with five fair rubies, two fair diamonds, and ſix pearls, the handle being an antique man of gold, garniſhed with ſix rubies, one emerald, one ſapphire, and one pearl, and laying his one hand upon a goodly ballance, and his other hand upon a goodly ruby, and, from the body to the ſame ſhell, garniſhed with two diamonds, four rubies, and two very fair rubies, with two pearls in two womens hands, holding between the other two hands a goodly ballace like a heart, the garniture of the ſame ſhell above the brim, and ſpout downward, the body with five diamonds, two of them being great, ſeven rubies, four emeralds, one emerald pendant, one blue ſapphire, and three pearls pendant, with two ſeveral pearls ſet, and a long pearl ſet in the top, over the ſaid heart of ballace. Weighing 160 ounces.

Item, One baſon and layer of gold, the baſon enamelled about the buſhel and brim, and the layer ſuitable, having forty-eight ſmall diamonds in the baſon, and thirty-five ſmall diamonds, thirty rubies, and twelve great ſapphires in the layer. Weighing 202 ounces.

Item, A baſon and ewer of gold, ſet with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, and one great ballaſt ruby in the midſt of the ewer, the arms of Denmark in the baſon, with *Anna Regina*. Weighing 165½ ounces.

Item, A fair boll of gold, and a cover garniſhed with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, on the top a wild man, with a ruby pendent in his hand, and *Anna Regina* on the cover. Weight 51½ ounces.

Item,

the kingdom found itſelf engaged in another war with France, at the inſtance of this mignion, who thereupon, in 1627, went in perſon Admiral and General in an expedition to

Item, A ſtanding cup of gold, with a cover, garniſhed with diamonds, rubies, and emeraulds, perfect, having the arms of Denmark graven within the cover. Weight fifty ounces ſcant.

Item, One cup of gold, with the cover, graven on the body with an altar, and an inſcription over it, *nil niſi vota*; and the ſimilitude of a temple graven, with a pyramid on the top of the cover; and a harneſſed man in the top thereof, holding an antique ſhield in his left hand. Weight 200½ ounces.

Item, One baſon and layer of gold, plain. Weight 196 ounces.

Item, A pair of fair bolls, and covers of gold, raiſed with talbots on the ſides. Weight 120 ounces.

Item, A fair ſtanding cup, garniſhed about the cover with eleven diamonds, and two pointed diamonds about the cup, ſeventeen table diamonds, and one pearl pendant upon the cup, with theſe words, *bound to obey and ſerve*, and H and I knit together. In the top of the cover the King's arms, and Queen Jane's arms, holden by two boys under a crown imperial. Weight 65½ ounces.

Item, A cup of gold, with a cover, garniſhed with red roſes, and full ſet and garniſhed with coarſe ballaces of rubies and ſapphires, and one and twenty troches of pearls, three pearls in every troche. Weight 56 ounces ſcant.

Item, A high ſalt of gold in the form of a ſhip, with a ſtriking clock in the cover, garniſhed with diamonds, rubies, ſapphires, emeraulds, jacynths, amethyſts, ballaces, and pearls. Weight 162½ ounces.

'Item, One ſalt of gold, called the *Morris dance*, having 'the foot garniſhed with ſix great ſapphires and ſixteen 'coarſe diamonds, thirty ſeven coarſe rubies, forty two 'ſmall garniſhing pearls, having upon the ſhank three 'great coarſe ſapphires and three great coarſe pearls, 'and upon the border about the ſhank twelve coarſe 'diamonds, eighteen coarſe rubies, and fifty-two gar'niſhing pearls, and ſtanding about that five morris'dancers and tabourer, having among the morris-dancers 'and tabourer thirteen ſmall garniſhing pearls and one 'ruby; the lady holding the ſalt having upon her gar'ment, from her foot to her face, fifty garniſhing pearls 'and eighteen coarſe rubies; the foot of the ſame having 'four coarſe rubies and four coarſe diamonds. The bor'der about the middle of the ſame ſalt having four coarſe 'diamonds, ſeven rubies, and eight pearls; and upon 'the top of the ſaid ſalt four diamonds, four rubies, 'and three great pearls. The lady having upon the 'tyre of her head ten ſmall rubies, twelve coarſe dia'monds, and twenty-nine coarſe garniſhing pearls. 'Weight 151⅝ ounces.

'Item, One cup of gold, called *the dream of Paris*, 'having upon the cover thereof the images of *Paris*, '*Jupiter*, *Venus*, *Pallas*, and *Juno*. Paris's horſe upon 'the cover, garniſhed with eighteen diamonds, great 'and ſmall, and in the five borders of the ſame cover 'thirty-two great rubies. *Jupiter* garniſhed with ten 'ſmall rubies; and Paris's helmet with two ſmall rubies, '*Venus* and *Pallas* having each one ſmall ruby upon 'their breaſt, *Juno* wanting her chaplet. The horſe 'of *Paris* having eight ſmall rubies, alſo upon the 'five borders of the ſame forty-one great pearls; *Jupiter* 'having his garment garniſhed with thirty-two ſmall 'pearls; *Paris* having one ſmall pearl upon the top 'of his cap; *Venus* having two ſmall pearls hanging 'down from her chaplet; *Juno* having upon her chap'let two ſmall pearls hanging down, and upon her 'buttocks two ſmall pearls. The horſe garniſhed with 'twenty-ſeven pearls, great and ſmall. The cup having, 'upon the foot and ſhank, twenty-five rubies, great 'and ſmall, ten diamonds of diverſe ſorts, four ſapphires, 'and thirty-eight pearls, great and ſmall. Weight 121 'ounces.

'Item, A trencher-ſalt of gold, in form of a caſtle, 'garniſhed with diamonds, rubies, ſapphires, emeraulds, 'and pearls. Weight 21½ ounces.

'Item, A cup and cover of gold, weighing 30 ounces.

'Item, One cup of gold, the cover enamelled with 'eight coarſe diamonds, four on the cover, and four 'leſſer on the foot, and on the top of the cover a fair 'pointed emerauld, and another knob of gold, enamel'led like the emerald. Weight 28¼ ounces.

'Item, One high ſalt of gold, with a cover of gold, 'in the cover twelve ballace rubies, nine ſapphires, and 'three diamonds; and on the top a woman, having a 'roſe-diamond in one hand, and in the other an arrow, 'with a diamond at the end, garniſhed with pearls, 'fixt and pendant, wanting five pearls. Nineteen ſmall 'diamonds in the coronet of the cover: weight 60 'ounces. The ſalt ſet with forty-five ballaſt rubies, 'thirty-five ſapphires, ſeven ſmall diamonds, and gar'niſhed with pearls, fixt and pendant; weighing 234 'ounces. Weight, *in toto*, 286¾ ounces.

'Item, One cup of gold, the cover and foot enamelled, 'with eight coarſe diamonds, four on the cover, and 'four leſſer on the foot, and on the top of the cover a 'fair pointed emerauld, and another knob of gold, 'enamelled like an emerauld. Weight 28¾ ounces.

'Item, One cup, the boll thereof agate, oval faſhion, 'called the *conſtable's cup*, with an agate in the foot, 'all garniſhed with gold, enamelled, ſet with rubies 'and diamonds, with a cover likewiſe of gold, and 'garniſhed with rubies and diamonds, ſet about with 'four antique heads of agates; in the inſide one agate, 'cut with two faces. Weight 57⅛ ounces.

'Item, One cup, and cover of gold, with dops, and 'a branch of flowers, the top enamelled like daiſies. 'Weight 36 ounces.

'Item, One layer of gold, chaſed in the top with long 'dops, the ſpout being a ſerpent, garniſhed with rubies, 'pearls, and flowers, enamelled with white and red, 'wanting a ruby in the top of the cover. Weight 40 'ounces ſcant.

'Item, Eight great diſhes of gold. Weight 184½ 'ounces.

'Item, Six trencher-plates. Weight 74⅜ ounces.

'Item, Seven fruit diſhes of gold, with the arms of 'Denmark. Weight 185¼ ounces.

'Item, A poſnet of gold, and cover. Weight 20¼ ounces ſcant.

'Item, A boll, and cover of gold, with roſes and 'crowns, and a crois on the top of the 'cover. Weight 69¼ ounces.

'Item, One pair of gold cups, with covers, having 'blue ſnake-rings on the top of the covers. Weight '30½ ounces.

'Item, Two trencher-plates of gold, ſtanding upon 'pillars. Weight 110⅜ ounces.

'Item, One porringer of gold. Weight 27⅞ ounces.

'Item, One cup and cover of gold. Weight 31½ ounces.

'Item, A cup and cover of gold. Weight 25½ ounces.

'Item, A cup and cover of gold. Weight 23⅜ ounces.

'Item, A collar of gold, with ſeventeen roſes and 'ſeventeen knots. Weight 29¾ ounces.

'Item, A baſon and ewer of gold. Weight 71½ ounces.

'Item, A cup of agate, with a cover, garniſhed with 'gold, and full of emeraulds, turquoiſes, diamonds, 'roſes of diamonds, rubies, and pearls, with a ſapphire 'on the top, with a boy holding a ſpear. Weight 53⅜ 'ounces.

'Item, A looking-glaſs ſet in gold, garniſhed on the 'one ſide with two ſapphires, four rubies, and one 'emerauld; and on the other ſide with four ſapphires 'and four rubies. The ſtale of agate, two little boys, 'one of them holding a pearl, and five pearls hanging. 'On the other part of the body is a man on horſeback; 'the body being a clock within a chryſtal, garniſhed 'with four diamonds and fifty-five rubies, with four 'antique boys, enamelled with white, two of them 'bearing in each hand a pearl; and the other two, 'the one having two pearls and the other one pearl in 'their hands, wanting four pearls in the ſaid antique 'boys. The baſe or foot ſtanding upon four round 'chryſtals, garniſhed with ten rubies, and four naked 'women of gold, ſtanding at every corner one, and a man 'on the top being naked. Weight 97⅞ ounces.

'Item, One plate of gold, graven on one ſide with 'aſtronomy, and on the other with a ſhip called *the* 'Triumphe, with a caſe of murrey velvet. Weight 73 'ounces.

'Item, One layer, the foot, body, and handle, of agate; 'the body craſed, garniſhed with gold, and ſet with 'diamonds, rubies, and amethyſts, one emerauld, and 'one ſapphire. The foot having a border of ſmall rubies 'round about it. Weight 28⅛ ounces.

'Item, A cup of agate, with a cover of gold, like a tent, 'having a morris dance in the cover, ſet with twenty 'ſapphires, nine ſmall diamonds, and ſeventeen ballace 'rubies, garniſhed with pearls fixed, and pearls and 'beads of gold pendant. Weight 68 ounces.

(k) The mariners came in flocks to Whitehall, in great diſorder and confuſion, crying out for pay, and hardly to be appeaſed. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. Fol. Edit.

to *Rochelle* [F], which proving unſucceſsful, the cry of the people was ſo great (k), and the King's

'All which jewels and plate have been received by 'the ſaid Duke and Earl, to be diſpoſed of by them for 'our eſpecial ſervice, according as we have given unto 'them private directions.

'Now foraſmuch as the ſaid jewels and plate are of 'great value, and have long continued, as it were by diſ-'cent for many years together, with the crown of Eng-'land, and therefore it may not be ſafe for the ſaid Lord 'Compton, Lord Conway, Sir Henry Mildmay, Endy-'mion Porter, or any of them, to deliver them out of 'their ſeveral charges, nor for the ſaid Duke and Earl 'to receive the ſame, and tranſport them beyond the 'ſeas, and there to diſpoſe of them, without eſpecial 'warrant from us for the doing thereof, which in time 'to come might be perilous unto them, unleſs we did 'declare by ſome public inſtrument, that all this was 'done by our eſpecial warrant, and for our eſpecial 'ſervice, we have &c. (22).

'Witneſs ourſelf at Hampton-court, the 7th day of 'December.

'*Per Ipſum Regem.*'

(22) Theſe Jewels, with ſome of the Duke's, were pawned for 58400l. Vide The book of his Grace's accompts from 1622 to 1628 inclusive, by Sir Sackville Crow, a MS. in Muſæo Thoreſbeiano, communicated by the preſent worthy Poſſeſſor thereof. N. B. As theſe Crown Jewels are not now in the poſſeſſion of the Crown, and were apparently never redeemed, this account therefore is all that remains authentic of them.

While he was in the Netherlands, ſome curious Arabic MSS. collected by *Erpenius*, and by him left to his widow, were upon ſale to the Jeſuits at Antwerp. But the Duke, being informed of it by his Secretary Dr Maſon, ſtept between and purchaſed them for 500l. more than their weight in ſilver; 'a mixed act,' ſays Sir Henry Wotton, 'both of bounty and charity, and the 'more laudable, being much out of his natural element.' After the Duke's death they were preſented to the Univerſity of Cambridge by the Dutcheſs Dowager, as ſoon as ſhe knew from Dr Maſon that this was the intention of her huſband, who had a purpoſe likewiſe, as I am well informed, continues Sir Henry Wotton, to raiſe, in that Univerſity where he was Chancellor, a fair caſe for them, and to furniſh it with other choice collections from all parts at his own charge (23). It is well known that he ſpared no coſt in procuring ſcarce and curious coins (24), as well as pictures, of which laſt his collection at York-houſe was the admiration of the age (25). Here, to uſe Sir H. Wotton's phraſe, he was in his natural element; and the ſame is elegantly expreſſed in a picture, hanging in the Queen's ſtair-caſe at Hampton-court, where he appears in the figure of Mercury, preſenting the Arts and Sciences to their Majeſties ſitting in a cloud, while ſome boys are driving away Envy and Malice. The piece was drawn by *Huntorſt*, who, among ſeveral others, taſted largely of the Duke's liberality; particularly, it is ſaid that his Grace once gave *Nicholas Lanier* 500l. in gold, and at another time 300l. becauſe he could not get of King James what that painter deſerved (26).

(23) Life &c. of the Duke, p. 18.

(24) See a letter of Dr Laud to Archbp Uſher, in Parr's collection, No. CLXVI.

(25) A particular account of it is inſerted in the next article.

(26) R. Simonds, as quoted in the anecdotes of painting, Vol. II. p. 125, Edit. 1762, by Mr Horace Walpole, who obſerves, that Laniere was an excellent muſician; and in that character was retained by his Majeſty, with a ſalary of 100l. per annum.

[F] *Hit expedition to Rochelle.*] The Duke's conduct in this expedition was generally much cenſured, and no where more ſeverely than in a letter of *Denzil* (afterwards Lord) *Holles* to his brother-in-law Sir *Thomas Wentworth* (afterwards Earl of Strafford) which, containing ſome particulars about it not taken notice of by any of our hiſtorians, we ſhall lay before the Reader: 'God, ſays his Lordſhip, hath bleſſed us better than 'we deſerve, or by our preparations than we could 'expect, or elſe we had been in a far worſe condition 'than now we are, though we be ſufficiently bad: for 'it was a thouſand to one we had loſt all our ſhips to 'cloſe up this unfortunate action, if a fair wind had not 'ſo opportunely come to have brought them off; for 'they had but ten days victuals left, which failing, 'they muſt have ſubmitted themſelves to the enemy's 'mercy; who beſides were preparing with long boats 'to have come and fired them, which was marvellous 'feaſible, if they had ſtaid never ſo little longer. For 'the particulars of their moſt ſhameful deroute upon 'their retreat, which is or will be in every body's mouth, 'I doubt not but you know as well or better than my-'ſelf. For the action in general, one of themſelves, 'who, for his ſincerity and underſtanding I may term 'alſo *a prophet of their own*, has given me this cenſure 'of it, *That it was ill begun, worſe ordered in every 'particular, and the ſucceſs accordingly moſt lamentable:* 'Nothing but diſcontents betwixt the General and the 'moſt underſtanding of his ſoldiers, as *Burroughs*, *Courtney*, *Spry*; every thing done againſt the hair, and attempted without probability of ſucceſs, and there was 'no hopes of maſtering the place from the very beginning, eſpecially ſince Michaelmas; that a very great 'ſupply came at one time into the fort, and that ſince 'they relieved it at their pleaſure. Yet for all this the 'Duke would ſtay, and would not ſtay, doing things 'by halves: For had he done either, and gone through 'with it, poſſibly it could not have been ſo ill as it is; 'for he removed his ordinance, and ſhipped it a month 'almoſt, before he raiſed the ſiege, yet ſtill kept his 'army there, fit neither for offence nor defence; and 'at the laſt, the Saturday before the unfortunate Monday 'he came away, would needs give a general aſſault, 'where many good men were loſt, when there was no 'ordinance to protect them going on or coming off. '*Et qualis vita, finis ita*, as they behaved themſelves 'while they were there, ſo did they at their coming 'away: for though they knew two thouſand French 'landed that morning in the iſland, and there was at 'leaſt three thouſand in the two forts, the great one 'and the little one (of which by the way we never heard; 'but they thought it not fit we ſhould know all perhaps, 'becauſe they knew ſecrecy an eſſential part of war 'policy) ſo as they could not but expect to be a little 'troubled with them in their marching, yet made they 'no proviſion to ſecure themſelves: For being to paſs 'by a narrow cauſey (where more than ſix or eight 'could not go in front, and which a very ſmall number 'might have made good againſt a million) and ſo by a 'bridge over a little paſſage into an iſland as it were, 'where once being they would be ſafe, there was no 'order taken for viewing and preparing the way, that 'when they came to it there was no paſſage over; ſo 'that their ſtay gave a great deal of time and oppor-'tunity to the enemy, who all the while followed them 'at the heels ſo cloſe, that my Lord Duke himſelf, 'who, I know not by what misfortune, was in the rear, 'had like to have been ſnapped, if he had not preſently 'made way through the troops upon the narrow cauſey: 'and had he, the General, miſcarried, what might have 'become, think you, of the whole army, like a body 'without a head, or a flock without a ſhepherd? But 'he carefully got himſelf on ſhip-board that night, to 'prevent the worſt, and to order boats for the ſhipping 'of the army; but the French, falling upon the rear, 'killed and took priſoners as they would themſelves, 'helped by our own horſe, who, to ſave themſelves '(which yet they could not do) broke in, rode over 'our men, and put all into diſorder, which made way 'for the ſlaughter; but it ſeems no reſiſtance at all was 'made, but they even diſbanded, and ſhifted every one 'for himſelf, there being no word of command given 'for the making them face about for repulſing of the 'enemy; for then it muſt needs have gone from hand 'to hand through the whole troops; and *a ſerjeant major 'that was in the rear has proteſted to me, They did not ſo 'much as know, that any thing had been done till afterward 'a pretty while; and it had been the eaſieſt thing in the 'world, in that narrow place, to have beaten back the enemy, 'had they been never ſo many, or at leaſt to have defended 'themſelves.* But the diſorder and confuſion was ſo great, 'the truth is, no man can tell what was done, nor no 'account can be given how any man was loſt, not the 'Lieutenant-Colonel how his Colonel, or Lieutenant 'how his Captain, or any one knows how another was 'loſt; which is a ſign that things were ill carried. This 'only every man knows, that ſince England was Eng-'land it received not ſo diſhonourable a blow: Four 'Colonels loſt; thirty-two colours in the enemy's poſ-'ſeſſion (but more loſt); God knows how many men 'ſlain; they ſay not above two thouſand of our ſide, 'and I think not one of the enemies.

'But I little thought to have ſaid ſo much when 'I began, *l'appetit m'eſt venu en mangeant*, one thing 'having drawn in another. I will here end with a 'prayer, that God, who only can draw light out of 'darkneſs, will be pleaſed to give us a better iſſue out 'of our preſent miſerable condition than any of us can 'expect, though we may hope and pray for it. To 'his holy protection I commend you and yours, and ſo 'I reſt

'Your moſt affectionate

'Brother and Servant,

'D. Holles (27).'

Dorcheſter, Nov. 19, 1627.

(27) Strafford's Letters, &c. Vol. I. p. 42.

Sir

King's neceſſities ſo preſſing, as obliged him to call a parliament. They were no ſooner met, than the Duke's exceſſive power was voted to be the cauſe of all the evils and dangers brought upon the King and kingdom; and a remonſtrance of grievances drawn up, wherein he was charged as the principal occaſion of them; but the parliament being prorogued till the 20th of October, 1628 (*l*), the Duke, in the interval, not only endeavoured to allay the prejudice raiſed againſt him in the Houſe of Commons, but alſo to regain the good-will of the Publick, and repair his loſt honour by a ſecond expedition to *Rochelle*, then ſtraitly beſieged by the French King; but while he was attending this affair at Portſmouth, he received, by one *John Felton*, a diſcontented Lieutenant in the army, a mortal ſtab into the heart, of which he died in leſs than a quarter of an hour, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, on Saturday, Auguſt 23, 1628, being then in full health and vigour, and only five days paſt the thirtieth year of his age [*G*]. However odious in his life, the cruelty of his death was univerſally

(*l*) The act for granting the famous petition of right was ſigned by his Majeſty the ſame day. The King having ſent the gauntlet, *Fait ſait comme il eſt deſiré*, in anſwer to the Commons addreſs on the 7th of June preceding. Upon which, ſays Mr Howell, the Duke made a notable ſpeech at the Council-table in joy thereof, Among other paſſages one was, *That hereafter his Majeſty would pleaſe to make the parliament his favourite, and he to have the honour to remain ſtill his ſervant.* Epiſt. Ho-Elianæ, Vol. I. § 5. No. VI. to the Lord Scroop, &c. dated London, Sept. 25, 1621. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under this year.

Sir Henry Wotton, on the other hand, having aſſured us (28), 'that the Duke undertook this ſervice to recover the public good-will; which he ſaw by his own example might quickly be won and loſt, obſerves as to the action, that it had been much leſs cenſured by ſome of the French writers than generally among ourſelves at home. That the Duke's carriage was noble throughout; reſpectful to the gentlemen, bountiful to the ſoldiers, as he found any diſtinguiſhed worth in them; tender and careful of the wounded; his perſonal courage unqueſtionable, and rather fearful of fame than danger. That he ſhewed no viſible alteration in his countenance after the ſuccours, which he expected, failed him, though it lay heavy at his heart; which to Dr *Maſon*, his Secretary, whom he laid on a pallet near him, broke out into bitter and paſſionate expreſſions, proteſting, that neither his diſpatches to diverſe princes, nor the great buſineſs of a fleet, of an army, of a ſiege, of a treaty of war and peace, both of them on foot together, and all of them in his head at a time, did not ſo much break his repoſe, as a conceit, that ſome at home, under his Majeſty, of whom he had well deſerved, were now content to forget him (29). But whom he meant, ſays Sir Henry, I know not, and am loath to roam at conjecture. Of the two ſorts proceeds this Author, he could not take the one, and he would not take the other: But in the general town, he maintained a ſeizure and poſſeſſion of the whole three full months and eighteen days, and that, at his firſt deſcent on ſhore, he was not immured within a wooden veſſel, but countenanced the landing in his long boat, where ſucceeded ſuch a defeat of 200 horſe, (and theſe not, by his gueſs, mounted in haſte, but, for the moſt part, gentlemen of family and great relations) ſeconded with 2000 foot, as, all circumſtances well ballanced on either ſide, may ſurely endure a compariſon with any of the braveſt impreſſions in ancient time. In the iſſue of the whole buſineſs he ſeems charged in opinion with a kind of improvident conſcience, having brought of that with him to the camp perhaps too much of a court, where fortune had never deceived him. Beſides, we muſt conſider him but rude in the profeſſion of arms, though greedy of honour, and zealous in the cauſe.' Some part of theſe remarks, by the Duke's friend, with regard to his courage, and conduct to the ſoldiers, is confirmed by a paſſage in a letter to one of his foes, to whom it was propoſed as an example for him to copy. The paſſage is as follows: 'Upon this occaſion I will relate to your Lordſhip what happened lately in the iſle of Rhee, when the Duke of Buckingham was the King's general there: I heard one relate it who was preſent upon the place. It was told the Duke by a colonel there, that two other colonels ſaid theſe words to him, which he would maintain with his life: *That they obſerved the Duke often to go in his barge to the fleet, and that one time or other he would ſteal away into England, which if he did, they ſwore deeply that they would hang out the white flag, and deliver up the town and iſland to* Toras, *Governor of the caſtle.* The Duke called next day a council of war, the accuſer abſent, and charged theſe two gentlemen with the words, who flatly denied them upon their honours, offering to make it good with their ſwords. This the Duke took for ſatisfaction; and, giving a general admonition, he diſmiſſed the court. Nay he [the Relater of this ſtory] ſaid further, that, during the Duke's abode in that iſland, there were ſoldiers and captains who would ſay ill things; and that they ſpoke as boldly of the Duke their General, as the Commons houſe of parliament did in the ſeſſion before he went thither; and that the Duke was told of theſe ſpeeches every day, but paſſed them over without ſo much as queſtioning any one (30).' After reading this, no doubt can be made how he treated the letter which was wrote by *James Howell* before this ſame ſeſſion of parliament. That forward penman, it ſeems, had been, in ſome ſhape or other, a Retainer (31) to the Duke, and, upon the confidence of that connexion, and the Duke's well known affability, preſumed to adviſe him to part with ſome of his places, to take away the mutterings that run of the multiplicity of offices; and continues he, (according to his wonted ſtrain of affected witticiſms) 'in my ſhallow apprehenſion *your Grace might ſtand more firm without an anchor.*' In proceeding, he ventures upon ſome further advice in regard to the better regulation of his Grace's private family, and then concludes with gilding ſuch unpalatable pills in the following courtly addreſs: 'I know your Grace does not nor needs not affect popularity. It is true, that the people's love is the ſtrongeſt citadel of a ſovereign Prince; but to a great ſubject it hath often proved fatal; for he who pulleth off his hat to the people, giveth his head to the Prince; and it is remarkable what was ſaid of a late unfortunate Earl, who, a little before Queen Elizabeth's death, had drawn the axe upon his own neck, *That he was grown ſo popular, that he was grown too dangerous for the times, and the times for him* [32].' Theſe laſt words evidently point at the Earl of Eſſex: And it is not improbable, that the ſtory of this illuſtrious ſtateſman was often mentioned by way of contraſt to that of the Duke, eſpecially after his unfortunate end. Among others, Mr Hyde (afterwards Lord Chancellor Clarendon) employed ſome thoughts and time upon the ſubject, in a piece, entitled, *The difference and diſparity between the eſtates and conditions of George Duke of Buckingham and Robert Earl of Eſſex*; which appears to be written preſently after the Duke's aſſaſſination.

(28) In his Grace's life, p. 20.

(29) In his return to England he met the Earl of Holland coming out of Plymouth with a ſupply. Ruſhworth's collection.

(30) Mr Garrard's letter of Jan. 25, 1635, to the Lord Wentworth, Deputy of Ireland, in Strafford's letters and State-papers, Vol. I. p. 510.

(31) *See* his article. To which we ſhall take this opportunity of adding, that he probably got into the Duke's retinue by the intereſt of Lady Scrope, who was ſiſter to the Earl of Rutland, and aunt to the Dutcheſs of Buckingham, Howel's Letters, Vol. I. § 5. Edit. 1650, where he gives an account of the Duke's murder from a letter to the Earl of Rutland, whom he met on the road, poſting up to London on that ſad occaſion.

(32) Idem, § 4. No. XVIII.

[*G*] *He received a mortal ſtab.*] The very ſurprizing manner in which the Duke's aſſaſſination was perpetrated, furniſhed the dealers in omens and prodigies with choice matter to feed their fancies. Every tale that brought any tidings of the leaſt circumſtance relating to it was ſure to be eagerly liſtened to, and religiouſly preſerved as a ſacred treaſure. Hence we find the famous ſtory of the apparition or ghoſt of Sir *George Villiers*, the Duke's father, predicting his ſon's untimely end, if he did not change ſome part of his miniſterial conduct, equally retailed by the loyal and ſerious *Earl of Clarendon* (33), and *William Lilly*, juggler and mountebank to the rebels (34), whoſe miſrepreſentations were alſo thought worth while to be corrected in a more authentic account by that curious natural hiſtorian Dr Robert Plot (35), who uſhers in his narrative with the following introduction: 'Since William Lilly, *the rebels juggler and mountebank, hath, in his malicious and blaſphemous diſcourſe concerning our late martyred Sovereign, of bleſſed memory, imprinted (among other his lies and falſehoods) a relation concerning an apparition, which foretold ſeveral events which ſhould happen to the late* Duke of Buckingham, *wherein he falſifies both the perſon to whom it appeared, and the circumſtances; I thought it not amiſs to enter here (that it may be preſerved) the true account of the apparition, as I received it from and under the hand of* Mr *Edmund Windham* of *Kottisford* in the county of *Somerſet. I ſhall ſet it downe* (ipſiſſimis verbis), *as he delivered it to me at my requeſt, written with his owne hand.*

(33) In his Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. Fol. Edit.

(34) In his Obſervations on the Life and Death of K. Charles.

(35) See Hiſtoria et vitæ & regni Rich. II. p. 405. Edit. Oxford. 1729, by T. Hearne, a genius particularly turned for picking up and hoarding ſuch traſh.

'Sir,

univerſally deteſted. His bowels were interred at Portſmouth, and a handſome memorial of

' Sir,

' According to your deſire, and my promiſe, I have ' written downe what I remember (divers things being ' ſlipt out of my memory) of the relation made me by ' Mr *Nicholas Towſe* concerning the appartition which ' viſited him about 1627.

' I and my wife, upon occaſion being in London, ' lay at my brother *Pyne*'s houſe without Biſhopſgate, ' which was next houſe unto Mr *Nicholas Towſe*'s, who ' was his kinſman and familiar acquaintance, in con- ' ſideration of whoſe ſociety and friendſhip he took a ' houſe in that place; the ſaid *Towſe* being a very fine ' muſician, and very good company, for ought I ever ' ſaw or heard, a virtuous, religious, and well diſpoſed ' gentleman. About that time the ſaid Mr *Towſe* told ' me, that, one night being in bed, and perfectly ' waking, and a candle burning by him (as he uſually ' had), there came into his chamber, and ſtood by his ' bed-ſide, an old gentleman, in ſuch a habit as was in ' uſe in Queen Elizabeth's time; at whoſe firſt appear- ' ance Mr *Towſe* was very much troubled; but after a ' little while, recollecting himſelf, he demanded of him ' in the name of God, *what he was? whether he were ' a man?* And the Apparition replied *nor:* Then he aſked ' him *if he were a devil?* And the Apparition anſwered ' *noe.* Then ſaid Mr Towſe, *In the name of God what ' art thou then?* And as I remember Mr Towſe told ' me, that the Apparition anſwered him that *he was ' the ghoſt of Sir George Villiers, father to the then Duke ' of Buckingham, whom he might very well remember, ſince ' he went to ſchole at ſuch a place in Leiceſterſhire,* naming ' the place, which I have forgotten. And Mr Towſe ' told me, that the Apparition had perfectly the reſem- ' blance of the ſaid Sir George Villiers in all reſpects, ' and in the ſame habit that he had often ſeen him wear ' in his life-time. The ſaid Apparition alſo told him, ' that he could not but remember the much kindneſs, ' that he the ſaid Sir George Villiers had expreſſed to ' him, whilſt he was a ſcholar in Leiceſterſhire, as afore- ' ſaid; and that, out of that conſideration, he believed ' that he loved him, and that therefore he made choice ' of him the ſaid Mr Towſe to deliver a meſſage to his ' ſon the Duke of Buckingham, thereby to prevent ſuch ' miſchief as would otherwiſe befall the ſaid Duke, ' whereby he would be inevitably ruined. And then, ' as I remember, Mr Towſe told me, that the Appa- ' rition inſtructed him what meſſage he ſhould deliver ' to the Duke; unto which Mr *Towſe* replied, that he ' ſhould be very unwilling to go to the Duke of Bucks ' upon ſuch an errand, whereby he ſhould gaine nothing ' but reproach and contempt, and be eſteemed a mad- ' man, and therefore deſired to be excuſed from the ' employment. But the Apparition preſt him with much ' earneſtneſs to undertake it, telling him, that the circum- ' ſtances and ſecret diſcoveries (which he ſhould be able ' to make to the Duke of ſuch paſſages in the courſe of ' his life which were known to none but himſelfe) would ' make it appeare, that his meſſage was not the fancy of ' a diſtempered braine, but a reality. And ſo the Appa- ' rition tooke his leave of him for that night, telling him, ' that he would give him leave to conſider until the next ' night, and then he would come to receive his anſwer, ' whether he would undertake to deliver his meſſage to ' the Duke of Buckingham or noe. Mr Towſe paſſed the ' next day with much trouble and perplexity, debateing ' and reaſoning with himſelfe whether he ſhould deliver ' this meſſage to the Duke of Buckingham or not; but ' in the concluſion he reſolved to doe it. And the next ' night, when the Apparition came, he gave his anſwer ' accordingly, and then received full inſtructions. After ' which Mr *Towſe* went and found out Sir *Thomas Blud- ' der* and Sir *Ralph Freeman*, by whom he was brought ' to the Duke of Buckingham, and had ſeveral private ' and long audiences of him. I myſelfe, by the favour ' of a friend, was once admitted to ſee him in private ' conference with the Duke, where (although I heard ' not the diſcourſe) I obſerved much earneſtneſs in ' their actions and geſtures. After which conference ' Mr *Towſe* told me, that the Duke would not follow ' the advice that was given him, which was (as I re- ' member) that he intimated the caſting off and reject- ' ing of ſome men, who had great intereſt in him, ' and, as I take it, he named Biſhop *Laud*; and that ' he the Duke was to do ſome popular acts in the enſue- ' ing parliament, of which the Duke would have had ' Mr Towſe to have been a Burgeſs; but he refuſed it, ' alledging, that, unleſs the Duke had followed his ' directions, he muſt doe him hurt if he were of the ' parliament. Mr Towſe alſo then told me, that the ' Duke confeſſed, that he had told him thoſe things ' that no creature knew but himſelfe, and that none ' but God or the Divell could reveale to him. The ' Duke offered Mr Towſe to have the King knight him, ' and to have given him preferment (as he told me) ' but that he refuſed it, ſaying, that, unleſs he would ' follow his advice, he would receive nothing from him. ' Mr Towſe, when he made me this relation, told me ' the Duke would inevitably be deſtroyed before ſuch ' a time (which he then named) and accordingly the ' Duke's death happened before that time. He like- ' wiſe told me, that he had written downe all the diſ- ' courſes that he had had with the Apparition; and that ' *at laſt his comeing to him was ſo familiar, that he was ' as little troubled with it as if it had been a friend or ac- ' quaintance that had come to viſit him.* Mr Towſe told ' me further, that the Archbiſhop (then Biſhop of Lon- ' don) Dr *Laud*, ſhould by his counſels be the Author ' of very great trouble to the kingdome, by which it ' ſhould be reduced to that extremity of diſorder and ' confuſion, that it ſhould ſeem to be paſt all hope of ' recovery without a miracle; but yet, when all people ' were in deſpaire of happy days againe, the kingdome ' ſhould ſuddenly be reduced and reſettled againe in a ' moſt happy condition. At this time my father *Pyne* ' was in trouble, and committed to the Gatehouſe by ' the Lords of the Council, about a quarrel between ' him and the *Lord Pawlett*; upon which, one night, ' I ſayd unto my couſin *Towſe* by way of jeſt. *I pray you ' aſk your Apparition what ſhall become of my father Pyne's ' buſineſs?* which he promiſed to doe, and the next day ' told me, that my father *Pyne*'s enemies were aſhamed ' of their malicious proſequution, and that he would be ' at liberty within a weeke, or ſome few days, which ' happened accordingly. Mr *Towſe*'s wife (ſince his ' death) told me, that her huſband and ſhe living in ' Windſor-caſtle, where he had an office, that ſummer ' the Duke of Buckingham was killed, told her the ' very day that the Duke was ſett upon by the mutinous ' mariners at Portſmouth, ſaying, that the . . . . . ' . . . . . would be his death, which accordingly ' fell out, and that at the very inſtant the Duke was ' killed (as upon ſtrict enquiry they found afterwards) ' Mr *Towſe*, ſitting amongſt ſome company, ſuddenly ' ſtarted up, and ſaid, *The Duke of Buckingham is ſlain.* ' Mr *Towſe* lived not long after; but told his wife the ' time of his own death beforehand: which is as much ' as I can remember of this Apparition, which, accord- ' ing to your deſire, is written by,

' Sir,

Boulogne, Aug. 5, 1652. ' Your &c.

' *Edmund Windham.*'

The incident of the Duke's death is perhaps not more aſtoniſhing than it is, that this idle tale (for ſo I do not ſcruple to call it) ſhould be credited by the forementioned writers, notwithſtanding the evident marks which it bears of being nothing more than a mere phantom of Mr Towſe the relator's enthuſiaſtic brain, to which, it ſeems, at laſt the coming of the *Apparition was ſo familiar, that he was as little troubled with it as if it had been a friend or acquaintance that had come to viſit him* (36). However, that the Enthuſiaſt believed it, got himſelf introduced to the Duke, and told him the whole ſtory, is probable enough (37): one circumſtance eſpecially will never be queſtioned, that after the conference he told Mr Wyndham, that his Grace ſhewed no manner of regard to the advice of his Father's Ghoſt. Such a treatment of it was perfectly agreeable to the Duke's manner in general. And to the ſame purpoſe Sir Henry Wotton (who, by the bye, if he had heard of the Apparition, thought proper to ſay nothing of it) relates the following paſſage, which happened on the Duke's return to Plymouth, after the expedition to the iſle of Rhee: When Lord Goring diſpatched an expreſs meſſenger in all haſte, with advice to him to aſſure his perſon by declining the ordinary road, for that he had credible intelligence of a plot againſt his life, to be put in execution upon him in his ſaid journey towards the Court. ' The Duke, continues Sir Henry, meeting the meſſen- ' ger on the way, read the letter, and ſmothered it in ' his

(36) A circumſtance which, added to the extravagance of the reſt, is ſufficient to blaſt the credit of the whole.

(37) Sir Simons d'Ewes, who has related the account of his aſſaſſination at full length, concludes thus: It was reported the Duke had ſome prediction or forewarning given him to beware of this month of Auguſt as fatal to him. D'Ewes's Life of himſelf, MS. in the Britiſh Muſeum.

of him erected there by his ſiſter, the Counteſs of Denbigh [*H*]. His body was brought to York-houſe, whence, after lying ſome time in an illuſtrious manner on a hearſe, it was conveyed to Weſtminſter-abbey (*m*), and ſumptuouſly entombed on the North ſide of Henry VIIth's chapel, where a moſt noble monument is erected to his memory. The Earl of Clarendon, who had conſidered him thoroughly, having mentioned his faults with a candid impartiality, obſerves, that 'he was of a noble nature and generous diſpoſition, and of ſuch other endowments as made him very capable of being a great favourite to a great King, and underſtood the arts of a court, and all the learning that is profeſſed there, exactly well. That he was of a moſt flowing courteſy and affability to all men who made any addreſs to him; and ſo deſirous to oblige them, that he did not enough conſider the value of the obligation, or the merit of the perſon he choſe to oblige, from which much of his misfortune reſulted. He was of a courage not to be daunted, both in civil and military life, which was manifeſted in all his actions, and in his conteſts with particular perſons of the greateſt reputation [*I*], eſpecially

(*m*) Sir Henry Wotton, ubi ſupra.

'his pocket without the leaſt imaginable apprehenſion, rides forward, having not above ſeven or eight perſons in his retinue, and thoſe with no other weapons than ordinary ſwords. After this he had not advanced three miles before he met with an old woman, near a town in the road, who demanded whether the Duke was in the company; and ſignifying ſome ſpecial occaſion to be brought to him, ſhe was led to his horſe's ſide, where ſhe told him, that, in the very next town through which he was to paſs, ſhe had heard ſome deſperate men vow his death, and ſo offered to direct him about by a ſafer way. This old woman's caſual acceſs, joined to that deliberate advertiſement which he had from his noble friend, moved him to participate both the tenour of the ſaid letter, and all the circumſtances, with his company, who all agreed, that the woman had adviſed him well: notwithſtanding all which importunity he reſolved not to wave his road, upon this reaſon, perhaps more generous than provident, that, as he ſaid, *if he ſhould but once by ſuch a diverſion make his enemies believe he was afraid of danger, he ſhould never live without it.* Hereupon his nephew, Lord Viſcount *Fielding*, being then in his company, out of a noble ſpirit beſought him, that he might wear his coat and blue ribbon through the town, pleading that his uncle's life, whereon lay the property of his whole family, was of all things under heaven the moſt precious unto him, and undertaking ſo to geſture and muffle up himſelf in his hood, as the Duke's manner was to ride in cold weather, that none ſhould diſcern the difference, and ſo the Duke ſhould be the more at liberty for his own defence; at which ſweet propoſition the Duke caught him in his arms and kiſſed him, yet would not, as he ſaid, in that caſe, accept of ſuch an offer from a nephew, whoſe life he tendered as much as himſelf; and ſo, liberally rewarding the poor old creature for her good-will, after ſome ſhort directions to his company how they ſhould carry themſelves, he rode on without perturbation of mind. He was no ſooner entered into the town, but a ſcambling ſoldier clapt hold of his bridle, which he thought was in a begging or a drunken faſhion; but a gentleman of his train, that rode a pretty diſtance behind him, conceiving by the premiſes, that it might be a beginning of ſome miſchievous intent, ſpurred up his horſe, and with a violent ruſh ſevered him from the Duke, who with the reſt went on quietly through the town; nor was there any further enquiry into this conſpiracy, the Duke peradventure thinking it wiſdom not to reſerve diſcontentments too deep (38).' This writer, Sir Henry Wotton, relates alſo another paſſage concerning the Duke, which happened juſt before his departure on this expedition to Rochelle, when it ſeems he took an opportunity, in a parting viſit to Dr *Laud*, then Biſhop of London, to tell him, that he well knew his Majeſty's unalterable affection for his Lordſhip, and therefore deſired him to recommend his poor wife and children to his favour. The Biſhop, prompted either by the words or the manner of his delivery, or both, aſked him *if he had never any forebodings*; to which the Duke replied, *No; but I think I may chance to be killed as well as another man.* We have choſen to mention this paſſage, becauſe it ſets before us a lively picture of this great Duke's courage. We ſee him here perfectly ſenſible, and conſiderate of the danger he was running into, yet far from being touched with any unmanly or unſoldierly fears or apprehenſions about it.

(38) Life and Death of the Duke, p. 19, 20, 21.

[*H*] *His ſiſter, the Counteſs of Denbigh.*] Sir Henry Wotton informs us, that ſhe received a letter from the Duke on the day of his death, whereunto all the while ſhe was writing her anſwer, ſhe bedewed the paper with her tears, and after a moſt bitter paſſion, (whereof ſhe could yield no reaſon but that her deareſt brother was to be gone) ſhe fell down in a ſwoon. Her letter ended thus: *I will pray for your happy return, which I look to with a great cloud over my head, too heavy for my poor heart to bear without torment. But I hope the great God of heaven will bleſs you.* The next day the Biſhop of Ely, her devoted friend, who was thought the fitteſt preparer of her mind to receive ſuch a doleful accident, came to viſit her: But hearing ſhe was at reſt, he attended till ſhe ſhould wake of herſelf, which ſhe did with the affrightment of a dream, her brother ſeeming to paſs through a field with her in his company, where hearing a ſudden ſhout of the people, and aſking the reaſon, it was anſwered to be for joy that the Duke of Buckingham was ſick, which ſhe had ſcarce related to her gentlewoman before the Biſhop was entered into her bedchamber for a choſen meſſenger of the Duke's death. The dreaming of his ſickneſs was the natural conſequence of that indiſpoſition of body that he felt the day before, as is related by the ſame writer, who further informs us, that the King, hearing it, was pleaſed to give him the honour of a viſit (39), and found him in his bed, where, after much ſerious and private diſcourſe, the Duke, at his Majeſty's departure, embraced him in a very unuſual and paſſionate manner, and did in like ſort to his friend the Earl of Holland, as if his ſoul had divined he ſhould ſee them no more. Such was the comment made upon it by the generality of people (40), always fond nurſes of omens and preſages; though it was evidently nothing more than the natural effect of the ſenſe he had of the danger he was about to run, as well from his enemies at home, who might more eaſily compaſs his ruin while abſent, as alſo from that of loſing his life in the expedition abroad: Nor was it difficult to foreſee the no leſs danger if he ſhould happen to eſcape at Rochelle with his life, but return home a ſecond time unſucceſsful, which was moſt likely to be the event, as had been not only the fate of a fleet commanded by the Earl of Denbigh (41), his brother-in-law, which ſet ſail from Plymouth to relieve the ſame city on the 17th of April preceding, but alſo of this very fleet intended for the Duke, which ſet ſail afterwards on the ſame deſign, under the command of the Earl of Lindſey, on the 18th of September following. In ſhort, the game was become deſperate: He knew it, and expreſſed his full ſenſibility of it in the abovementioned apartment with the King, who, when the meſſenger arrived at Tichfield with the news of his murder, was in his cloſet at prayers, in which the Duke no doubt had a ſhare; as is intimated in thoſe excellent lines of Mr Waller on the occaſion, which begin, *So earneſt with thy God &c.* (42).

(39) His Majeſty was then at Tichfield, the ſeat of ſix miles from Portſmouth.

(40) Life of the Duke, as before.

(41) William Viſcount Fielding, Lord St. Lis, and Baron of Newnham Padox, was created Earl of Denbigh, Jan. 20, 1622-3, by the intereſt of the Duke of Buckingham. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under that year.

(42) Waller's Poems.

[*I*] *His civil courage was manifeſt in his conteſts with perſons of the greateſt reputation.*] To confirm this, the noble hiſtorian produces the following remarkable inſtance: Having obſerved, that the Duke never endeavoured to do any man an ill office before he firſt told him what he was to expect from him, and reproached him with the injuries he had done, he goes on thus: 'In this manner he proceeded with the Earl of Oxford, a man of great name in that time, and whom he had endeavoured by many civil offices to make his friend, and who ſeemed equally to incline to the friendſhip. But when he diſcovered (or, as many thought, only ſuſpected) that the Earl was entered into ſome cabal in parliament againſt him, he could not be diſſuaded by any of his friends, to whom he imparted his reſolution, but meeting the Earl the next day, he took him aſide, and told him, *he would rely no longer on his friendſhip, nor ſhould he* [the Earl] *expect any further friendſhip from him; but, on the contrary, he would be for ever his enemy, and do him all the miſchief he could.* The Earl, who, as many thought, had not been faulty

'cially in his whole demeanor in the iſle of Rhee, both at the landing and on the retreat; 'in both which no man was more fearleſs, or more ready to expoſe himſelf to the higheſt 'dangers.' The Duke's memory has been ſeverely handled by many writers. Among others, Sir Simonds d'Ewes (n) repreſents him as a man of extreme luſt with regard to women. But this is unſupported by any facts, and reſts ſolely upon the authority of that writer, whoſe general character, both for miſtake and malice, are too well known to gain much credit (o). However we are far from thinking him obſtinate againſt all the temptations this way, to which his high ſtation and perſonal accompliſhments laid him open. No doubt he had his juvenilities with the ſex, though they were managed with decorum: In which reſpect he was a proper confident of thoſe of his maſter when Prince of Wales [K]. Whatever his amours were, it is evident he preſerved his heart entire to his Lady, whom, Sir Henry Wotton aſſures us, he loved dearly, and expreſſed his love in an act and time of no diſſimulation, towards his end bequeathing her all his manſion-houſes during her natural life, and a power to diſpoſe of his whole perſonal eſtate, together with a fourth part of his lands, in jointure. The regard he ſhewed to his relations was ſuch, that it was charged, though ſurely without reaſon, among his crimes. The laſt mentioned writer has indeed obſerved, that he left his elder brother John, of the ſame womb, a Viſcount (p), and Chriſtopher, his younger, an Earl (q): Sir Edward Villiers, his half brother (r) on the father's ſide, he either preferred, or removed, call it how you will, from his ſtep-mother's eye to the preſidentſhip of Munſter in Ireland, where he lived in ſingular eſtimation for his juſtice and hoſpitality, and died, with as much grief of the whole province as ever any Governor did [L], before his religious Lady, of ſweet and noble diſcretion, adding much to his honour. The eldeſt of the brethren, William, and heir of the name, was made a Baronet, but abſtained from Court, enjoying perhaps the greater greatneſs of ſelf-fruition (s). He left his mother a Counteſs by patent (t) in her own perſon, which was a new leading example, grown before ſomewhat rare ſince the days of Queen Mary. His ſiſter of Denbigh, that right character of a good Lady, he moſt recommended to the Queen, who, after a diſcharge of ſome French in her court, that were to return home, took her into three ſeveral places of honour and truſt. In ſhort, he left all his female kindred, of the entire or half blood, deſcending of the name of *Villiers* or *Beaumont*, within any near degree, either matched with Peers of the realm actually, or hopefully with Earls ſons and heirs, or at leaſt with Knights, or Doctors of Divinity, of plentiful condition. He did not much ſtrengthen his own ſubſtance in Court, but ſtood there on his own feet. For the truth is, the moſt of his allies rather leaned upon

(n) In the account of himſelf, MS. in the Britiſh Muſæum.

(o) [illegible] d'Ewes's article.

(p) Created Baron Villiers of Stoke, and Viſcount Perbeck. Peerage, Vol. III. p. 203. Edit. 1756.

(q) Created Earl of Anglefey, Sept. 24, 1623. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under that year. His ſon Charles, Earl of Anglefey, died without iſſue in 1654, leaving Suſan his ſiſter and heir, who was married to Thomas Savile, Earl of Suſſex. Peerage, as before.

(r) He was knighted at Windſor on the 7th of September, 1616, and in 1620 was ſent Ambaſſador into Bohemia, both by the Duke's intereſt. Idem, p. 216.

(s) He was created a Baronet on the 19th of July, 1619; but the title became extinct in his grandſon and heir, Sir William Villiers, Bart. who dying Feb. 27, 1711, aged 67 years, no iſſue male is now remaining of that line. Peerage, as before, p. 203. and Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under the year 1619.

(t) She was created Counteſs of Buckingham, 16 Jac. I. Peerage, p. 203.

'to him, was as great-hearted as he (and thought the 'very ſuſpecting him to be an injury unpardonable) 'without any reply to the particulars, declared, *that 'he neither cared for his friendſhip, nor feared his hatred*; 'and from thence avowedly entered into the converſa- 'tion and confidence of thoſe who were ſollicitous to 'purſue any thing that might prove to his diſadvantage, 'which was of evil conſequence to the Duke; the Earl 'being of the moſt ancient of the nobility, and a man 'of great courage, and of a family which had in no 'time ſwerved from its fidelity to the crown (43).'

(43) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c. 8vo. Vol. I. p. 32.

[K] *He was a confident in the intrigues of his maſter.*] We have a letter of this Prince, afterwards King Charles I, to the Duke, by which it appears he was privy to an amour of his Highneſs. It runs thus:

'Steanie,

'*I have nothing now to wryte to you, but to give you 'thankes bothe for the good councell ye gave me, and for 'the event of it. The King gave mee a good ſharp potion, 'but you took away the working of it by the well reliſhed 'comfites ye ſent after it. I have met with the partie that 'muſt not be named, onee alreddie, and the cullor of wryting 'this letter ſhall make me meete with her on Saturday, al- 'though it is written the day being Thurſday. So aſſuring 'you, that the buſines goes ſafelie onn, I reſt*

'*Your conſtant loving friend,*

'*I hope ye will not ſhew the* 'Charles (44).'
'*King this letter, but*
'*put it in the ſafe cuſto-*
'*die of Miſter Vulcan.*'

(44) *Hiſtoria et vitæ & regni Ricardi II.* p. 404, by Mr T. Hearne, who tells us the letter is ſaid to have once belonged to Archbiſhop Sancroft, and obſerves it is the only intrigue he had ever heard this Prince was concerned in.

[L] *His death was much lamented by the province.*] In the *Earl* of *Cork*'s chapel at *Youghall*, where he was buried, there ſtill remains the following hexaſtic to his memory:

Munſter may curſe the time that Villiers came
To make us worſe, by leaving ſuch a name
Of noble parts as none can imitate,
But thoſe whoſe hearts are married to the ſtate:
But if they preſs to imitate his fame,
Munſter may bleſs the time that Villiers came.

His Lady abovementioned was *Barbara*, eldeſt daughter of *Sir John St. John of Lidiard Tregoſe in Wiltſhire*, and niece to Sir *Oliver St John*, created Viſcount *Grandiſon* in Ireland, Jan. 3, 1620, with limitation of that honour to her poſterity. She brought *Sir Edward*, beſides three daughters, four ſons; 1ſt, *William*, who ſucceeded his father in eſtate, and his uncle in the title of *Viſcount Grandiſon* in 1630. On the breaking out of the rebellion he adhered to King Charles I, and ſignalized himſelf on ſeveral occaſions; but being wounded at the ſiege of Briſtol, July 26, 1643, he was carried to Oxford, where he died in Auguſt following in the thirtieth year of his age, and has a noble monument erected to his memory in the cathedral of Chriſt-church (where he was buried) by *Barbara Dutcheſs of Cleveland*, his only daughter and heir. His character is drawn by Lord Clarendon (45) ſo very amiable, that the reader cannot but be pleaſed with it. 'He was a young man, ſays 'the noble hiſtorian, of ſo virtuous a habit of mind, 'that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him; 'ſo great a lover of juſtice and integrity, that no exam- 'ple, neceſſity, or even the barbarity of this war, could 'make him ſwerve from the moſt preciſe rules of it; 'and of that rare piety and devotion, that the court or 'camp could not ſhew a more faultleſs perſon, or to 'whoſe example young men might more reaſonably 'conform themſelves. His perſonal valour and courage 'of all kinds (for he had ſometimes indulged ſo much 'to the corrupt opinion of honour as to venture him- 'ſelf in duels) was very eminent, inſomuch as he was 'accuſed of being too prodigal of his perſon; his af- 'fection, zeal, and obedience to the King was ſuch as be- 'came a branch of that family. And he was wont to ſay, 'that if he had not underſtanding enough to know the 'uprightneſs of the cauſe, nor loyalty enough to inform 'him of the duty of a ſubject, yet the very obligations 'of gratitude to the King on behalf of his houſe were 'ſuch as his life was but a due ſacrifice for; and there- 'fore he no ſooner ſaw the war unavoidable, than he 'engaged all his brethren as well as *himſelf* in the 'ſervice, and there were then three more of *them* in 'command in the army where he was ſo unfortunately 'cut off. Theſe brothers were Sir John, who ſucceeded 'his brother William as Viſcount Grandiſon, but dying 'without iſſue male, the title came to George, whoſe 'grandſon and heir was created Earl Grandiſon, of 'Limerick in Ireland, Sept. 11, 1721. Edward, the 'third brother, and fourth ſon of the Preſident of Mun- 'ſter, was anceſtor to the preſent Earl of Jerſey (46).'

(45) In his Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. Fol. Edit.

(46) Peerage, Vol. III. p. 216, 217. Edit. 1756.

him

him than ſhored him up. His familiar ſervants, either about his perſon in ordinary attendance, or about his affairs of ſtate as his Secretaries, of office and his Steward, or of law, as that worthy Knight whom he long uſed to ſollicit his cauſes, he left all both in good fortune, and, which is more, in good fame; things very ſeldom conſociated in the inſtruments of great perſonages. This great Duke took to wife, eight years and two months before his death, the Lady *Catharine Mannors*, daughter and ſole heir of *Francis Earl of Rutland (u)* [*M*], by whom he had iſſue three ſons and a daughter. *Mary*, his firſt-born child, who, by patent, bearing date Aug. 31, 3 Car. I, had the title of Dutcheſs of Buckingham limited to her in default of iſſue male of her Father. She was firſt married to Charles Lord Herbert, ſon and heir to Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery [*N*]; ſecondly to James Duke of Richmond and Lenox; and thirdly to Thomas Howard, brother to Charles Earl of Carliſle; but left no iſſue by any of them *(w)*. Of the ſons, Charles the eldeſt died an infant, and was buried in Weſtminſter-abbey, March 17, 1626. The ſecond ſon *George* is the ſubject of the enſuing article; wherein will be given an account alſo of his third ſon *Francis*. After the Duke's death, the Dutcheſs entered into a ſecond marriage with *Randulph Macdonald*, firſt *Earl* and then *Marquis* of *Antrim* in Ireland *(x)*. The King was much diſpleaſed with this match, and for ſome time refuſed to ſee her; yet afterwards, in 1635, he became ſo far reconciled as to treat her with the ſame reſpect he had ever done: but her children were taken from her [*O*]; the ſons to be brought up with the Prince,

(u) The match was probably much to the ſatisfaction of the King, who, when Prince, in 1623, was brought ſafely out of Spain by the Earl, having the command of his Majeſty's great ſhips and pinnaces given him for that purpoſe. Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 468. Edit. 1756.

(w) Ibid.

(x) She had no iſſue by him, Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 69. Edit. 1756, though ſhe had a miſcarriage at *Newhall* in 1635. Garrard's letter to Deputy Wentworth, dated Oct. 3, 1635, in Strafford's letters, &c. Vol. I. p. 467, et ſeqq.

(47) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 469. Edit. 1756.

(48) Letter of Mr Garrard, dated June 3, 1634, to Lord Wentworth, Deputy of Ireland, in Strafford's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 261.

(49) He was the ſecond ſon, and ſucceeded his father in the eſtate and titles, his elder brother Charles dying in his father's lifetime at Florence, ann. 1635, before cohabitation. Peerage of England by Collins, Vol. II. p. 122. Edit. 1756.

(50) Letter of Mr Garrard, dated Jan. 15, 1634, to the Lord Wentworth, Deputy of Ireland, in Strafford's Letters and State Papers, &c; Vol. II.

(51) Strafford's Letters, &c. Vol. I. p. 524.

(52) Viz. April 5, 1636. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 2.

(53) Ibid. p. 125, and 128.

[*M*] *Francis Earl of Rutland.*] This Earl Francis by a ſecond match had two ſons, Henry and Francis, who both dying in their infancy, the title came to Sir George Mannors, Knt. his brother and heir male (47), with whom, as to the eſtate, the Dutcheſs of Buckingham, after ſome diſputes, made the following agreement: That he was to have for his life 7000l. per annum; that legacies and annuities ſhould be parted betwixt them; that Belvoir and 2000l. a year ſhould go to his heir; and all the reſt to be ſettled on her and her children after her (48).

[*N*] *She was married to Charles Lord Herbert, &c.*] They were married about Chriſtmas, in the year 1634, by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the cloſet at Whitehall. It was done privately, and a few only invited, and ſooner than was intended, by reaſon the young Lady began to affect the younger brother, Philip Herbert (49), and of herſelf had moved the Lord Chamberlain his father that ſhe might marry him, ſaying he did apply himſelf to her more than Lord Herbert did; but the Dutcheſs chid her out of that humour; and now ſhe is married, the affection, ſays my Author (50), will vaniſh.

[*O*] *Her children were taken from her.*] In a letter, dated March 15, 1635, to *Lord Wentworth*, Deputy of Ireland, a very ſenſible correſpondent of his Lordſhip's, Mr *Garrard*, ſends him the following piece of news: 'The Dutcheſs [of Buckingham] hath been to ſee her 'daughter at *Ramſbury*, where ſhe yet is, and would 'fain have her home to her at *Newhall*; but the King 'will not ſuffer her to be bred a Papiſt. It is ſaid ſhe 'will come to my Lady *Roxborough*, and be bred up 'with the Princeſs until his Majeſty ſhall diſpoſe of her 'in marriage (51).' Accordingly the next year the ſame correſpondent writes as follows: 'Lady *Mary* 'Herbert is brought and placed with the Lady *Rox*'borough in the Prince's court. It is ſaid the Duke of 'Lenox ſhall marry her (52).' The Dutcheſs, it ſeems, upon her marriage with the *Marquis* of *Antrim*, had not only changed her religion, but, in the uſual forward zeal of a new proſelyte, was buſy in proſelyting others. Among the collection of letters, &c. laſt quoted, there is one to the Deputy from Lord *Conway*, wherein, ſpeaking of the Counteſs of *Newburgh*'s then late converſion to Popery, which had been imputed to *Walter Montague*, Eſq; and Sir *Toby Matthews*, Knt. his Lordſhip makes this remark: 'The King did uſe ſuch 'words to *Wat Montague* and Sir *Toby Matthews*, that 'the fright made *Wat* keep his chamber much longer 'than his ſickneſs would have detained him; and *Don* 'Tobias was in ſuch a panick, as ſhews he would make 'a very ill martyr. But now the *Dog dare again wag* 'his tail.—They were, it ſeems, unjuſtly accuſed in 'this buſineſs, the converſion had been made by the 'Dutcheſs of *Buckingham* and Signor *Con* the Spaniſh 'Ambaſſador (53).' As Mr *Montague* made a remarkable figure in his time, and was the ſubject of much talk in the court of King Charles I, it will not be amiſs to take this occaſion of giving ſome account of him, as follows: He was a younger ſon to Henry Montague, firſt Earl of Mancheſter of this name, and was born in London, bred at Sidney college in Cambridge, and afterwards travelled beyond-ſea. Thus educated in a proper manner for a Cadet, whoſe fortune was to be made by the court, he became, like James Howel, an occaſional agent of the miniſtry, and was ſent ſeveral times upon public buſineſs into France (54). But in 1635, renouncing the Proteſtant religion in which he had been bred, he turned Papiſt, quitted the court and his relations in England, and, croſſing the ſea, went to Paris, and put on the appearance of one of the warmeſt zealots of the Romiſh church. Soon after this change he wrote in vindication of it a letter, upon which the aforementioned Mr Garrard makes the following remarks: '*Wat Montague*, ſays he, wrote and ſent over to his 'father a letter (55), where he gave his Lordſhip the 'reaſons why, at his laſt being in England, he was re'conciled to the church of Rome. He ſent another to 'father Philips, one of the Queen's Prieſts, to publiſh, in 'caſe his father ſhould have concealed that ſent to him. 'They have paſſed up and down. There is nothing of 'value in his reaſons. If it had been but a good letter, 'I would have ſent it to your Lordſhip (56).' Mr Garrard's letter bears date Jan. 8, 1635. He had, on the 7th of December preceding, deſcanted upon our proſelyte's zeal in the following ſpirit: '*Wat Mon*'*tague*, ſays he to his noble friend, triumphs in his 'new religion at Paris, and is ſuch a zealot there, that 'he wears a chain of beads, with a croſs hung to them, 'about his neck, waits upon that King whenever he 'goes to maſs, writes over to his friends here, that he 'is not only reconciled to the church of Rome, but is 'ready to die a martyr for his religion. That King 'gave him a preſent of a ring worth 1400l. which he 'ſent over by Sir *Henry Hungate* to ſhew the Queen. 'He is going to Rome, being, they ſay, the only favourite 'of Cardinal *Barberino* the Pope's nephew, whoſe letter 'he ſhewed here to his friends, ſo full of affection and 'many expreſſions of love to him, that he is convinced 'he ſhall make himſelf a better fortune there than he 'could have done here; which I believe is the true cauſe 'why he has changed his religion (57)'. However that be, the Oxford antiquary ſpeaks more favourably of him, and tells us, that his firſt ſettlement abroad, upon his change, was in the college of *St Omer*. And that afterwards he was received with great affection into the favour of the Queen-mother of France, who made him Abbot of *Nantueil* of the Benedictin order in the dioceſe of *Metz*, and thence promoted him, upon the death of *John Francis de Gondy* (58), to be Abbot of the ſame order in St *Martyn*'s abbey near *Pontboiſe*, in the dioceſe of *Roan*; that he was alſo one of her Majeſty's cabinet council, and was inſtrumental in bringing into her favour the famous Cardinal *Mazarine*, who, when fixed, proved ungrateful to Montague and his friends. That the Abbot was alſo in great favour with the Queen-mother of England, whom he did not long ſurvive (*); but that a little before his death there was a report that he was elected Archbiſhop of —— in *Guienne*. He was buried in the church of the hoſpital of Incurables at Paris. That he was of a moſt generous and noble ſpirit, and of great piety, ſpending all he could get in publick and pious uſes (59). Before he left the church of England, he wrote the *Shepherd's Paradiſe*, printed at London in 1629, 8vo. And after he had left it, *Miſcellanea Spiritualia*; or *Devout Eſſays*, in two parts. The firſt of which was printed in 1648, the other in 1654, both at London in 4to. But the ſmall tract, intituled *Mancheſter al mondo*; *Contemplations on death and immortality*, ſometimes

(54) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 162.

(55) It was dated from Paris, Novemb. 21, 1635, and was preſently anſwered by Lucius Lord Falkland. See his article, Vol. II. remark [*O*].

(56) Strafford's Letters, &c. Vol. I. p. 505.

(57) Ibid. p. 490.

(58) Uncle to Cardinal *de Retz*, author of the celebrated Memoirs under his name. Moreri's Dictionary, under the family of Gondy, in Tome IV. Edit. 1740.

(*) She died Aug. 10, 1669. Salmon, under that year.

(59) Faſti Oxon. as before.

(y) Idem, eidem, ibid. p. 427, in a letter, dated May 19, 1635.

Prince, afterwards King Charles II, and the Lord Chamberlain took home his daughter-in-law (y). The mother croſſed the ſea into Ireland with her Lord, who, by his conduct in

ſometimes aſcribed to our Abbot, was probably written by his father.

Sir *Toby Matthews* was a character equally if not of a more abnormous caſt than his equally ſuſpected coadjutor. He was the eldeſt ſon (60) of Dr *Toby Matthews*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and was born at Saliſbury (61) Oct. 3, 1577, was matriculated as a member of Chriſt-church college in Oxford in the beginning of March, 1589, at eleven years of age, and had a ſtudent's place there conferred on him the following year. By the advantage of a good Tutor and pregnant parts he became a noted Orator and Diſputant, and taking the degrees in arts, he afterwards travelled into various countries beyond-ſea. At his return, being eſteemed a good accompliſhed gentleman, and well verſed in the affairs of other nations, he was taken into the acquaintance of that profound ſcholar Sir *Francis Bacon* (afterwards Lord Verulam) then of Gray's Inn, who honoured him with a frequent literary correſpondence (62). At length, leaving the church of England, by the perſuaſions of *Parſons* the Jeſuit, to the great grief of his father, he entered himſelf into the ſociety of *Jeſus*. Afterwards, growing famous for his eminent ſkill in politicks, he came into England, upon invitation, in January, 1621, it was ſaid, to give his aſſiſtance to *King James I.* in certain matters of ſtate. On the 10th of October, 1623, he received the honour of Knighthood from his Majeſty at *Royſton*, for his great zeal in carrying on the propoſed Spaniſh match with Prince *Charles*, at which time not only the King, but the chief of the nobility, particularly the Duke of Buckingham (63), and others at court, had a high value for him, and ſo continued for ſeveral years after. Among the reſt, the Earl of Strafford had ſo great an opinion of his abilities, that he was taken by his Lordſhip into Ireland, as a friend whoſe advice and counſel might be of uſe to him. But from the above-cited letter of Lord Conway to the Deputy, his reſidence in Ireland ſeems not to have been very long; and his connection with that ſtateſman, and alſo with *Dr Laud*, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, unavoidably brought him into the odium of the puritanical party; which was greatly inflamed by the character which one *Andrew ab Habernfield* gave of him in a pretended diſcovery of a treaſonable plot againſt the King, ſent in a letter to Sir *William Boſwell*, his Majeſty's agent at the Hague, to Dr Laud, in October, 1640, which runs thus: 'Sir *Tob. Matthews*, a Jeſuited Prieſt (64) of the order 'of politicians, a moſt vigilant man of the chief heads, 'to whom a bed was never ſo dear, that he would reſt 'his head thereon, refreſhing his body with ſleep in a 'chair for an hour or two: neither day nor night ſpared 'he his machinations, a man principally noxious, and 'himſelf the plague of the King and kingdom of Eng-'land; a moſt impudent man, who flies to all banquets 'and feaſts, called or not called, never quiet, always 'in action and perpetual motion, thruſting himſelf into 'all converſations of ſuperiors, he urgeth conferences 'familiarly, that he may fiſh out the minds of men. 'Whatever he obſerveth thence, which may bring any 'commodity or diſcommodity to the part of the con-'ſpirators, he communicates to the Pope's Legate, and 'the more ſecret things he himſelf writes to the Pope, 'or to Cardinal *Barberino*. In ſum, he adjoins himſelf 'to any man's company, no word can be ſpoken that 'he will not lay hold on, and communicate to his party. 'In the mean time whatever he hath fiſhed out he re-'duceth into a catalogue, and every ſummer carries it 'to the general conſiſtory of the politician Jeſuits, 'which ſecretly meet together in Wales, where he is 'an acceptable gueſt, &c. (65).' This was publiſhed in 1643 by the famous *William Prynne* (66), who ſpared not to ſay that Sir *Toby* was ſent into England by the Pope (*Urban VIII.* with whom he was in great eſteem) to reconcile England to the church of Rome, to which end he received a penſion alſo from Cardinal *Barberino*, protector of the Engliſh nation. Mr Wood however gives little credit to theſe (which he calls) bare reports, and ſays, that 'he had all his father's name, and many 'of his natural parts; was alſo one of conſiderable 'learning, good memory, and ſharp wit, mixed with 'a pleaſant affability in behaviour, and a ſeeming ſweet-'neſs of mind, though ſometimes, according to the 'company he was in, pragmatical, and a little too 'forward (67). This character is a remarkable inſtance 'of the truth of that obſervation, that the Antiquary 'has been favourable in general (68) to the memory 'of the Papiſts.' The preſent character is notoriouſly copied in that diſpoſition from the ſketch given of Sir Toby by Dr *Fuller* (69), *That having all his father's name, and many of his natural parts, he had few of his moral vertues, and fewer of his ſpiritual graces.* His father was in reality a Divine of ſuch eminent worth, as ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence. He was deſcended from an ancient family of the *Williams*, of Flint, in the principality of North-Wales, of which family John Williams, Eſq; Receiver of Flintſhire, 10 Edw. IV, marrying the daughter and heir of *Edmund Matthews*, Eſq; his ſon, Sir *George*, aſſumed the name of *Matthews*, and had iſſue *Richard Matthews of Flint*, the father of *John Matthews* of *Briſtol*, merchant, where this his ſon Toby was born in 1546 (70). From the ſchool at Wells he was ſent to Oxford at thirteen years of age, and ſoon after became a Student of Chriſt-church there. Having taken his degrees in arts, he received holy orders from the famous Dr *Jewel*, Biſhop of Saliſbury, being then much reſpected for his great learning, eloquence, ſweet converſation, friendly diſpoſition, and ſharpneſs of his wit. In 1569 he was unanimouſly elected public Orator of the Univerſity, which office, though but twenty-three years of age, he executed with great applauſe to himſelf and honour to the public (71). At the ſame time he was a moſt celebrated preacher, when Oxford ſeems to have been but indifferently ſtocked with ſuch. Afterwards preferments came thick upon him. In 1570 he was made Canon of *Chriſt-church* and Archdeacon of *Bath*, in 1572 Prebendary of *Sarum* and Preſident of St *John's* college in *Oxford*, when, being famous for his preaching, he was made Queen's Chaplain, and ſoon after proceeding in divinity (72), he was made Dean of Chriſt-church in 1576. In 1579 he bore the office of Vicechancellor of that Univerſity, and in 1583 he was made Præcentor of the church of Saliſbury in June, but being inſtalled Dean of Durham in Auguſt following, he reſigned the Præcentorſhip in February the ſame year; as he alſo did the Deanery of Chriſt-church in the beginning of the next year, 1584. It is not certain what was his motive for leaving the Univerſity, where he had ſo many ingenious friends and admirers, quit preferments of more profit than this deanery, and go further from the Court, the fountain of preferment; but there ſeems to be ſomething in it of the ſpirit which prevailed at that time and before among many Divines (73), and which was called an apoſtolical preaching of the goſpel, by travelling from town to town about the country for that purpoſe, in places where inſtruction was moſt wanted, as was particularly the caſe of thoſe northern parts. The Dean's uncommon diligence in that practice ſtrongly favours this opinion, there being ſcarce any town in the county but had him in their pulpit, and ſome places very often, while he held the deanery; nor did his aſſiduity in this courſe at all remit upon his promotion to the biſhoprick of that dioceſe in 1595, nor even after his advancement to the archiepiſcopal ſee of *York* (74) in 1606 (75), in which he ſat with great honour and reputation to the time of his death, which happened May 29, 1628, at *Cawood* caſtle, whence his remains were carried, and interred in our Lady's chapel, at the Eaſt end of *York Minſter* (76), where ſtands a ſumptuous monument of black and white marble, adorned with gold, repreſenting his effigies incumbent in full proportion, in his archiepiſcopal robes, and an inſcription in Latin, celebrating his hoſpitality, and particularly his powerful preaching (77), a talent which he never ſuffered to lie idle, but put out to uſe with indefatigable diligence to the laſt. Whence that challenge of Alexander Cook, Vicar of Leedes in Yorkſhire, againſt the Papiſts, 'That 'Tobye Matthews, the moſt reverend Archbiſhop of 'York, though almoſt eighty years of age, preacheth 'more ſermons in a year, than you can prove has been 'preached by all your Popes from Gregory the Great his 'days (78).' Even *Edmund Campian*, the Jeſuit, mentioning his name on another occaſion, has theſe words: 'He that now rules in your pulpits, *Qui nunc dominatur 'in concionibus*;' adding, 'whom for his good learning 'and ſeeds of vitue we loved, *Quem propter bonas artes 'et virtutis ſemina dileximus* (79).' He preached with

(60) The Archbiſhop had two ſons; John, born in Chriſt-church, Oxford, 1580; and Samuel, born at Oxford in 1583; beſides a daughter, Mary, who died an infant in 1587. Vicaria Leodienſ. p. 174, from a MS. of his mother, in an account of the births of all her children.

(61) Mr Wood therefore was miſtaken in ſuppoſing him born at Oxford. Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 194.

(62) Enough, ſays Wood, to make a pretty volume. Sir Toby tranſlated Bacon's Eſſays into Italian, printed at London in 1618, 8vo.

(63) Whom he accompanied into Spain, as will be ſeen preſently.

(64) Mr Wood doubts his ever taking holy orders.

(65) Probably he had ſeveral relations there, being of Welch extraction, both by his father, and alſo by his mother, Frances, daughter of Will. Barlow, ſome time Biſhop of Chicheſter, deſcended from the Barlows in Wales. Pedigree in Duc. Leod.

(66) In a piece, intituled *Rome's Maſter-piece*, p. 19, 20.

(67) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 194, 195.

(68) See his Vindication, &c. prefixed to the 1ſt Vol. of Athen. Oxon.

(69) In his Church Hiſtory, ann. 16 .

(70) Pedigree of the family, an abſtract of which is in Duc. Leod. p. 253, 254.

(71) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 730.

(72) He ſupplicated for the degree of B. D. in 1571, but did not take it till Decemb. 10, 1573, and he proceeded to that of D. D. May 27, 1574. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 105, 209, 220.

(73) See in Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 428, the article of Edmund Bunny, who was called the *Divinity Squirt*, by ſome who did not approve this method.

(74) In his Diary, a tranſcript of which is in Muſæo Thoreſb. he accounts for 722 ſermons while he was Dean, for 550 while Biſhop of Durham, and for 722 in the 16 following years.

(75) For the dates of theſe promotions, conſult Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 730, 732.

(76) Vicaria Leodienſis, p. 169, 170.

(77) In theſe words: Cum omni politiori doctrina Theologiam conjunxerat ſtatim in concionibus dominari cœpit. In Aula Academia Urbe Rure juxta celebris. Neque Chryſoſtomum Græcia, quam Tobiam ſuum Anglia jactantius olim profitebitur. Neminem illa [Reg. Eliz.] libentius audivit aut prædicantem fuſius prædicavit —Vix ad extremam ſenectutem exaruit dives illa concionandi Vena; cum erat Septuagenario major, nemo in concionibus frequentior, nemo felicior, nemo quem in æternum magis audire velis.

(78) Cook's *Popiſe brage abated.*

(79) *Campian's* Ten Reaſons, Rationes Decem, &c. printed firſt in 1581, and five times in 1583, and tranſlated into Engliſh in 1687. In which labouring to prove that the Fathers were all Papiſts, to give a ſanction thereto he ſays, that Toby Matthews once confeſſed ſo much to him; and the ſame opinion has been lately maintained by Dr Conyers Middleton.

(x) Antrim promiſed to raiſe 3000 men at his own expence, to go againſt the Scots, then in rebellion and afterwards diſappointed the Deputy therein. See his article.

in the year 1639, highly provoked the Lord Deputy Wentworth (z): Whereupon, to avert the danger that was apprehended from his reſentment, the Dutcheſs addreſſed to him the letter, a copy of which is inſerted below [*P*], where it well deſerves a place, both becauſe it

the moſt ardent fervour, and his ſermons, eſpecially thoſe on extraordinary occaſions, made ſuch impreſſions upon himſelf, that he gave thanks for the divine aſſiſtance in them. At the ſame time all his pains in preaching did not make him neglect the proper epiſcopal duties of viſitation, confirmation, ordination, &c. confirming ſometimes 500, ſometimes 1000, at a time, yea ſo many, that he has been forced to betake himſelf to his bed for refreſhment (80). He may juſtly be ranked among the eminent Divines of this nation, conſidered either in the ſchools or the epiſcopal chair. Camden ſtiles him, *Theologus præſtantiſſimus, in quo doctrina cum pietate, ars cum natura, certant* (81); and his great reading and tenacious memory are taken notice of by the Oxford hiſtorian, as follows: *Infinitæ propemodum lectionis vir librum pene nullum, quem vel ſcriptoris fama vel ipſum operis argumentum commendaret, intactum prætermiſit, memoriam quoque tam tenacem habuit ut legenti ſeſe pauciſſima obtulerint, quæ non, ſi quando uſus flagitaret, confeſtim proferret* (82). It is a little ſurprizing, that we find none of the Archbiſhop's ſermons in print except his *Concio Apologetica contra Campianum in Deuteron. XXXII. v.* 7. firſt printed in 1581, and again in 1638, at Oxford, in 8vo. After his death a large letter, penned by him in the name of the Convocation about *Archbiſhop Grindal*'s ſuſpenſion, was publiſhed by Dr *Fuller* (83). Our Archbiſhop Matthews had a very great opinion of *Grindal*, and was a zealous promoter of the exerciſes, ſince called lectures, which were countenanced and encouraged by him (84). Another letter of his Grace to Archbiſhop *Uſher* is exhibited by Dr *Parr* (85); and a third has been printed by Dr *Smith* (86). Theſe are all that are genuine (87), ſave that remarkable letter of his concerning the Hampton-court conference in 1603, publiſhed by Mr *Strype* in Archbiſhop *Whitgift*'s life (88), from the original in *Muſ. Thoreſbeian.* His Grace's manuſcript notes upon all the ancient Fathers are mentioned by Dr *Favour*, who had read them, and ſays they are very judicious (89). Theſe are probably lodged in the archives of York minſter, to which church his whole library was bequeathed by his relict, a lady of diſtinguiſhed beauty, and of exemplary wiſdom, gravity, piety, and indeed all other virtues, not only above her ſex, but the times. One thing is very ſingular in her ſtory, that, as ſhe was daughter of Biſhop Barlow, ſo, her firſt huſband was Matthew Parker, ſon to Matthew Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. She had four ſiſters, married to four Biſhops, one to William Wickham, Biſhop of Wincheſter; another to Overton, Biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield; a third to Weſtphaling, Biſhop of Hereford; and a fourth to Day, that ſucceeded Wickham in Wincheſter (90): ſo that a Biſhop was her father, an Archbiſhop her father-in-law; ſhe had four Biſhops her brethren, and an Archbiſhop her huſband. She died at the age of ſeventy-eight, on the 10th of May, 1629, and was interred near her laſt huſband, under a monument, with an inſcription to her memory. By her laſt will ſhe gave to Peter-houſe in Cambridge, where her beloved ſon Samuel was a ſcholar and died, 200l. for two ſcholarſhips; and to her ſon, Sir Toby Matthews, a gold ring, ſet with eleven diamonds, which King Charles I. gave her: the Archbiſhop had bequeathed him a piece of plate, with a note that he had in his life-time given him above 14000l. Sir Toby, after acting a moſt heteroclite part upon the ſtage of life, was taken off it Oct. 13, 1655, in the houſe of the third probation of the Engliſh college of Jeſuits at Gaunt in Flanders, and was buried in a vault under the church belonging to them, without any kind of funeral pomp or ſplendor, according to his will. So much fluency of wit as his genius was impregnated with, could not be reſtrained from ſhewing ſome ſpecimens in print. Beſides ſome tranſlations, we have ſeveral original pieces of his writing: Among which are, 1ſt, *A rich cabinet of precious jewels*, printed about 1623, 2d, A Collection of Letters, with his picture prefixed; to which is added, *Letters to ſeveral perſons*, and the character of the moſt excellent Lady *Lucy, Counteſs* of *Carliſle*. She was the Goddeſs of his heart, and he expreſſed his adorations to her in ſuch peculiar ſtrains (*), as procured him a place in Sir John Suckling's *Seſſion of Poets*: Thus:

(80) Vicaria Leod. p. 165, and 167.

(81) Britannia in Brigant.

(82) Wood's Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. as emended by Bp Fell.

(83) In his Church Hiſt. anno 1580.

(84) Vicaria Leod. p. 161.

(85) Letters annexed to Uſher's life, Number XXXVI.

(86) Camden. & illuſtr. viror. epiſt. p. 53.

(87) That in the Cabala, aſcribed to him by Mr Wood, is of Abbot, Abp Cant. Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Collect. Vol. I. p. 85.

(88) Viz. in p. 236, 237, 238. Dr Matthews, then Bp of Durham, aſſiſted at this conference, and at the end of it preached before the King at Hampton-court, by his Majeſty's ſpecial appointment. Vic. Leod. p. 160. from his Diary.

(89) Favour's Antiq. Triumph. over Novelty, in the Epiſt. Dedic.

(90) Pedigree of the Barlows of Barlow, in Duc. Leod. p. 253, and 627.

(*) Mr Walpole has given us ſome pleaſant ſtrictures upon this character in his Anecdotes of painting, Vol. II. under Sir Toby's article.

Toby Matthews *(pox on him* (||) *! what made him there)*
Was whiſpering nothing in ſomebody's ear,
When he had the honour to be named in court,
But Sir you may thank my Lady Carliſle for't.

(||) This was a common bye-word with him.

This Lady was daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland; ſhe died without iſſue in November, 1660, and was buried by her anceſtors in the church at *Petworth* in *Suſſex*. 3d, Some letters printed in the *Cabala*, or *myſteries of ſtate*, in 1654, and in the *Cabala*, or *Scrinia Sacra*, printed at London in 1663, both which are perhaps inſerted in the laſt mentioned collection of letters. 4th, Sir Toby alſo wrote a book to *ſhew the benefit that proceeds from waſhing the head every morning in cold water*; and he had likewiſe made a large progreſs in *the hiſtory of the late times*, but, being left imperfect, it never ſaw the light. As to his tranſlations, beſides that of Bacon's Eſſays already mentioned, Sir Toby publiſhed an Engliſh verſion of St *Auſtin's confeſſions* (91), printed in 1624, 8vo; as alſo the *Life of St Tereſa*, printed about 1623, 8vo; and *The Penitent Bandito*; or *The hiſtory of the converſion and death of the moſt illuſtrious Lord Signor* Troilo Savelli, *a Baron of Rome*, printed about the ſame time; and a ſecond edition came out in 1663, 8vo.—To conclude, Mr *Walpole*, who having well obſerved that Sir Toby had ſome wit, and pretended to be a politician, has given him a place among the Engliſh painters, as being intitled thereto upon the authority of Mr *Vertue* the engraver, who ſays Sir Toby had ſome ſkill in limning; and that he ſometimes diverted himſelf in handling the pencil, appears from a letter of the Dutcheſs of Buckingham to the Duke in Spain, wherein ſhe tells him, that ſhe had *not yet ſeen the picture of the* Infanta *drawn by Toby Matthews* (92).

(91) This ſold for 16s. a copy. See a catalogue of Popiſh books, ſubjoined to a piece, called *The foot cut out of the ſhare*, by John Gee, who ſays Sir Toby's tranſlation might have been afforded for half a crown.

(92) Walpole's Anecdotes of painting, as before.

[*P*] *A letter, which is inſerted below.*] The letter runs thus:

'My Lord,

'I was in hope, till very lately, that all your diſ-'pleaſure taken againſt my Lord had been paſt; but, 'in letters ſent me out of England, I was aſſuredly in-'formed your Lordſhip was much diſguſted ſtill with 'him; which news hath very much troubled me. I 'cannot be ſatisfied without ſending theſe expreſsly to 'you: And I beſeech you that, whatever you do 'conceive, you will deal clearly with me, and let me 'know it, and withal direct me how I may remove it. 'I muſt neceſſarily be included in your Lordſhip's anger 'to him, for any misfortune to my Lord muſt be mine, 'and it will prove a great misfortune to me to live 'under your frowns. Out of your goodneſs you will 'not, I hope, make me a ſufferer, who have never 'deſerved from you but as

'Your Lordſhip's

'Moſt faithful Servant,

Dunlure, this 2d of Sept. 1639. 'KATHARINE BUCKINGHAM (93).'

(93) Strafford's letters, &c. Vol. II. p. 386.

The noble ſpirit which prompted and dictated this addreſs ſhews, that her Grace knew exactly how to hit that nice and delicate point of condeſcending with a dignity ſuitable to her birth and quality: And the Lord Deputy's anſwer is animated with a no leſs nobly ſpirited politeneſs, in theſe terms:

'Madam,

'What relations your Ladyſhip hath had forth of 'England concerning me, I know not; but if I under-'ſtood the parties that writ them, I ſhould be better 'able to judge of them: For a ſort of perſons there are 'in that kingdom, who as they are of all others leaſt 'privy with my inclinations, ſo are they moſt apt to 'form and publiſh every untruth that may be faſhioned 'or enforced to my prejudice.

'Your Ladyſhip deſires me to deal clearly with you, 'and otherwiſe I never practiſed with any. And as for 'my Lord of *Antrim*, your Ladyſhip might do well to 'adviſe him to the like manner of proceeding; For I 'muſt needs confeſs myſelf not ſatisfied, finding, in the

it is the chief production we have of her Grace's pen [2], and (which is directly to the purpose of these memoirs) it opens a view into a very engaging part of her character, by exhibiting a specimen of her admirable talent in that most useful species of writing.

'late proceedings here with this state, his Lordship returned me artificial for my simple and ingenuous dealing; and that himself and his man *Stewart* endeavoured to turn the improbability, indeed impossibility, of that design upon me as a fault whereon to excuse himself, which methought was not so fair, to make me accountable for that in the conclusion, wherein I had no hand or privity at all originally.

'But let these things be as they may, your Ladyship, I know, is so just as to allow me to preserve myself, which I shall do without hurt, I trust, to any other: and then I shall be very ready, without reflecting upon any matter which concerns myself, as formerly, to do your Ladyship's person and affairs all the service I shall be able, and persuade myself you will not find any, which may succeed me in this place, more careful and glad to express himself

'Your Ladyship's

Dublin, this 9th of Sept. 1639. 'Most humble Servant, WENTWORTH (94).'

(94) Idem, p. 387, 388.

[2] *The chief production of her Grace's pen.*] There are some other letters of hers, written to the Duke, preserved among the Harleian manuscripts, one of which has been already mentioned. In another, written also to her Lord while he was in Spain, she desires him to get his picture drawn. *I pray you*, says she, *if you have any idle time, sit to* Gerbier *for your picture, that I may have it well done in little.* This painter, who became afterwards Sir *Balthazar Gerbier d'Ouvilly*, was born at Antwerp in 1592 (95), but came young into England, and was in the Duke's retinue so early as the year 1613. He was in high favour with his Grace, and, attending him into Spain, was employed in the treaty of the Prince's [Charles] marriage, though ostensibly acting only in the character of a painter (96). Bishop Tanner has a manuscript catalogue of the Duke's collection of pictures, statues, &c. drawn up by Gerbier, who was employed by his Grace in several of his purchases, by whose interest he had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him in 1628, at Hampton-court, by the King [Charles I.] (97) who, it is said, employed him, upon his Grace's recommendation, as a man of a good understanding in the character of his agent at Brussels, where he resided several years (98). These anecdotes are furnished by Mr Walpole, who has given another, which confirms and elucidates a characteristic mark of the Duke's temper and singular turn of mind before noted. It is taken from a manuscript of the late Mr *Vertue*, which though a little imperfect, and thereby somewhat obscure, is yet sufficiently clear for our purpose, as follows: 'King James I. ill and dying, the Duke 'of Buckingham was desired to apply a plaister to his 'stomach, which he did with proper advice of Doctors, 'Physicians to the King: but the King dying, the 'Duke was blamed. One *Eglesham* printed a scurrilous 'libel, and flew away into Flanders. I was told by '*Gerbier*, (though his testimony be odious to any man) 'that *Eglesham* dealt with him in Flanders for a peece 'of money (not more than 400 gilders to defray the 'charges) to print his recantation. Of which the Duke 'bid Gerbier join knavery together, and spit their venom 'till they split, and he would pay for printing that 'also (99).'

(95) De Pile's Art of Painting, &c. p. 277. English Edition the Third.

(96) He drew the Infant's there, which was sent over to King James.

(97) In a letter, dated 1628, it is said the King and Queen were treated by him at supper, which could not cost him less than 1000l.

(98) De Pile, as before.

(99) Walpole, ubi supra, under Gerbier's article.

VILLIERS [GEORGE], eldest surviving son of the preceding, was born Jan. 30, 1627, at Wallingford-house, in the parish of St Martin in the fields, within the liberty of Westminster *(a)*. His father's cruel fate leaving him an infant-orphan, the King [Charles I.] in his first visit after it to the Dutchess his mother, promised to be a husband to her, and a father to her children, and he performed his promise. The Dutchess was then great with child, and the King said he would be Godfather, in which relation he stood, together with *Francis* Earl of *Rutland*, the child's grandfather. After some compliments who should give the name, the King named him Francis, and the grandfather gave him his benediction, 7000l. a year *(b)*. The Duke and his brother were bred up by the King with his own children, under the same Tutors and Governors: Both the brothers were sent young to Trinity-college in Cambridge, and their names entered in the College book the same year with Prince Charles *(c)*. Here the Duke became acquainted with the celebrated Mr *Abraham Cowley* and Mr *Martin Clifford*, whom he loved ever after, and they as faithfully and effectually served him. From the University both the brothers went to travel abroad, under the care of *William Aylesbury*, Esq; son of Sir *William Aylesbury*, Bart. appointed to that office by the King *(d)*. They continued abroad till after the breaking out of the civil wars, and upon their return were conducted by their Governor to his Majesty, then at Oxford *(e)*, where they laid their lives and fortunes at the King's feet, as a testimony of their loyalty and gratitude, worthy to be imprinted in the memory of the royal family. Young as they were, they immediately engaged in that cause, and chusing *Prince Rupert* and the Lord *Gerard* for Tutors to enter them in the war, they went with those noblemen into very sharp service, viz. the storming of the close at Litchfield *(f)* in Staffordshire [*A*]. For this the parliament seized on their estates; but, by a rare example of their compassion, restored them again in consideration of their nonage. However, these loyal youths kept those no longer than till they came of age to forfeit them again. It was about this time that their mother married the *Marquis* of *Antrim*, and thereby ruining herself and offending the King, they were now committed to the care of the Earl of Northumberland, and sent to travel in France and Italy, where they lived in as great state [*B*] as some of those sovereign Princes. Their return to England was in so critical a time, as if, it should seem, they had

(a) He was baptized there the 14th of February following by Dr [afterwards Abp] Laud, then Bp of Bath and Wells. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 803.

(b) Memoirs of the life of G. Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, by Mr Brian Fairfax, printed from a MS. in the possession of the late Bp Atterbury, with a piece, entitled, *A catalogue of the curious collection of pictures of G. Villiers, D. of B—, &c.* 1758, 4to, p. 24, 25.

(c) Idem, ibid. See also Hill's life of Dr Barrow, who was recommended to the mastership of that college by his Grace.

(d) See his article in Vol. I. of this work.

(e) Mr Wood says they were entered of Christ-church, and that Mr Geo. Eglionby was their Tutor, the Duke being then 15 years of age. Athen. Oxon, ubi supra.

(f) Lord Clarendon, who gives a particular account of this action, observes, that it was one of the sharpest engagements that happened during the civil wars.

[*A*] *Storming the close at Litchfield.*] At their return to Oxford, the Dutchess their mother was very angry with Lord *Gerard* for tempting her sons into such danger; but he told her it was their own inclination, and the more danger the more honour (1).

[*B*] *They lived in great state.*] Florence and Rome were the places of their refidence, and they brought, says my Author, their religion home again. The Duke did not as his predecessor in the title of Lord *Ros* had done before him, who changed his religion at Rome and left his Tutor Mr *Mule* in the Inquisition, for having translated King James's book, entitled, *An Admonition to Princes*, into Latin; and *Du Plessis Mornay*'s book *of the Mass* into English (2). The Duke was instructed in mathematics at Rome by Mr *Abraham Woodhead*, who was there at this time on his travels as Tutor to some young gentlemen of University-college in Oxford, of which he was then a fellow; and upon his return, being deprived of his fellowship by the parliament visitors in 1641, he was entertained at York house by his Grace's appointment (3).

(1) Fairfax's Memoirs, as above, p. 25, 26.

(2) Ibid. p. 26. See some account of Mr Mole's case under Henry [Vere] the 18th Earl of Oxford.

(3) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 613.

now

now choſen the laſt opportunity, as they had done the firſt, of venturing all in the King's ſervice. It was in the year 1648, when the King was a priſoner in the Iſle of Wight, and his friends in ſeveral parts of England deſigning to renew the war: Duke Hamilton in Scotland, the Earl of Holland and others in Surrey, Goring in Kent, and many in London and Eſſex, appeared in arms. Theſe were the laſt efforts of the dying cauſe, and the Duke and his brother, in the heat of their courage, engaged with the Earl of Holland, and were the firſt that took the field about Ryegate in Surrey. The parliament, with their old army, knew all theſe deſigns, and deſpiſed them, till they grew ſo numerous in Kent, that the General [*Fairfax*] himſelf was ſent to ſuppreſs them, who found ſharp ſervice in ſtorming of Maidſtone and taking of Colcheſter *(g)*. Some troops of horſe were ſent, under the command of Colonel *Gibbons*, to ſuppreſs them in Surrey, and they drove my Lord of *Holland* before them to Kingſton, but engaged his party before he got thither near *Nonſuch*, and defeated them. My *Lord Francis* at the head of his troop, having his horſe ſlain under him, got to an oak-tree in the high-way, about two miles from Kingſton, where he ſtood with his back againſt it, defending himſelf, ſcorning to aſk quarter, and they barbarouſly refuſing to give it, till with nine wounds in his face and body he was ſlain [*C*]. The Duke, after the loſs of his brother, hardly eſcaped with his life to *St Neots* in Huntingdonſhire, whither alſo came the *Earl* of *Holland*, who was there taken, and ſoon after beheaded. The Duke next morning finding the houſe where he lay ſurrounded, and a troop of horſe drawn up before the gate, had time with his ſervants to get to horſe, and then, cauſing the gate to be opened, he charged the enemy, and killed the officer at the head of them, and made his eſcape to the ſea-ſide, and thence to *Prince Charles*, who was in the Downs with thoſe ſhips that had deſerted the *Earl of Warwick*. And now again the parliament gave him forty days to return to England; but he refuſed, and choſe rather to ſtay with the Prince: So, at the expiration of the time, his eſtate was ſeized, being then the greateſt of any ſubject in England, having now his brother's eſtate fallen to him *(h)*. All that he had to ſupport him beyond-ſea was the money he got at Antwerp for his pictures, which were part of that coſtly and curious collection of his father, procured from Italy by the help of Sir *Henry Wotton (i)* and others, which adorned York houſe to the admiration of all men of judgment in pictures [*D*]. Theſe were ſecured, and ſent to him by his old truſty ſervant Mr

(g) See Fairfax's article.

(h) The yearly value was above 25000l. Memoirs, &c. by Mr Fairfax, p. 28. It was aſſigned for the payment of the forces under General Lambert.

(i) See Reliquiæ Wottonianæ paſſim.

[*C*] *Lord Francis was ſlain.*] The oak-tree is his monument, and had the two firſt letters of his name, F. V. cut in it, which remain to this day, ſays Mr Fairfax (4), who proceeds with his Lordſhip's elogium in theſe terms: 'Thus died this noble, valiant, and beautiful youth, 'in the twentieth year of his age. A few days before 'his death, when he left London, he ordered his Stew-'ard Mr *John May* to bring him in a liſt of his debts, 'and he ſo charged his eſtate with them, that the par-'liament, who ſeized on his eſtate, paid them. His 'body was brought from Kingſton by water to *York-'houſe* in the Strand, and, being there embalmed, 'was afterwards depoſited in his father's vault in 'Henry VIIth's chapel, Weſtminſter-abbey, with this 'inſcription, which it is pity ſhould be buried with 'him:

'Depoſitum Illuſtriſſimi Domini
'Franciſci Villiers,
'Ingentis ſpeciei Juvenis,
'Filii poſthumi Georgii ducis Buckinghamii.
'Qui viceſimo ætatis anno
'pro Rege Carolo
'Et patria
'fortiter pugnando,
'Novem honeſtis vulneribus acceptis,
'Obiit vii° die Julii
'Anno Domini 1648.'

(4) P. 27.

'The body of the Lord Francis Villiers, a moſt beau-'tiful youth, the poſthumous ſon of George Duke of 'Buckingham, who in the twentieth year of his age, 'fighting valiantly for King Charles and his country, 'having received nine honourable wounds, died July 7, '1648.'

[*D*] *Part of his father's collection of pictures.*] This collection had been purchaſed at great prices by his father. He gave 10000l. for what had been collected by Sir *Peter Paul Rubens*; and Sir *Henry Wotton*, when Ambaſſador at Venice, purchaſed many other capital pieces for his Grace. After his aſſaſſination ſome had been purchaſed by the *King*, the Earl of *Northamberland*, and *Abbot Montague*. One may however form a judgment in ſome meaſure how valuable the intire collection muſt have been, by the liſt of what remained; where we find no leſs than nineteen by *Titian*, ſeventeen by *Tintoret*, twenty-one by *Baſſan*, two by *Julio Romano*, two by *Georgioni*, thirteen by *Paul Veroneſe*, eight by *Palma*, three by *Guido*, thirteen by *Rubens*, three by *Leonardo da Vinci*, two by *Correggio*, and three by *Raphael d'Urbin*, beſides ſeveral by other eſteemed maſters, whoſe pieces are ſcarce (5). Mr *Duart* of Antwerp bought ſome of them; but the greateſt part were purchaſed by the Archduke *Leopold*, and added to his noble collection in the caſtle of *Prague*. He bought the chief picture, the *Ecce homo* by *Titian*, in which are introduced the portraits of the Pope, the Emperor Charles V. and Solyman the magnificent: It is eight feet in length, and twelve feet in breadth. Mr *Fairfax* ſays it was valued at 5000l. but from a note of the late Mr *George Vertue*, the Engraver, on that place in the manuſcript, it appears, that *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel* offered the Duke's father the value of 70001. in land or money, for this ſingle piece (*).

(5) This was printed in the catalogue of the curious collection, &c. ubi ſupra, from p. 1 to p. 22, containing 230 pictures, beſides 14 models in metal, marble, joory, or alabaſter. After which are mentioned 12 boxes of agates, and other precious ſtones, chaſed in gold, and all antiques, as expreſſed in the Engliſh inventory of the Duke of Buckingham's collection in 1635.

(*) There is a curious copy of it in Northumberland houſe.

The Duke was alſo poſſeſſed of another great curioſity in painting, which, being likewiſe ſold by his ſon, has lately been the ſubject of much diſcourſe, and not only given birth to various pamphlets, &c. but has likewiſe, by the uſe that has been made of it, occaſioned a conteſt at law. The Reader is doubtleſs beforehand with me in pointing out the ſtained window now ſtanding at the Eaſt end of St Margaret's church, Weſtminſter, of which is given the following account: The magiſtrates of *Dort* in *Holland*, being deſirous of preſenting *Henry VII.* with ſomething worthy to adorn his magnificent chapel, then building at Weſtminſter, directed this window to be made, which was five years in finiſhing; King Henry and his Queen ſending their pictures to *Dort*, from whence their portraits in the window are delineated.

King Henry dying before the window was compleated, it fell into the hands of an Abbot of *Waltham*, who placed it in his abbey church, where it remained till the diſſolution of that abbey by Henry VIII, A. D. 1540. To preſerve it from being deſtroyed, it was removed by Robert Fuller, the laſt abbot of Waltham, to a private chapel at *New-hall*, an ancient ſeat belonging to the *Butlers* Earls of *Ormond* in Wiltſhire; which afterwards came into the hands of *Thomas Bollein*, father of *Ann Bollein*, Henry VIIIth's Queen.

In Queen Elizabeth's reign *New-hall* is found to have been the ſeat of *Thomas Ratcliff*, Earl of *Suſſex*; from his family *George Villiers Duke of Buckingham* bought it; his ſon ſold it to General *Monk*, who to preſerve it, or to guard it againſt imputations from his party, cauſed it to be buried under ground during the civil wars and uſurpations; in which times many beautiful glaſs windows, to the amount of above 800, were deſtroyed by the rage of puritanical zealots. After the Reſtoration, General Monk cauſed this window to be replaced in his chapel of New-hall. In 1688 died his ſon and heir *Chriſtopher*

Mr *John Traylman*, who lived in York houſe. The King reſolving to go into Scotland,

Chriſtopher Duke of Albemarle, by whoſe death this noble ſeat devolved to his Dutcheſs; but ſhe not reſiding there, it became ruinous and decayed. The preſent poſſeſſor of New-hall is *John Olmius*, Eſq; who it is preſumed purchaſed it of the heirs of the Monk's family. Within theſe few years he hath demoliſhed great part of the ancient ſtructure, and the fine chapel; but the window he preſerved, hoping that it might at length be purchaſed for ſome church. It lay ſome time caſed up in boxes, till Mr *Conyers*, coming to the knowledge of it, purchaſed it for his chapel at *Copthall* near *Epping*, and paid Mr *Price*, a great artiſt in that way (6), a large ſum of money for repairing it. There it remained till his ſon John, building a new houſe at ſome diſtance from the old ſeat, had no further uſe for the window, and ſold it to the Committee appointed for the repairing and beautifying St Margaret's, A. D. 1758, for the ſum of 400 guineas; part of the 4000l. granted by Parliament for repairing and beautifying that church (7).

The progreſſive changes this window hath undergone are ſomewhat remarkable, and particularly in its being now fixed near the abbey-church of Weſtminſter, in the chapel belonging to which it was originally deſigned to be placed.

The antiquity of it, by the foregoing account, I preſume cannot be leſs than 250 years, being probably begun ſoon after the founding of Henry VIIth's chapel, and before the death of that King, which is evident by ſeveral figures introduced into it.

However, ſoon after it was ſet up in St Margaret's church, ſeveral articles were exhibited in the Commiſſary's court againſt the Churchwardens, William Ruſted and Samuel Pierſon, for *ſetting up a piece of painting there, wherein was delineated ſeveral ſuperſtitious pictures or images, and that without a licence or faculty from the Ordinary of the place* (8). Hereupon there came out, in vindication of the Churchwardens, in 1761, a piece in 4to, entitled, *Ornaments of Churches conſidered*, &c. to which is added in the appendix, a deſcription of the window, as follows:

'This Eaſtern window, *ſays the anonymous writer of the defence*, conſiſts of one entire hiſtory of the crucifixion of our bleſſed Saviour between two thieves, the portraiture of whoſe perſons is ſo extremely well done, that there may be ſeen the muſcles of each limb, occaſioned by the different ways they are expanded on the croſſes. Round the croſs where our Saviour is crucified are the Roman officers and ſoldiers attending the execution, with ſome of the chief rulers of the Jews. At the foot of the croſs are *Mary Magdalen*, and *Mary* the wife of *Cleophas*, and ſiſter to the bleſſed *Virgin Mary*, who ſtands in the front (9), repreſenting as fainting away, ſo drawn in moſt pictures. On the right hand of the croſs is the Roman Centurion on horſeback, who with a launce pierces our Saviour's ſide, from which are repreſented iſſuing blood and water. The horſe whereon the Centurion ſits is finely executed, with full ſpirit and vigour. Behind the croſs, a little to the left, is a ſmall perſpective view of the city of Jeruſalem. On the right is the Penitent, and on the left the Thief which reviled our Saviour.

'The firſt capital figure on the right hand, ſtanding in a niche, curiouſly delineated, is that of St *George of Cappadocia*, the reputed Patriot Saint of England, ſtanding compleatly armed at all points, holding in his hand a banner partly unfurled, charged with a red croſs, and behind him lies at his feet a red dragon (10). He was a Tribune under the Emperor *Dioclefian*, and beheaded by him for embracing the Chriſtian religion A. D. 290. The banner he holds is a ſymbol of his dying in defence of the croſs, and the red dragon under his feet alludes to his conqueſt over that red dragon the Devil, who burneth with fury, and is red with the blood of the faithful. Rev. ch. xii. v. 3.

'Oppoſite to St George, on the left hand, ſtanding alſo in a niche, is the figure of St *Catharine*, the virgin and martyr of *Alexandria*, holding in her right hand a book, and reſting her left on a ſword, her head encircled with a crown of glory. At the bottom, towards the right, is a Hermit, drawn about breaſt-high, holding ſomething that reſembles a root, and looking up towards her; towards the bottom, on the left hand, is part of a wheel, the emblematical device of the manner of her martyrdom. She was beheaded under *Maximus I.* Emperor of the Weſtern monarchy, A. D. 455.

'The third figure on the right hand, under St George, is Henry VII. at his devotion in his royal robes, crowned with a diadem, and kneeling under a canopy of ſtate in a ſmall oratory, with a book before him.

'Oppoſite to the King, on the left hand, under St *Catharine*, is the fourth figure, repreſenting Elizabeth his royal conſort at her devotions, and kneeling alſo under a canopy of ſtate, with a book before her, and in her countenance is lively expreſſed the devotion of her heart.

'Above all is a row of ſix ſmall panes, in which are the repreſentations of angels attendant on the crucifixion. On the left hand, in a ſmall pane, is the moon, and on the oppoſite ſide the ſun, alluding to the preternatural manner of the darkneſs (the ſun not being eclipſed, as the moon was at full) at our Saviour's crucifixion.

'On the left of theſe figures, and over the moon, is placed a white roſe within a red one, to ſignify the uniting of the houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* in the perſons of *Henry* and *Elizabeth*. On the oppoſite ſide, and over the ſun, is placed a *Pomegranate*, to ſignify the deſcent of the two mentioned houſes from the royal houſe of *Spain*, as *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, married *Conſtance*, the eldeſt daughter and coheir of *Peter* King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*; and his brother *Edmund* of *Langley*, *Duke* of *York*, (great great grandfather of *Elizabeth*, wife of *Henry VII.*) married *Iſabel*, the youngeſt daughter of the aforeſaid King. The pomegranate *Vert* in a field *Or* are the arms of the kingdom of *Granada* in *Spain*, which kingdom was added to that of *Caſtile* by Ferdinand V. A. D. 1478, who united Spain into one monarchy, having married *Iſabel*, Queen of *Caſtile* and *Leon*.

'On each ſide of the altar-piece, within ſtoco panels, are copper-plates, finely enamelled with the texts of Scripture explaining the crucifixion as painted in the glaſs, and the ſupper at Emaus in baſs relievo, carved by *Alkin* of St Anne's, Weſtminſter, from a painting of Titian.'

Upon the whole it is obſervable, that this writer has paſſed over in ſilence the figures of four angels, each with a cup or chalice in his hands, catching the blood which iſſues in unbroken ſtreams from our Saviour's ſide and the wounds in his hands and feet (*). As alſo the figures of other angels conducting the ſoul of the penitent thief on one ſide to heaven; and the Devil on the other ſide tranſporting that of the reviling thief to hell; the ſouls of each thief being repreſented in a ſmall bodily ſhape, fixed to ſuitable croſſes.

The proſecution againſt the Churchwardens was begun in the Commiſſary's court, from whence an appeal being made to the court of Delegates, the cauſe is ſtill depending there.

This cauſe naturally brings to mind another, as being an exact contraſt to it, I mean the caſe of Mr Sherfield, Recorder of Saliſbury, who was proſecuted in the *Starchamber*, and fined 500l. for contemptuouſly breaking ſome panes of painted glaſs, repreſenting the creation of the world by God the Father, in a window of St Edmond's church in that city (†). The fine it is allowed was very ſevere, according to the temper of that too arbitrary court (‡); but it may perhaps be eſteemed an inſtance of the Divine *Nemeſis* upon the man; of whom we have the following account, in a letter from Mr *Garrard* to the Lord *Wentworth*, Lord Deputy of Ireland. 'About this time [viz. in March, 1633 (§)] died *Sherfield* the glaſs-window breaker, ſome thouſands in debt, and moſt wickedly cheated thoſe that dealt with him for that little land he had in a manor near *Marlborough*. When, as your Lordſhip knows, he was fined 500l. in the Starchamber, he then mortgaged his manor to one *Ayres*, a Bencher in *Lincoln's Inn* (‖), who lent him upon it 2500l. Upon his death, *Ayres* challenging it, *Audley*, of the court of Wards, ſhews a former mortgage to him; Sir *Thomas Jarvis* one more ancient than that; *his wife*, before him, challengeth it as her jointure: His *eldeſt brother* ſhews a conveyance before all theſe. In concluſion, on his death-bed he commands a ſervant of his to carry a letter, with a key ſealed up in it, to Mr *Noy* [the famous Attorney-general] where was aſſigned in what box in his ſtudy at Lincoln's Inn lay the conveyance of his eſtate; there it was found, and by a deed, bearing date before all theſe formerly mentioned, he had given all his eſtate to pious uſes. *Sic finita eſt fabula* of Mr *Shirfield* (11).'

(6) An account of this painter may be ſeen in *Anecdotes of painting in England*, &c. in 2 Vols 4to, Vol. II. 1762, by Mr Horace Walpole, who has alſo ſhewn, by an uninterrupted ſeries of maſters in this kind of painting, that it was never loſt, as has been commonly ſuppoſed.

(7) This church being uſed by the Houſe of Commons to aſſemble in, they ſeem to have taken upon themſelves to repair and beautify it. In 1735 the tower was rebuilt, and the church finely cieled, by the ſum of 5500l. granted by parliament in the 8th and 12th years of Geo II. And by a grant of 4000l. in 1757, the church had a thorough repair, the whole pavement was taken up, and new vaulted, the Eaſt end rebuilt, and the pews all made new: All being finiſhed before the end of the year 1758.

(8) Viz. the Dean of Weſtminſter-abbey,

(9) Near the place where it ſtood in Paleſtine a chapel was erected afterwards by way of memorial of it. Sandy's travels.

(10) This repreſentation of him is not unlike that by Euſebius in his life of Conſtantine the Great, which Emperor erected his ſtatue, and over his head was diſplayed a banner with the croſs, and underneath his feet a dragon.

(*) The author of this piece aſſures me, that this part of the picture was omitted, as not being relative to the law-ſuit between the Ordinary and Churchwardens.

(†) Ruſhworth, Vol. I. ſecond part, p. 152 to 156 inclusive, Edit. 1680, Fol.

(‡) He was alſo removed from the Recorder's place, and ſentenced to make an acknowledgment of his fault before ſuch perſons as ſhould be appointed by his Dioceſan; notwithſtanding his plea, that the church was an exempt juriſdiction, and what he had done was in purſuance of an act of veſtry. He alſo pleaded the acts of Elizabeth, and her royal injunctions, as well as the book of Homilies. All which have been ſince conſidered by the Author of *The ornaments of churches*, &c. Sect. VI.

(§) The proſecution was in February the preceding year, but the fact was committed in 1629.

(‖) He was a Bencher of that Inn.

(11) Strafford's letters, &c. Vol. I. p. 206.

the Duke attended him (k); and now again the parliament offered to compound for his eſtate at 20000l. which was leſs than a year's value; but he chuſing to run the King's fortune in Scotland, worſe than exile, came with him out of Scotland into England, and at Worceſter his eſcape was almoſt as miraculous as the King's in the royal oak [E]. He eſcaped again into France, and went a volunteer into the French army, where he was much regarded by all the French officers, ſignalizing his courage at the ſiege of *Arras* and *Valenciennes* (l). When he came to the Engliſh court, which was but ſeldom, the King was always glad to ſee him: He loved his perſon and his company; though his court was not well diſpoſed to him (m). There now happened a great turn in the courſe of his life. My *Lord Fairfax*, not approving the war with Scotland, had laid down his commiſſion of General of the parliament's forces in 1650, but had part of the Duke's eſtate, about 5000l. a year, allotted him by the parliament toward the payment of his arrears, and he remitted more than would have purchaſed a greater eſtate. They gave him the manor of Helmeſley, the ſeat of the Rutland family in Yorkſhire, as a ſalve for the wound he received there, being ſhot through the body. They gave him alſo York houſe in London. The Duke heard how kind and generous Lord Fairfax was to the *Counteſs of Derby*, in paying all the rents of the Iſle of Man, which the parliament had alſo aſſigned to him for his arrears, into her own hands, and which ſhe confeſſed was more than all her ſervants before had done. The Duke had reaſon to hope my Lord had the ſame inclinations as to this eſtate of his, which his Lordſhip never accounted his own, and the Duke wanted it as much as the Counteſs. He was not deceived in his hopes; for my Lord Fairfax wiſhed only for an opportunity of doing it. He lived in York houſe, where every chamber was adorned with the arms of *Villiers* and *Manors*, Lions and Peacocks. He was deſcended from the ſame anceſtors, Earls of Rutland [F], Sir Guy Fairfax's two ſons having married two of the daughters of the Earl of Rutland, which he took frequent occaſion to remember. The Duke reſolved to try his fortune, which had hitherto been adverſe enough (n). Over he came into England, to make love to my Lord's only daughter, a moſt virtuous and amiable Lady. He found a friend to propoſe the match (o); the parents conſented, and the young Lady could not reſiſt his charms, being the moſt graceful and beautiful perſon that any court in Europe ever ſaw. All his trouble in wooing was, *He came, ſaw, and conquered.* When he came into England he was not ſure either of life or liberty. He was an outlaw, and had

(k) On their arrival there, when all the reſt of his Majeſty's Engliſh ſervants were removed from his perſon, the Duke only was excepted. Peerage of England, Vol. III. p. 213.

(l) He was made Knight of the Garter ſoon after. Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(m) Fairfax, p. 29. Among theſe courtiers Mr Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, was the chief. See his article in remark [O]. And the Duke had his full revenge upon him afterwards. Ibid. in remark [Y].

(n) Mr Fairfax obſerves, that he had ſome revenge upon her by tranſlating into Engliſh verſe Horace's ode, *Fortuna ſævo læta negotio &c.* it was printed afterwards in his works, Vol. I. Edit. 1715.

(o) Mr Fairfax thought it was Mr Robert Harlow.

[E] *His eſcape after the battle of Worceſter.*] When the King was preparing to march into England, he granted a commiſſion to the Duke to raiſe a regiment of horſe, and one of foot, out of the Engliſh that ſhould repair to him. And after their march to Worceſter, perceiving that very few of quality or diſtinction repaired to his Majeſty, he remonſtrated to the King, that it would be more for his intereſt to remove the Scottiſh General; alledging it would not conſiſt with the honour of any peer of England to receive his orders; and thereupon aſked his Majeſty to confer that honour on himſelf; which the King refuſing, the Duke was ſo diſcontented, that he came no more to the Council, ſcarce ſpoke to the King, neglected every body elſe, and himſelf, inſomuch as for many days he ſcarce put on clean linnen, nor converſed with any body, nor did he recover this ill humour while the army ſtaid at Worceſter. Nevertheleſs, in the engagement there, he was at the King's right hand, and behaved with exemplary valour. On the loſs of the day he retired northward with his Majeſty, who had then an intent of going into Scotland; but, on conſultation with the Duke, the Earl of Derby, the Lord Wilmot, &c. it was thought more convenient to conceal himſelf in *Boſcobel-houſe*. Whereupon the Duke, the Earl of Derby, and others, in all about ſixty horſe, marched thither with the King, and having left his Majeſty there, as they hoped, in ſecurity, the Duke, with the Earl of Derby, &c. went northward, to overtake General Leſly with the main body of Scotch horſe. But being met by the rebels, the Earl of Derby, and the Earl of Lauderdale, with moſt of them, were taken priſoners. While the rebels were plundering thoſe noble perſons, the Duke, with the Lord Leviſton, Colonel Blague, Mr Marmaduke Darcy, and Mr Hugh May, forſook the road firſt, and ſoon after their horſes, and betook themſelves to a by-way, and got into *Bloore-Park*, near Cheſwardine, about five miles from Newport, where they received ſome refreſhment at a little obſcure houſe of Mr *George Barlow:* and afterwards met with two honeſt labourers in an adjoining wood, to whom they communicated the diſtreſs to which the fortune of war had reduced them; and finding them like to prove faithful, the Duke thought fit to imitate his royal maſter, delivered his George, which was given him by the Queen of England, to Mr May (12), (who preſerved it through all difficulties, and after reſtored it to his Grace in Holland) and changed habit with one of the workmen. In this diſguiſe, by the aſſiſtance of Mr Barlow and his wife, he was after ſome days conveyed by one *Nicholas Matthews*, a carpenter, to the houſe of Mr *Hawley*, a hearty cavalier at *Bilſtrop* in Nottinghamſhire, from thence to the Lady Villiers's houſe at Brokeſby in Leiceſterſhire, and, after many hardſhips and encounters, his Grace got ſecure to London, and thence had the good fortune to eſcape a ſecond time into Holland; where, on his arrival, he was taken for the King; and it was thought good policy to publiſh that his Majeſty was arrived. However, the King ſoon after eſcaping into France, the Duke went to him there (13).

(12) This ſervant of the Duke had alſo his ſhare in procuring the diſgrace of the Earl of Clarendon. See that Earl's article in remark [Y].

(13) Peerage, Vol. III p. 213, 214.

[F] *He was deſcended from the houſe of Rutland.*] This appears from a pedigree of this ancient family, curiouſly drawn by Mr R. Thoreſby, the famous Antiquary of Leeds in Yorkſhire (14), who having obſerved that the name *Fairfax* is Saxon, and preſumed to be in England about the time that they expelled the Romans, and confined the Britons before the coming of the Danes, and ſo, long before the Norman conqueſt, proceeds to inform us, that the records of this family before King John's time are not ſo well preſerved: but ſince that there are very good evidences in the hands of the then Lord Viſcount *Fairfax*, that they have ſucceeded lineally Lords of the manor of *Walton* for nineteen or twenty generations, near five hundred years, anno 1660. Accordingly the pedigree begins with *Richard Fairfax*, from whom deſcended William Fairfax, who lived in the time of King John and Henry III, whoſe deſcendant, after nine generations, was another Richard Fairfax, father to Sir Guy Fairfax, his third ſon, Knt. Judge of the King's bench, who died anno 1495, leaving a ſon, William Fairfax, a Judge, who died 6 Henry VIII. having married Elizabeth, ſiſter to the *firſt Earl of Rutland* (15). Beſides William the eldeſt, Sir Guy had other ſons, viz. Thomas, a Serjeant at Law, as alſo Guy and Nicholas; but no mention is made of any of their marriages in this pedigree, a defect which muſt be ſupplied from Mr Brian Fairfax in the text above. This William's grandſon, Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton, was father to the Lord Fairfax, Baron of Cameron, whoſe ſon Ferdinand, Lord Fairfax, was father to the General (16), who leaving no male iſſue, the title came to his paternal uncle Henry, whoſe grandſon Thomas, Lord Fairfax, was living and unmarried in 1712; in which year alſo was living and unmarried, Brian Fairfax, Eſq; ſon to Brian Fairfax, Eſq; the writer of the Memoirs of the Duke of Buckingham, who was ſecond ſon to the General's paternal uncle Henry, Lord Fairfax. He died in 1711.

(14) In Ducat. Leod. p. 66, 67. 69, 572, 575.

(15) Her mother was Dutcheſs of Exeter, ſiſter to Edward IV.

(16) The General was ſprung from a younger branch of his family, the deſcendant of the elder branch being Thomas Lord Viſcount Fairfax of Emely, whoſe great grandſon dying an infant, this title came to Thomas's ſecond ſon, and upon his death, without male iſſue, the title came to the grandſon of Thomas's third ſon, Charles Viſcount Fairfax, who died in 1719.

not made his peace with *Cromwell*, who would have forbid the banns if he had known of his coming over. Cromwell had a greater ſhare of his eſtate (‖), had daughters to marry, and would not have liked ſuch a conjunction of *Mars* and *Mercury* as was in this alliance. They were married Sept. 7, 1657 *(p)*, at *Nun-Appleton*, ſix miles from York, a new and noble houſe built by Lord Fairfax, and where he kept as noble hoſpitality *(q)*. When *Cromwell* heard of it, he reſted not till he had him in the Tower, and would have brought him to Tower-hill had he lived a fortnight longer. The Duke had liberty given him to be at York houſe with his Lady; but going to Cobham to ſee his ſiſter *(r)*, he was taken and ſent to the Tower on the 24th of Auguſt, 1658. This ſo angred Lord Fairfax, that he went to Whitehall to the Protector, and expoſtulated the caſe ſo as it put him into a great paſſion, turning abruptly from him in the gallery at Whitehall, cocking his hat and throwing his cloak under his arm, as he uſed to do when he was angry [*G*]. After the death of *Oliver*, the Duke had leave to be a priſoner in Windſor-caſtle, where his friend Mr *Abraham Cowley* was his conſtant companion. He continued till the 29th of July, 1659, when *Richard Cromwell* having abdicated, the Duke's liberty came of courſe, on his giving ſecurity to be faithful to the government. This was the happieſt time of all his Grace's life, when he went to his father-in-law's houſe at *Appleton*, and there lived orderly and decently with his own wife, where he neither wanted, nor ſo abounded as to be tempted to any ſort of extravagance *(s)*, as he was after, when he came into the poſſeſſion of his whole eſtate. Lord Fairfax was much pleaſed with his company, and eſpecially to ſee him ſo conformable to the order and good government of the family. If they had any plots together, they were to the beſt purpoſes, the reſtoration of the royal family [*H*]. The Duke had given ſufficient proofs of his loyalty, and Lord Fairfax of his affection, and deſire to ſee that happy event, and now was the time of compaſſing it. General *Monk* in Scotland declared againſt *Lambert*, who marched againſt him with a ſtrong body of horſe. Lord *Fairfax*, and the *Duke* with him, declared for *Monk* in Yorkſhire; but the Duke was obliged to withdraw, becauſe his preſence gave a jealouſy of the deſign to bring in the King *(t)*, which it was too ſoon yet to avow [*I*]. His Majeſty's reſtoration reſtored the Duke to his eſtate *(u)*, but to ſuch a train of expence with it, as brought him acquainted with bankers and ſcriveners, that infeſted it with the gangrene of uſury, from which it never recovered. At the King's reſtoration no ſubject appeared in greater ſplendor. None kept greater hoſpitality than he did at Wallingford houſe [*K*], eſpecially for the French nobility that came over, that engaged him in play, which had he continued, his eſtate had not laſted ſo long as it did; but he reſolved to give it over, and kept his reſolution ever afterwards. He was moderate in all his expences, his ſtable, table, laboratory: but all the King's favours to him were occaſions of great expence *(w)*. He was made one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, and ſworn of the Privy Council preſently after the Reſtoration *(x)*. Theſe were followed

(‖) [illegible] title [illegible] ſtate [illegible] of [illegible] Eſ [illegible] in [illegible] art [illegible]

(*p*) Mr Wood by miſtake ſays November 19. Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra, and therein is followed by the General Dictionary.

(*q*) [illegible] Mr [illegible] an [illegible] on [illegible]

(*r*) Mary She was Dutcheſs of Richmond and Lenox. Memoirs, p. 24.

(*s*) Not ſo much as to his after beloved and coſtly miſtreſs, the philoſopher's ſtone. Idem, p. 32.

(*t*) On Sir Geo. Booth's riſing this year, 1659, the Duke was taken up, and ſent to the Tower, Auguſt 13, with the Earls of Oxford, De la Ware, and Falkland, who were all, except his Grace, ſent to the Tower. Whitlock's memorials, p. 688.

(*u*) On the 4th of May, 1660, the Commons agreed to an order of the Lords to reſtore him to his eſtate; and on the 29th the Duke and Monk rode together bareheaded before his Majeſty on his triumphant entry into London.

(*w*) Fairfax, as before, p. 37.

(*x*) During his abode in Holland he had been elected Knight of the Garter, and he was now inſtalled at Windſor, April 15, 1661. Peerage, Vol. III. p. 214.

[*G*] *Cromwell was angry.*] Thus, ſays this writer (17), I ſaw him, Lord Fairfax, take his laſt leave of his old acquaintance Cromwell, whoſe ſervants expected he would be ſent to bear the Duke company in the Tower. But the Protector was wiſer in his paſſion.

(17) Memoirs, P. 30.

[*H*] *The reſtoration of the royal family.*] It was a maxim of my Lord Fairfax in politics, that the old veteran army, which he had commanded, was not to be beaten by any new raiſed force in England, and that the King's friends ſhewed more affection than diſcretion in their plots to reſtore him, while they were united (18); and that this old army would never be beaten but by itſelf, as the event ſhewed, when Lambert and Monk divided them. But the moſt fatal influence of this opinion in my Lord Fairfax was the night before the 30th of January, when ſome of his friends propoſed to him to attempt the next day to reſcue the King, telling him, that twenty thouſand men were ready to join him: he ſaid he was ready to venture his own life, but not the lives of others, againſt the army now united againſt them.

(18) This was confirmed by the inſurrection of Sir George Booth, which Lambert, with a brigade of this old army, did ſo eaſily ſuppreſs, the ſucceſs whereof inſpired him with the ambition of imitating Cromwell in diſſolving the parliament, and making himſelf Protector. Gen. Hiſtory of England.

[*I*] *It was too ſoon to own the deſign.*] The matter was concerted between *Fairfax* and *Monk* before the latter marched out of Scotland, whither Dr Brian Fairfax (afterwards Secretary to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury) was diſpatched to him from Lord Fairfax the General, and there concluded that great tranſaction about the reſtoration of our liberties, with ſuch privacy, that Mr *Fairfax* never ſaw Scotland, though the matter was tranſacted there. This curious anecdote is preſerved in the Diary of Mr Ralph Thoreſby, the eminent Antiquary of Leeds, whoſe father, upon Fairfax's declaration for a free parliament, joined him, among others, with a large body of men at Marſton Moor, for which, as he had been in the parliament ſervice under the General before, he was cenſured by ſome perſons as acting now inconſiſtently. Whereupon, by way of defence, he made the following Dodecaſtick:

If to be modeſt in all revolutions,
And to refuſe to act in our confuſions;
If to condole the ſad fate of the nation,
And help towards the King's reſtoration;
If ſwearing the allegiance chearfully,
And daily appearing for his Majeſty;
If wiſhing all the forces good ſucceſs
Againſt all ſorts of foes: And to expreſs
Much joy for victory all appointed times:
If theſe, I ſay, ſhall be accounted crimes,
Then let me bear the blame; if otherwiſe,
Let hanging be the falſe informer's prize (19).

——Nec lex eſt juſtior ulla
Quam necis artifices arte perire ſua.

(19) Diary of Mr R. Thoreſby, communicated by his ſon and heir, the reverend Mr R. Thoreſby, Rector of Stoke-Newington in Middleſex.

Upon this appearance of Fairfax at Marſton Moor, he was joined by Lambert's forces at Newcaſtle, who deſerted him. Whereupon Fairfax took poſſeſſion of York, and kept a correſpondence with Monk. What was the iſſue is well known (20), and was remembered by our Duke, who, in an expoſtulatory letter to King Charles ſome years after, has theſe words: 'As to 'your Majeſty's return to England, I may juſtly pretend 'to ſome ſhare, ſince, without my Lord Fairfax's en'gaging in Yorkſhire, Lambert's army had never quit'ted him, nor the Duke of Albemarle marched out of 'Scotland (21).'

(20) The General preſented a fine horſe of his own breeding to the King, on which his Majeſty rode at his coronation. He alſo made ſome verſes upon the occaſion, which will be inſerted under the additions to his article in the Appendix.

(21) Memoirs by Fairfax, p. 33.

[*K*] *He lived at Wallingford houſe.*] When he firſt began to ſettle his family, he deſired his old friends, *Cowley* and *Clifford*, to recommend to him a domeſtic Chaplain. They knew how hard it was to pleaſe him; he muſt be a man of learning, wit, good nature, good manners, a graceful perſon, and decent behaviour. They found one to their own mind and to his (22), whom he valued as a friend and loved as a companion, who lived to be an ornament to the age among thoſe of the higheſt order. He brought the Duke acquainted with another excellent perſon, whoſe friendſhip and converſation he much coveted if he could have more of it, who afterwards attained to the higheſt dignity in the church; and likewiſe with a Lawyer, as eminent in his profeſſion. So that his father was not more happy in the choice of a few friends, than he was if he had followed their advice. *He ſaw and approved the beſt; but too often did deteriora ſequi, follow the worſt* (23).

(22) Dr Thomas Sprat. See his article.

(23) Memoirs, p. 34. This well known paſſage in Ovid is, *Video meliora, proboque, deteriora ſequor.*

firſt

firſt by the Lord-Lieutenancy of Yorkſhire, and then by the place of Maſter of Horſe to his Majeſty (y); the firſt of which coſt him more than it did all that ſucceeded him, and the laſt coſt him 20000l. to the Duke of Albemarle (z). This is not mentioned as any excuſe for his ingratitude to his Royal Maſter, which indeed will admit of none. Who would have then thought that his Grace was ſecretly engaged in rebellious deſigns againſt the King [L] ſo early as the year 1662? Yet it is notorious, that he ſuffered himſelf to be led away by the ſame ſpirit of faction ſo far, that in 1666 he found it neceſſary to abſcond, in order to avoid a moſt juſt proſecution. He was removed from all his places on the 25th of February that year, and a Serjeant at Arms was ſent, by expreſs order from his Majeſty, to take him up; but this proving ineffectual (aa), a proclamation was iſſued out on the 8th of March, requiring his appearance, and ſurrender of himſelf by a certain day. In compliance to this proclamation he ſurrendered himſelf, made his ſubmiſſion, and, through an almoſt unparalleled inſtance of kindneſs, he was received into favour by the good-natured Charles, who reſtored him alſo to his place in the Bed-chamber, and even to his ſeat at the Council-board, Sept. 23 the following year, 1667; and the ſame year he found himſelf ſufficiently able to overſet and ruin his great rival in the Monarch's affections, the *Earl of Clarendon* (bb). After this, no wonder that we find him at the head of the Cabinet Council, conſtituted in 1670, which was generally nicknamed *the Cabal* (cc), and inveſted with all the power of a prime miniſter. In Auguſt this year he went Ambaſſador to France, in order to break the famous triple alliance [M], which had been the boaſt of

(y) Gen. Hiſt. of England, and Athen. Oxon. as before.

(z) Fairfax, P. 33, 34.

(aa) He defended his houſe for ſome time by force againſt the Serj. at Arms, and at laſt made his eſcape. Carte's life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. book 6. p. 347.

(bb) See that Earl's article.

(cc) From the firſt letters of their names, viz. Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Aſhley, and Lauderdale, where we ſee his Grace is the center or key-ſtone.

[L] *He abſconded on account of ſome ſeditious practices.*] The King's happy reſtoration may juſtly be ſtiled the æra of the Duke's unhappineſs, ſince from that period commenced the ruin both of his fame and fortune. It appears that he had joined with *Peter Talbot*, Confeſſor to her Majeſty, in inflaming the minds of the Diſſenters as early as the year 1662, and had ſome time before engaged in an acquaintance with one Dr *Heydon*, a noted impoſtor, and reputed Conjurer among the people. This man, juſt before the receſs of the parliament in 1666, being taken up for treaſonable practices, for ſowing ſedition in the navy, and engaging perſons in a conſpiracy to ſeize the Tower, an information was made againſt the Duke by ſome perſons to whom the conjurer unboſomed himſelf, and who had been employed by him to carry letters to the Duke. *Heydon* pretended to have been in all the Duke's ſecrets for near four years paſt, and ſaid that he had been all that time deſigning againſt the King and his government. That his Grace thought the preſent ſeaſon favourable for the execution of his deſign, and had his agents at work in the navy and in the kingdom, to ripen the general diſcontents of the people, and diſpoſe them to action; that, ſince the Duke came out of the Tower (24), he had been importuned by him to head the firſt party he could get together, and engage in an inſurrection, the Duke declaring his readineſs to appear, and join in the undertaking as ſoon as the affair was begun. This Doctor pretended to great ſkill in Aſtrology; but had loſt much of his fame by a prediction of the hanging of *Oliver*, made to his ſon *Richard* and *Thurloe*, who came to him for the calculation of nativities, diſguiſed in the garb of diſtreſſed cavaliers. He was for that impriſoned and confined ſixteen months, whilſt Cromwell outlived the prediction near four years. However, the Duke, who had imbibed an opinion of the art (25), as well to gratify his own humour as to flatter the Aſtrologer, put him upon caſting the King's nativity, which was condemned by a ſtatute. The Duke had employed this fellow, among others, to incite the ſeamen to mutiny; and had given money to other rogues to go about the country in ſailors jackets begging, and exclaiming for want of pay, whilſt the people, oppreſſed with taxes, were cheated of their money by the great officers of the Crown. The King was highly incenſed at him for his conduct in the late ſeſſions, and infuſing the ſpirit into the Commons which had been ſo much to the detriment of the public ſervice: He could not forbear expreſſing himſelf with more bitterneſs againſt the Duke than ever dropped from him upon ſcarcely any other occaſion. When he was ſollicited in his behalf, he frankly ſaid, that the Duke had been the cauſe of the continuance of the war; for the Dutch would have made an early and very low ſubmiſſion, had the parliament purſued their firſt vigorous vote of ſupplying him; but the Duke's cabals had leſſened his intereſt both abroad and at home with regard to the ſupport of the war (26). What it was that provoked the Duke to carry his reſentment to ſuch a pitch as is utterly inexcuſable is not certainly known. Mr Carte thinks it probable the ill humour might be firſt engendered by his being denied the poſt of Preſident of the North; which, if true, is certainly an aggravation of his fault, ſince that poſt and court had been very juſtly aboliſhed in the time of King Charles I. ſo that the revival of it would undoubtedly have created a general uneaſineſs, and muſt have been particularly oppoſed by the Earl of Clarendon, who had ſo great a hand in procuring the abolition (27). Let me therefore add further, that as the diſappointment muſt more than probably have been imputed to the Earl by his Grace, ſo it was a further incentive to revenge it upon that miniſter. Accordingly, preſently after his Grace was taken into his Majeſty's favour, we find him engaged in perſecuting the Earl with ſuch inveterate malice, as drove him to ſeek his refuge in baniſhment.

(24) He pretended to have been put there for ſpeaking in parliament for the pay of the fleet, and for eaſing the people in their taxes.

(25) This art, as vain as it is, was in great vogue in France, when the Duke paſſed ſome years of his life there before the Reſtoration. See the Hiſtory of that Kingdom.

(26) Carte's life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. B. 6.

(27) See his article.

[M] *He went Ambaſſador to France.*] Mr Wood tells us (28) that the French monarch liked his perſon and errand ſo well, that he entertained him very nobly for ſeveral days together, and in concluſion gave a ſword and belt ſet with diamonds to the value of forty thouſand piſtoles; and Monſ. *de Verville* aſſures us, 'the Moſt 'Chriſtian King ſhewed him a greater reſpect than ever 'any foreign Ambaſſador was known to receive. As he 'knew him, continues the Frenchman, to be *un homme 'de plaiſir*, he entertained him accordingly. Nothing 'could be ſo welcome to the court of Verſailles as the 'meſſage he came about; for which reaſon a regale 'was prepared for him, that might have befitted the 'magnificence of the Roman Emperors, when Rome 'flouriſhed in its utmoſt grandeur (29).' This account is likewiſe confirmed by the Duke himſelf in the following letter to the Lord Arlington, then principal Secretary of State, dated St Germains, Auguſt 15, 1670.

(28) In Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 803. from a manuſcript which he had ſeen.

(29) Memoires de la Cour de l'Angleterre, by Mr de Verville.

'My Lord,

'If I had had the good fortune to bring my Lord 'Falconbridge's Secretary with me, he would have 'entertained your Lordſhip with a whole ſheet of paper, 'full of the particulars of my reception here. For I 'have had more honours done me than ever were given 'to any ſubject.' He then proceeds to give an account of his ſucceſs in the buſineſs of his embaſſy, as follows: 'You will receive, in two or three days, a propoſition 'from this Court concerning the making war upon 'Holland only, which you may enlarge as you pleaſe. 'Monſ. *de Lionne* ſhewed me the model of it laſt night, 'and I ſhall ſee the particulars before they are ſent. 'In the mean time, having not your cypher, I ſhall 'only tell you in general, that nothing but our being 'mealy-mouthed can hinder us from finding our ac-'counts in this matter. For you may almoſt aſk what 'you pleaſe. I have written more at large in cypher 'to my Lord Aſhley; and when you have diſcourſed 'together, if you think my ſtay here will be of uſe to 'his Majeſty, let me know it. If not, I will come 'away. I am,

'My Lord,

'Your Lordſhip's moſt humble

'And moſt faithful Servant,

'Buckingham.'

Whatever expence the Grand Monarque might be at in preſents and entertainments to our Ambaſſador, his friend Mr Fairfax intimates, that theſe were turned into

of *Sir William Temple* (*dd*), and was thought to have been the principal author of an attempt (*ee*) made upon the life of Clarendon's firſt friend the *Duke* of *Ormond* in December the ſame year [*N*]. In 1671 he was inſtalled, on the 7th of June, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge, and he entertained that learned body nobly at York-houſe, where his father had done it on the ſame occaſion forty years before (*ee*). His celebrated comedy, called the *Rehearſal*, was firſt brought upon the ſtage the ſame year, 1671 [*O*], and before the expiration of it he adviſed *the Declaration of Indulgence*, publiſhed March 15, *for ſuſpending*

(*dd*) See his article.

into ſo many occaſions of an almoſt equal expence to the Duke (30), who was now in the higheſt ſpirits, as appears from the next letter to Lord Arlington, which furniſhes a glaring inſtance of that foible of vanity, which has been deſervedly laid to his charge. It is dated Auguſt 17, from the ſame place as the preceding, and runs in theſe terms:

'My Lord,

'I have nothing to add to what I wrote laſt, but that I am every day convinced of the happy conjuncture we have at preſent in our hands of any conditions from this court that we can in reaſon demand (31). The King of France is ſo mightily taken with the diſcourſes I make to him of his greatneſs by land, that he talks to me twenty times a day; all the Courtiers here wonder at it, and I am very glad of it, and am very much,

'My Lord,

'Your Lordſhip's moſt humble

'And moſt faithful Servant,

'Buckingham (32).'

But notwithſtanding theſe vaunting letters, that he could obtain any thing from the French King, it is certain the Grand Monarque, by tickling his vanity, obtained every thing that he propoſed, and the Ambaſſador conſented to the French fleets coming into our ſeas and harbours, which afterwards improved their mariners, and learnt them the way of fighting at ſea.

[*N*] *The principal author of the aſſault upon the Duke of Ormond.*] Mr Carte, having taken notice of the general opinion, that *Blood* was put upon this attempt by the Duke, to which he joins the Dutcheſs of Cleveland. They both, continues he, hated the Duke of Ormond mortally, and were powerful advocates to ſollicit *Blood's* pardon (33). The reaſon aſſigned by the criminal for his attempt was conſidered as a meer excuſe (34); for his Grace had done nothing particularly againſt him more than againſt others concerned with him in the ſame conſpiracy, and put into the ſame proclamation. If Blood's eſtate at Sarſley was forfeited for his treaſon, and, upon his attainder, granted by his Majeſty to Captain Toby Barnes; or if his accomplices were executed after a full conviction; all this was done in the courſe of government, and muſt have been done by any other Lord Lieutenant as well as the Duke of Ormond. Blood knew very well his own guilt, and had no reaſon to reſent any thing in this proceeding of his Grace; nor do acts, merely miniſterial, uſe to produce, in any, ſuch reſentments as cannot be ſatisfied without the aſſaſſination of a miniſter, who, in the diſcharge of his duty, and the truſt repoſed in him by his Prince, could not have ſpared his own father in the like caſe (35). Mr Carte then proceeds to give the direct reaſons for laying the deſign upon the Duke, which are, firſt, that it ſuited him better than any other perſon, as being the moſt profligate man of the age, and capable of any iniquity, however mean or enormous. That all the arts or ſuggeſtions, which he or his inſtruments could uſe, had not worked his Grace ſo much out of the King's good opinion and favour, but that his Majeſty ſtill gave him, upon occaſion, marks of his eſteem and confidence. The Duke had not, by the reſentment which diſgraced miniſters are apt to ſhew in their conduct, given the finiſhing ſtroke to his credit with the King, which they had begun by removing him from the government of Ireland. He might be again employed to defeat the meaſures of Buckingham and his cabal, to which he was in the mean time a conſiderable reſtraint. It was undoubtedly Buckingham's intereſt to have Ormond diſpatched out of the way. That it was not long before this attempt of Blood, that Buckingham and ſome of his friends had given out, that the Earls of Clarendon and Oſſory had ſet on two perſons to murder him (36); that theſe two perſons were poiſoned, and before their death owned the ſubornation. It would be impertinent to offer to vindicate thoſe two honourable noblemen from a charge which no man on earth could poſſibly believe: but to what purpoſe could ſuch a calumny be invented and ſpread, unleſs to prepare the world to receive an apology for another aſſaſſination (in caſe the true author ſhould be diſcovered) as if it were perpetrated purely in revenge for the like intended againſt himſelf, or made neceſſary for his own defence. No body does odious things but for ſome end or other of a piece with the means which they make uſe of to bring it about. The Duke of Buckingham was not ſo ſenſeleſs a mortal, or knew men ſo little, as to believe this ſtory, which he took care to have publiſhed; or if he did, as mankind judge of others by themſelves, he could not ſuſpect theſe men of virtue and honour of ſuch a deſign, without being capable of it himſelf (37). Here we ſee this writer has accumulated no leſs than nine reaſons to induce a belief of the Duke's guilt; yet they are all of them manifeſtly too general to fix the charge abſolutely upon him; which indeed is ſuggeſted by the accuſer himſelf, where he ſays, it is *not eaſy* to find any other perſon to whoſe character the deſign ſo well ſuited, or who could be under a temptation to it; not denying, that ſuch a perſon might be found, though not without ſome difficulty. But whatever defects may appear in the preceding reaſons, when conſidered ſeparately, they will queſtionleſs be allowed to be ſufficiently made up by the ſanction given to them in the tenth and laſt, where he tells us from good authority, that the *Earl of Oſſory*, not long after the affair, boldly charged it upon the Duke to his face, and *that* too before the King himſelf, with whom his Grace was then in high favour (38). At the ſame time this noble ſpirited ſon vowed, that if his father ſhould come to a violent end, he would piſtol his Grace as the author of it. All which, for any thing that appears, was quietly pocketed by the Duke, who had ſeveral other tranſactions with Blood afterwards, an account of which may be ſeen under Blood's article.

[*O*] *The Rehearſal was firſt brought upon the ſtage in 1671.*] It was firſt acted on the 7th of December this year, and ſeveral times printed in quarto; but the plays expoſed in it ſhew, that it was begun before the end of the year 1663, and finiſhed before the end of 1664; ſince it had been ſeveral times rehearſed, the players were perfect in their parts, and all things in readineſs for its acting, before the plague in 1665; which then prevented it, and ſo proved an occaſion of new modelling it. In the firſt form he called his Poet *Bilboa*, meaning Sir *Robert Howard*. But many plays coming out in heroic rhyme, which grew ſtill into greater vogue after Mr *Dryden* became Laureat in 1669, this put the Duke upon changing *Bilboa* for *Bays*. Mr Dryden, in revenge for the ridicule thrown upon him in this piece, expoſed the Duke under the name of *Zimri*, in his Abſalom and Achitophel. The lines are too well known to be tranſcribed here, though well worth the reader's peruſal: They are very ſevere; yet the Duke is thought to have expoſed Dryden ten times more ſeverely. *Dryden*, ſays Mr *Walpole* (39), is an admirable portrait, but Bayes an original creation. Dryden ſatirized Buckingham, Villiers in the Rehearſal made Dryden ſatirize himſelf. The ſame author obſerves it as an inſtance of aſtoniſhing quickneſs, that the Duke being preſent at one of theſe plays by Dryden, where a Lover ſays,

My wound is great, becauſe it is ſo ſmall:

His Grace cried out,

Then 'twould be greater, were it none at all.

And it may be further remarked, that had the Duke lived long enough, he would have had a like occaſion for diſplaying his wit in behalf of his friend Mr Cowley, in celebrating whoſe praiſes Mr *Addiſon* has this aſtoniſhing line:

He more had pleaſed us, had he pleaſed us leſs (40).

The Duke alſo wrote a poem of ſome conſiderable length, called *Reflections upon Abſalom and Achitophel*; all in verſe: And a Key to the Rehearſal.

(30) Mr Fairfax's words are: His[the Duke's] embaſſies into France and Holland coſt him more than a diamond ring could recompenſe. Memoirs, p. 34.

(31) The pretence of this embaſſy was to condole the death of the Dutcheſs of Orleans, King Charles's ſiſter, who died at St Clou, June 30th preceding. See the Duke's ſpeech in the Houſe of Commons, June 24, 1673.

(32) Theſe letters are in the Duke's Works, Vol. I. Edit. 1704.

(33) He was not only pardoned, but had an eſtate of 500l. per annum given him in Ireland.

(34) The excuſe was a revenge for the Duke's proſecution of him in 1663 for a conſpiring to ſeize Dublin caſtle, and the Duke then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Blood's article, Vol. II. p. 817.

(35) Here Mr Carte ſeems not ſufficiently to advert to Blood's character, which makes him an exception to this rule, as will hardly be denied after peruſing his article in the ſecond volume of this work.

(36) Bp Burnet ſays, that, in the Dutch wars, the King having diſcovered to Buckingham the Earl of Oſſory's deſign on Helvoetſluys, he employed all his wit to make it appear ridiculous, as hating both the Duke of Ormond and Lord Oſſory, and would have ſeen the King and all his affairs periſh, rather than the perſon he hated ſhould have the honour of ſuch merit; and thereupon the King ordered the deſign to be laid aſide, ſo eaſy was he to the man of wit and humour. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own time, Vol. I. Folio Edition.

(37) Carte's Hiſtory of the Duke of Ormond, p. 424.

(38) The Earl's words are related under his article in remark [*D*] Vol. II. p. 1073.

(39) In his catalogue of royal and noble authors under the Duke's article.

(40) Vid. Cowley's article in remark [*III*].

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the penal laws againſt Diſſenters (ff). In 1672 he was ſent a ſecond time, together with the Earls of *Arlington* and Lord *Halifax*, to the French King, then at *Utrecht*, to concert meaſures ſecretly for carrying on the ſecond Dutch war [*P*]; and it was about this time that he bought Colonel Scot's regiment. Yet, upon the meeting of the parliament the enſuing year, a complaint being made of him in the Houſe of Commons for revealing the King's counſels and correſponding with his enemies, in his defence of himſelf before that houſe, he confeſſed ſome part of his own bad adminiſtration, and betrayed more of his aſſociate *Arlington* [*Q*]. In 1674, having made himſelf very unpopular at Cambridge *(gg)*, he reſigned the chancellorſhip of that Univerſity, and the Duke of Monmouth was choſen in his room, July 15 that year *(hh)*. About this time he began to ſide with the Nonconformiſts; and, in oppoſition to the Court, he joined with the Earl of Shaftſbury and others againſt the famous bill, *To prevent the danger that may ariſe from perſons diſaffected to the government*, which was brought into the Houſe of Lords in April, 1675 [*R*]. In October following

(ff) See remark [*Q*].

(gg) Carte's Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. under the year 1669. See alſo the Litany in remark [*U*].

(hh) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 803. and Gen. Hiſt. of England.

[*P*] *He was ſent to the French King at Utrecht.*] Mr Bryan Fairfax attended him in this embaſſy, and gives us the following account of the rout taken in it: 'We 'took barge, ſays he, at Whitehall, June 1673, and 'lay that night on board the Engliſh Admiral at the 'buoy of the Nore, the King and Duke being there. 'Next night we came to anchor in our yacht in the 'Dutch fleet on the coaſt of Holland. The next night 'we were entertained by the States at the Hague. 'Next night we ſupped with the Prince of Orange, 'at his camp at Bodegrave. Next night with the King 'of France at Utrecht, where we ſtaid two or three 'days, and then marched back with him at the head 'of his army to Arnheim, where we viſited the Prince 'of Conde, who lay ill there of a wound in his arm, 'which he got in paſſing the Rhine at Tolhua, and 'Marſhal Turin (*) Thence we went with the King 'to *Nimeguen*, *Grave*, *Boxtell*, and there we parted. 'The King went to Paris, and we into the Spaniſh 'dominions, to *Antwerp*, *Bruſſels*, *Bruges*, *Ghent*, *Dunkirk*, and *Calais*; where our yachts ſtaid for us, and 'we came to Dover, Canterbury, London, where we 'arrived the day month that we left it (41).'

(*) Turenne.

(41) Memoirs, &c. p. 34.

[*Q*] *He defended himſelf before the Houſe of Commons.*] He ſpoke twice before the Houſe on this occaſion. On the firſt day, in anſwer to the charge of entering into the French meaſures, he avowed, that, if the triple league had any advantage in it, he had as great a hand therein as any man. This he repeated the next day, and then proceeds thus: That when, upon the inſtance of the French Ambaſſador, he was ſent into France afterwards to condole the death of the Dutcheſs of Orleans, he urged for the ſervice of the King, that the French ought not to endeavour to make themſelves conſiderable at ſea, of whom we had reaſon to be more jealous than of the Dutch, becauſe, ſays he, the French then would have power to conquer us. When I returned, I found all demonſtrations that the French had no ſuch thoughts, but that the King of England ſhould be maſter at ſea. At this time, continues he, Lord Shaftſbury and myſelf adviſed not to begin a war without the advice of the parliament. But this was not Lord Arlington's opinion. My next advice was, not to make uſe of French ſhips; half their value in money would have been more ſerviceable. I alledged they would be of no uſe to us, by reaſon of their want of experience in our ſeas, and there would be great danger in their learning the uſe of them; which advice my Lord Arlington oppoſed, notwithſtanding the King was ſo deſirous of avoiding a breach with France, that he ſent me to Dunkirk, and my Lord Arlington to Utrecht, where I ſtill endeavoured to get money inſtead of ſhips. At my firſt audience the King of France was willing to comply; but after ſome returns and letters from hence he was altered: but I make no reflections upon perſons, but barely ſtate matters of fact. He afterwards declares it was the advice of my Lord Shaftſbury, as well as his own, ſo to order the war, that the French ſhould deliver us ſome towns of their conqueſts into our hands, a uſeful precaution in former times; Lord Arlington would have no towns at all for one year. And here is the cauſe of the condition of our affairs. We ſet out a fleet, with intention to land men, in order to the taking of towns. The French army go on conquering and get all, and we get nothing, nor agree for any. 'Pray conſider who it was that was ſo often locked up with the French Ambaſſador. My ſpirit moves me to tell you, that, when we were to conſider what to do, we were to adviſe with the French Ambaſſador. I will not trouble you with reports; but pray look not upon me as a peer, but an honeſt Engliſh gentleman, who has ſuffered much for my love to my country. I had a regiment *given* me, which was Sir Edward Scot's; I gave him 1600l. for it. There is no Papiſt officer in it, nor Iriſhman. I ſhall ſay nothing of my extraordinary gains; I am ſure I have loſt as much eſtate as ſome men have gotten (and that is a big word;) I am honeſt; and when I appear otherwiſe, I deſire to die. I am not the man that has gotten by all this; yet after all this, if I am a grievance, I am the cheapeſt grievance this houſe ever had; and ſo I humbly aſk the pardon of this Houſe for the trouble I have given. The Speaker then proceeded to aſk him ſeveral queſtions, in his anſwer to which he ſuggeſts, that Lord Arlington had declared to him ſome advices againſt the liberties and privileges of the Houſe of Commons, and to alter the government. That if the Duke of Ormond had got, as appeared upon record, about 500000l. though Lord Arlington had not got ſo much, yet he had got a great deal. That the army was raiſed and Scomberg made General by Lord Arlington, and that the army was brought up to awe the debates and reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons by the ſame Lord's advice. He acknowledged that he joined with that Lord in making the French league, and that he himſelf made the firſt treaty with France, by which the triple alliance was broken. He alſo confeſſed, that he adviſed the declaration for indulging the Diſſenters, and that he joined Lord Arlington in making the ſecond treaty of Utrecht: But that he was utterly againſt attacking the Dutch Smyrna fleet before the war was proclaimed, that ſtep being taken purely by Lord Arlington's advice. And laſtly, that both himſelf and Lord Shaftſbury were for adviſing with the Parliament before the [Dutch] war begun, and averſe to the prorogation which followed it (42).

(42) By this defence the Duke eſcaped any further proſecution. The Earl of Arlington, who was examined by the Houſe on the ſame occaſion, was impeached by them. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under this year 1673. The ſpeech is printed in his Grace's works, Vol. I, Edit. 1704.

[*R*] *He oppoſed the bill to prevent the danger that may ariſe from perſons diſaffected to the government.*] In this bill was inſerted the Teſt, by which, beſides the oaths required of Magiſtrates in corporations, viz. I A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, to take up arms againſt the King, there was added the following, *I A. B. do ſwear, that I will not endeavour an alteration of the Proteſtant religion eſtabliſhed by law in the church of England, nor will I endeavour any alteration in the government of the kingdom in church or ſtate as it is by law eſtabliſhed*. This was propoſed to be taken by all who enjoyed any beneficial offices, eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military, and by all Privy Counſellors, Juſtices of the peace, and both houſes of parliament. The Court party eſpouſed the bill very vehemently, and it was oppoſed as vehemently by the Country party, who looked upon it as a project to divide the Proteſtants, and to ſtrengthen the Popiſh party. It was debated in paragraphs for ſeventeen days ſucceſſively, the Lords that oppoſed it alledging, that it was inconſiſtent with itſelf and hurtful to the conſtitution of the kingdom. The chief ſpeakers for it were the Lord Treaſurer Danby and the Lord Keeper Finch, with the Biſhops Morley and Ward. Thoſe on the other ſide were the Lords Halifax and Holles, the Earls of Saliſbury and Shaftſbury, and the Duke of Buckingham; theſe with the Marquis of Wincheſter, nine Earls and ſeven Barons, entered their proteſt againſt it, 'conceiving, that any 'bill which impoſeth an oath upon the peers, with a 'penalty, as this doth, that upon refuſal of that oath 'they ſhall be made incapable of ſitting and voting in 'their houſe, as it is a thing unprecedented in former 'times, ſo it is, in their opinion, the higheſt invaſion 'of the liberties and privileges of the peerage that 'poſſibly may be, and moſt deſtructive of the freedom 'which they ought to enjoy as members of parliament: 'becauſe the privileges of ſitting and voting in parliament is an honour they have by birth, and a right ſo 'inherent in them, as that nothing can take away but 'what

following he brought a bill into the House of Lords *for tolerating the Dissenters (ii)*, and was appointed one of the managers in a conference between the two Houses of Parliament upon the point of the jurisdiction of the upper house *(kk)*. In order to check the heat and animosities occasioned by this dispute, his Majesty, in November this year, prorogued the parliament till Feb. 15, 1676-7, which being upwards of a year, the Duke made a speech on that day, to shew, that, in this prorogation, his Majesty had exceeded the bounds of the prerogative [*S*]; and persisting in defence of this assertion, the next day he was committed to the Tower by the House of Lords *(ll)*: but, upon a petition to the King, he was discharged thence in May following. After this he joined in opposition to the court upon the breaking out of the Popish plot, and was warm in prosecuting all those who were concerned therein. In 1680, having sold *Wallingford house*, he purchased a house at *Dowgate*, and resided there, joining with the *Earl* of *Shaftsbury* in raising tumults and disturbances in the city against the administration *(mm)*. In 1685 he published, in 4to, *A short discourse upon the reasonableness of men's having a religion, or worship of God (nn)* [*T*]. To

(ii) His speech on this occasion is printed in his works.

(kk) He opened the conference. His speech on this occasion is likewise inserted in his works.

(ll) He was accompanied by Shaftsbury, Salisbury, and Wharton, who were all sent thither on the same occasion. General Hist. of England.

(mm) Ath. Oxon Vol. II. col. 804.

(nn) Three editions of it were published that year.

'what by the law of the land must withal take away 'their lives, and corrupt their blood.' And when the bill was committed, they got in this proviso, *That it should be no hindrance to their free speaking and voting in parliament* (43). Whatever patriotism there might be in opposing this bill by others, it is too notorious that Villiers had no title to any share of that merit. He seems indeed in this, as in other parts of his political conduct at this time, to have acted the mean part of a *second* to Shaftsbury (44). Yet so much may be alledged in his behalf, that this opposition was of a piece, and consistent with his avowed espousal of the Dissenters, and indeed a consequence of it; a part of his conduct surely somewhat more than excusable, on account of the respect and gratitude which he owed to the memory of his father-in-law Fairfax, and which he always preserved, and had given a noble testimony of it in a Pindaric ode on his death a few years before (45).

(43) The bill miscarried by the King's proroguing the parliament on the 9th of June.

(44) See his article.

(45) The General died in 1671. The Ode is inserted at the head of the Duke's works, Edit. 1704.

[*S*] *His speech to prove the parliament dissolved.*] As this is an essential point in the constitution, it will be worth while to see the Duke's way of arguing thereupon. His proofs are drawn from two statutes of Edward III. (46): The words of the first being, Item, *It is accorded, that a parliament shall be holden every year once, and more often, if need be*, which is explained and confirmed in the other. Item, *For maintenance of these articles and statutes, and the redress of divers mischiefs and grievances which daily happen, a parliament shall be holden every year, as at other time was ordained by another statute.* He then proceeds to observe, that these statutes were not repealed by either of the bills for a triennial parliament, which passed in this and the preceding reign; 'Whence, continues he, the whole matter is reduced 'to this short dilemma; either the Kings of England 'are bound by the acts abovementioned of Edward III. 'or else the whole government of England by parliaments and by the law above is absolutely at an end. 'For a power to invalidate, by an order of the King, 'an act made for the maintenance of *Magna Charta*, 'implies a power, by a like order, to invalidate *Magna 'Charta* itself; and then the King is absolute, and may 'do what he pleases with our estates, lives, and liberties. And yet this power must be allowed him, or 'else we that sit here this day cannot act as a parliament. 'For as to the proclamation, pray, my Lords, is that 'of more force than a prorogation; or if a thing that 'hath been ordered the first time be not valid, doth the 'ordering it a second time make it good in law; I have 'heard indeed that two negatives make an affirmative, 'but I never heard before that two nothings ever made 'any thing.—The laws have reposed so great a trust 'and so great a power in the hands of a parliament, 'that every circumstance relating to the manner of their 'electing, meeting, and proceeding, is looked after 'with the nicest circumspection imaginable. For this 'reason the King's writs about the summons of parliament are to be issued out *verbatim* according to the 'form prescribed by the law, or else that parliament is 'void and null: For the same reason, if a parliament, 'summoned by the King's writ, do not meet the very 'same day that it is summoned to meet upon, that parliament is void and null: And, by the same reason, 'if parliaments be not legally adjourned *de die in diem*, 'those parliaments must be also void and null. He then 'proceeds to answer the objections, wherein he observes, 'that though the King's power of prorogation is not 'taken away by the statute of Edward III yet it is certainly limited to be within a year.' In answer to the argument, that if that prorogation be null and void, then things are just as they were before, and therefore the parliament is still in being. 'My Lords, says he, 'I confess there would be some weight in this but for 'one thing, which is, that not one word of it is true. 'For if, when the King had prorogued us, we had 'taken no notice of the prorogation, but had gone on 'like a parliament, and had adjourned ourselves *de die 'in diem*, then I confess things had been just as they 'were before; but since upon the prorogation we went 'away, and took no care of ourselves for our meeting 'again, if we cannot meet and act by virtue of that 'prorogation, there is an impossibility of our meeting 'and acting any other way. One may as properly say, 'that a man who is killed by assault is still alive, because 'he is killed unlawfully, as that the parliament is still 'alive, because the prorogation is unlawful. The next 'argument that those are reduced to, who would maintain this to be yet a parliament, is, that the parliament 'is prorogued *sine die*, and therefore the King may call 'them again by proclamation. In the first part of this 'proposition I shall not only agree with them, but also 'do them the favour to prove that it is so in the eye of 'the law, which I never heard they have yet done. 'For the statutes say, that *a parliament shall be holden 'once within a year*, and the prorogation having put 'them off till a day without the year, and consequently 'excepted against by the law, that day in the eye of 'the law is no day at all, that is, *sine die*: And the 'prorogation might as well have put them off till so 'many months after Doom's day; and then I think no 'body would have doubted but that would have been 'a very sufficient dissolution. In confirmation of this 'he observes, that the usual way of dissolving parliaments formerly was, the King desired them to go home 'till he sent for them again, which is a dismission *sine 'die*.' Lastly, in answer to the Precedent in Queen Elizabeth's time, when the parliament was once prorogued three days beyond a year, he observes it was done in a hurry, in the time of a very great plague; the mistake was not attended to then, nor taken notice of afterwards, otherwise than that Queen Elizabeth would have given a lawful remedy. But this supposition of the Duke's is a little too hard to be digested. It is certainly much more probable, that, in this prorogation, the necessity of the occasion [the plague] was considered, which put the case properly within the prerogative. And it is well known, that Queen Elizabeth exerted the prerogative oftener than any of her successors, but without giving any offence or raising any jealousies, for this reason, because in every instance the equity and justice of the proceeding was notoriously evident. Whence our Duke's conclusion seems to be too hasty, in saying, that we must either allow the statutes made in that particular session in Queen Elizabeth's time to be void, or lay it down for a maxim, that the Kings of England, by a particular order of theirs, have power to break all the laws of England when they please. He concludes with observing, that it is no disrespect to his Majesty to say he is bound up by the laws; that, if nothing of all he had urged were true, they should not find any honourable excuse for acting again with the House of Commons; and that nothing could be more dangerous than the making laws by an assembly whose power is doubtful, and therefore, says he, it would be in us inexcusable if we should overlook this danger, since there is for it so easy a remedy, which the law requires, and which all the nation longs for, that is, The calling of a new parliament (47).

(46) Having called them the ancient statutes of the realm, he observes by the way, that statutes are not like women, for they are not one jot the worse for being old.

(47) This speech is also printed in his works, as before.

[*T*] *A discourse concerning the reasonableness of men's having some religion.*] In this piece the Duke having made use of the common argument, though in an uncommon

To this there coming out preſently, in 4to, *A ſhort anſwer to the Duke of Buckingham his Grace's paper concerning religion, toleration, and liberty of conſcience*, the Duke wrote a reply in 4to, entitled, *The Duke of Buckingham his Grace's letter to the unknown author of the paper, entitled*, A ſhort anſwer. Immediately after which there was publiſhed, *A reply to his Grace the Duke of Buckingham's letter to the Author of a paper, entitled*, A ſhort anſwer to his Grace's diſcourſe concerning religion, in folio. At the death of King Charles, falling into an ill ſtate of health *(oo)*, he went into the country to his own manor of *Helmeſley* in Yorkſhire. King Charles was his beſt friend; he loved him, and excuſed his faults; he was not ſo ſure of his ſucceſſor, whoſe emiſſary father *Fitzgerald*, ſent to convert him in his ſickneſs, he had ſo ſhamefully foiled by an inimitable turn of wit *(pp)*. During this retirement he wrote a piece, which was publiſhed in 1687, entitled, *A Demonſtration of the Deity*. In the country he generally paſſed his time in hunting and entertaining his friends, which he did a fortnight before his death as pleaſantly and hoſpitably as ever he did in his life. But one day, after fox-hunting, he took cold by ſitting on the cold ground, which threw him into an ague and fever that carried him off, after three days ſickneſs, at a tenant's houſe, *Kirkby-moor-ſide*, a lordſhip of his own near *Helmeſley*, April 16, 1688, ætat. 60 *(qq)*. The day before his death he ſent to his old ſervant Mr *Brian Fairfax*, to deſire him to provide him a bed at his houſe at Biſhop-hill in York; but the next morning the ſame man returned with the news that his life was deſpaired of. Mr *Fairfax* went poſt, but before he got to him he was ſpeechleſs. The *Earl* of *Arran*, ſon to *Duke Hamilton*, was with him; who, hearing he was ſick, viſited him in his way to Scotland. When Mr Fairfax came, the Duke knew him, looked earneſtly at him, but could not ſpeak. Mr Fairfax aſked a gentleman there preſent, a Juſtice of peace, and a worthy diſcreet man in the neighbourhood, what he had ſaid or done before he became ſpeechleſs; who told him that ſome queſtions had been aſked him about his eſtate; to which he gave no anſwer. Then he was admoniſhed of the danger he was in, which he ſeemed not to apprehend: he was aſked if he would have the miniſter of the pariſh ſent for to pray with him; to which he gave no anſwer; which made another queſtion be aſked, if he would have a Popiſh Prieſt; to which he anſwered with great vehemence, no, no! repeating the words he would have nothing to do with them. Then the aforeſaid gentleman, *Mr Gibſon*, aſked him again if he would have the miniſter ſent for; and he calmly anſwered, *yes, pray ſend for him*. This was in

(oo) Nevill Payne's letter to him, mentioned in remark [T]

(pp) Every body knows his Grace's excellent banter of Tranſubſtantiation, by proving a cork which he held in his hand to be a horſe, according to that doctrine. He publiſhed the diſpute, with the title of An Account of a Conference, &c. printed in his works, Vol. II.

(qq) Memoirs, P. 38.

common way, againſt the eternity of the world from its mutability, the author of the ſhort anſwer obſerves, that, had he been to treat with Atheiſts, he would have urged to them, that it is impoſſible this world ſhould be eternal, becauſe then it muſt alſo be inviſible. To which the Duke replies thus (48): 'My nameleſs, angry, harmleſs humble Servant, I have twice read over, 'with a great deal of patience, a paper of yours, 'which you call An Anſwer to A Diſcourſe of mine: 'And to my confuſion muſt own, that I am not able 'to comprehend what part of my diſcourſe it is you 'do anſwer, nor in all yours what it is you mean. 'Having this confeſſion, you ought not to be offended 'at me if I cannot remember it neither. And yet 'there is one paſſage in it which I ſhall never forget, 'becauſe it does in a moſt extraordinary manner delight 'me: It is this ſhrewd convincing argument of yours, 'which you ſay, had you been to treat with Atheiſts, '&c. It is, I ſwear, a refined quaint kind of notion, 'which, to do you juſtice, I do verily believe is intirely 'your own. Yet, for all this, I cannot be abſolutely 'convinced, that I am now the ſame George Duke of 'Buckingham that I was forty years ago: And, to ſhew 'you I am in earneſt, I do here promiſe you, that if 'you do for me a favour leſs difficult, which is to make 'me the ſame *George* Duke of *Buckingham* I was but 'twenty years ago, I will (as poor a man as I am) give 'you a thouſand guineas for your pains, and that is 'ſomewhat more, I am afraid, than you will ever get 'by your writings.' Which the aforeſaid anonymous replier returns in theſe terms: 'But, not to be wholly 'contradictory to his Grace's opinion, as his Grace is 'pleaſed to expreſs his great difficulty of believing 'himſelf the ſame *George Duke of B*——— which 'he was twenty years ago, there indeed I muſt join 'with him, it being too apparently true, that his Grace 'has not been the ſame five years ago that he was 'twenty-five, which all men that have had the honour 'of knowing his Grace at *Whitehall* in 60, and at '*Dowgate*, will juſtify for me.' In 1686 there came out A defence *of the Duke*, intitled *A letter from Nevill Payne to a domeſtick of the Duke of Buckingham, upon occaſion of his Grace's diſcourſe concerning Toleration*, which is exactly in the Duke's vein. He begins with declaring himſelf enraged to ſee ſo great a peer treated with ſo little reſpect, eſpecially in a public good, that may compoſe animoſities and prevent diſtractions. Entering then into the merits of the argument, he ſhews the anſwerer's falſe conceit, that Toleration is admitted no where but in commonwealths; and having obſerved that Caviniſts, Lutherans, &c. ſubſiſt in Poland and Germany together with Catholics, he enquires why the church of England will not admit competitors. The cauſe, ſays he, is viſible, The church of England is only a *Court* Invention, and their Miniſters are a ſort of eccleſiaſtical guard to the Prince. When Henry VIII. was firſt poſſeſſed by his ſcruples, like *Numa* conſulting with his goddeſs, he aſked advice of their oracle, which he knew would ſuit with his own opinion; and this made them acceptable, eſpecially when ſacrilege, that was no little game with our courtiers and gentry, countenanced the innovation. He then obſerves, that this turn produced a deluge of wild conceits in religion. While the Diſſenter contemns all forms of prayer as inſipid, and without edification; the Churchman, in anſwer, produceth authority and antiquity from Catholic authors. But when the Papiſt returns his own arguments againſt his novelty, then he turns fanatic, and believes no more than reaſon and ſenſe; which in different terms is the Quaker's light within, or the Preſbyterian's divine impulſe or illumination. Conſidering then that ſhe [the church of England] cannot ſubſiſt but by a regal power and aſſiſtance, ſhe cannot admit a Toleration, whereby her ſpecious pretences would be diſcovered. On the other hand he further obſerves, that a Prince, who will be engaged for her cauſe, muſt diſoblige the greateſt part of the nation. And therefore it cannot be for the ſecurity of the King to uphold a *Court* religion, becauſe his ſubjects will be always jealous of them both, ſince theſe are ready for their own intereſt and lucre to preach the Prince's will for Goſpel; as in my hearing, before Charles I. Dr *Sheldon*, the late Archbiſhop, upon the text of Samuel, *Hoc eſt Domini regis*—proved that Kings might take away any man's poſſeſſions. Beſides, it is impoſſible that any ſecurity can be to a *Proteſtant King*, becauſe the Diſſenters, being more numerous, will be always plotting his deſtruction, as they did to Charles I. and were near accompliſhing that of Charles II. How much better is it that things purely ſo be committed to them that are *truly* Eccleſiaſtics; wherein the Prince is freed from the vain ſcruples and pretenſions of his ſubjects in religion. This was perfectly a-la-mode de Cour, when an univerſal Toleration as is here recommended was then actually granted, and the King [James] had delivered himſelf up abſolutely to theſe true Eccleſiaſtics. Mr Nevill Payne therefore concludes with the following Eloge upon that Monarch: *When the King gives the beſt example of piety, and the greateſt devotion, he ſhews us how much need we have of God's grace and mercy* (49).

(48) Mr Walpole juſtly gives this the character of a ludicrous and very good anſwer. Catalogue of royal and noble authors, ubi ſupra.

(49) The Duke, it ſeems, was out of health at this time. For Mr Payne concludes with wiſhing him a good recovery.

the

the morning, and he died that night. The miniſter came and did the office enjoined by the church; the Duke devoutly attending it, and receiving the ſacrament, an hour after which he became ſpeechleſs; but appearing ſenſible, the prayers of the church were repeated by his bed-ſide, recommending him to the mercy of God through the merits of Jeſus Chriſt. Thus he died quietly in his bed, the fate of few of his predeceſſors in the title of Buckingham. His body was embalmed, and brought to Weſtminſter-abbey, and there laid in the vault, with his father and brothers, in Henry VIIth's chapel (*rr*). The world has been ſevere in cenſuring his faults and foibles [*U*], but not ſo juſt in noting his good qualities. This is well remarked by Mr Fairfax (*ss*), who has therefore thought proper to do him that juſtice. For his perſon, ſays this faithful friend, he was the glory of the age and of any court wherever he came; of a moſt graceful and charming mien and behaviour, a ſtrong, tall, and active body, all which gave a luſtre to the ornaments of his mind; of an admirable wit and excellent judgment; and had all other qualities of a gentleman. He was courteous and affable to all; of a compaſſionate nature, ready to forgive and forget injuries. What was ſaid of a great man in the court of Queen Elizabeth, that he uſed to vent his diſcontents at court by retiring from company and writing ſonnets, may be ſaid of him; but when he was provoked

(*rr*) Memoirs, P. 38.

(*ss*) Ibid.

[*U*] *The world has been ſevere in cenſuring his faults and foibles.*] In 1679 there came out a piece, intitled, *The Litany of the Duke of B———*, expoſing the moſt flagrant faults and follies in the courſe of his life. This moſt virulent foul-mouthed ſatire, containing ſeveral facts in the Duke's life, being very ſcarce, we ſhall preſent the Reader with it, relying upon his candor for the ſame apology as is conſtantly made for the Roman ſatiriſt Juvenal in the like caſe. It runs thus:

From a ſenſual, proud, atheiſtical life,
From arming our lacquies with piſtol and knife,
From murthering the huſband, and whoring the wife,
Libera nos Domine.

From going Ambaſſador only as Panders,
From rekilling dead Kings with monſtrous ſlanders,
From betraying the living in Scotland and Flanders,
Libera nos &c.

From a wild rambling no-where abode,
Without day or night, nor at home nor abroad,
From a Prince to unhorſe us in Dover road,
Libera nos &c.

From crowning the herſe of our babe of adultery,
By an infamous ſervant to a Lord of the prelacy,
Whom we got caſhiered for carnal arſery,
Libera nos &c.

From ſelling land of twice ten thouſand a year,
All ſpent no mortal can tell how or where,
And then reform kingdoms as a ſanctified Peer,
Libera nos &c.

From monſtrous ſucking till both tongues have bliſters,
From making our boaſts of giving three gliſters,
By giving of claps to three cheated ſiſters,
Libera nos &c.

From tranſpoſing of nature upon the Bum Gers,
On Keniſon *acting both Venus and Mars,*
From owning twenty other men's farce,
Libera nos &c.

From wretched paſquils on Shadwell *and* Dryden,
From caſting nativities with learned Heydon,
And caſting of dollars at Antwerp and Leyden,
Libera nos &c.

From trembling at ſea when not a gun roar'd,
And then ſteal aſhore by breaking our word,
With damm me if ever you catch me aboard,
Libera nos &c.

From being ſtill cheated by the ſame Undertakers,
By Levellers, Bawds, Saints, Chymiſts, and Quakers,
Who make us gold-finders, and themſelves gold-makers,
Libera nos &c.

From damning whatever we don't underſtand,
From purchaſing at Dowgate, and ſelling in the Strand,
Calling ſtreets by our name, when we have ſold the land (50), *Libera nos &c.*

From barring our own houſe to treat Scholars ill,
And then be unchancellor'd againſt our will,
Nought left of a College but our own College-hill,
Libera nos &c.

From judging of Judges in a ſenſeleſs ſpeech,
From following S—, that regaling leech,
Becauſe, being twins, both ſuck'd the ſame bitch,
Libera nos &c.

From mortally hating all thoſe that love us,
From mimical acting all thoſe above us,
Till the maſter at laſt is forc'd to remove us,
Libera nos &c.

From cringing to thoſe we ſcorn to condemn,
In hopes to be made the Citizens gem,
Who now ſcorn us more than e'er we did them,
Libera nos &c.

From ſneaking 'twixt Caſtle-yard and Vandeput,
From telling of tales when we have been at Rut,
And ramming three candles into one Lady's ſcut,
Libera nos &c.

From beginning an execrable traiterous health,
To deſtroy the parliament, King, and himſelf,
To be made Ducal Peer of a new Commonwealth,
Libera nos &c.

From changing old Friends for raſcally new ones,
From taking Wildman *and* Marvel *for true ones,*
From wearing green Ribbons 'gainſt him that gave blue ones, Libera nos &c.

From lodging at Court before we are ſent for,
For ſelling ſix palaces for leſs than they rent for,
And buying three hillocks (51) *for three Kings of Brentford, Libera nos &c.*

From learning new morals from Bedlam Sir Peyton,
Or truth and modeſty from Elwys Leyton,
From making our heirs to be Morris *and* Clayton,
Libera nos &c.

(50) Yorkhouſe, now York-buildings, conſiſts of George-ſtreet, Villiers-ſtreet, Duke-ſtreet, of Alley, and Buckingham-ſtreet.

(51) Viz. Sionhill, College-hill, and Chiefden-hill.

A late elegant writer obſerves, that the Duke's portrait has been drawn by four maſterly hands. *Burnet* has hewn it out with his rough chiſſel, *Count Hamilton* touched it with a ſlight delicacy, that finiſhes while it ſeems but to ſketch. *Dryden* catched the living likeneſs. *Pope* completed the hiſtorical reſemblance (52). But, however unſparingly cruel theſe may be in the deſign, they are all exceeded by this writer himſelf in the cruelty of the execution. 'When this extraordinary man, 'ſays he, with the figure and genius of Alcibiades, 'could equally charm the Preſbyterian *Fairfax* and diſſolute *Charles*, when he alike ridiculed that witty 'King and his ſolemn Chancellor; when he plotted 'the ruin of his country with a *Cabal* of bad miniſters, 'and, equally unprincipled, ſupported its cauſe with 'bad patriots, one laments that ſuch parts ſhould have 'been devoid of every virtue. But, when Alcibiades 'turns chymiſt, when he is a real bubble and a viſionary 'miſer, when ambition is but a frolic, when the worſt 'deſigns are for the vileſt ends, contempt extinguiſhes 'all reflection on his character (53).' This laſt thruſt is aimed to give his memory ſuch a mortal ſtab, as had been given to his father's life by Felton, upon whom we have a commendatory epitaph, aſcribed to the ſon, which though the Editor thinks (54), in favour of the Duke, could not be written by him, yet Mr Walpole declares he knows no principle the Duke had to prevent his being the author. Indeed, ſays he, it is more bombaſt than offenſive.

(52) Burnet, in Hiſt. of his own times. Hamilton's ſketch is, that, full of wit and ſpirit, he laviſhed away, without noiſe, the vaſt riches he was entered upon. Memoirs of Count de Gramont, p. 94. Edit. 1714. Dryden's ſatire has been already mentioned, and Pope's will be ſeen in the next remark.

(53) Catalogue of royal and noble authors, *ubi ſupra.*

(54) Thomas Brown, who ſays he had ſeen it aſcribed to the Duke in ſeveral MS. collections of ſtate poems, then in the cuſtody of ſome curious gentlemen, and printed as the Duke's, in a Miſcellany, publiſhed in 1692, by Peter Buck. Memoirs of the Duke of Buckingham, prefixed to his works.

by

by the malice of ſome, and ingratitude of others, he might ſhew, that a good-natured man might have an ill-natured muſe. His charitable diſpoſition he ſeemed to inherit from his grandfather, Francis Earl of Rutland, who uſed every quarter-day at London to ſend his ſteward with bags of money to ſeveral priſons, to relieve priſoners and pay their debts, bidding them thank God, and pray for their benefactor, but not telling them who he was. The Duke, continues this writer, was a man of great courage. One inſtance of which was, that when a melancholy mad ſervant aſſaulted him with a drawn ſword in his hand, while he was at ſupper, he with a knife diſarmed him. The character which Sir Henry Wotton gives of his father might be ſaid of him: 'Among all the favourites which mine eyes have 'ſeen in diverſe courts and times, I never ſaw before a ſtrong heart and eminent condition, 'ſo clearly void of all pride and ſhocking arrogance, either in his face or in his faſhion.' It is to be wiſhed the reſt of his father's character had been as true of him; his diligence and application to buſineſs, and that he had left his few honeſt ſervants in as good fortune as reputation, who never wronged him in his eſtate, nor flattered him in his faults, and thought they eſcaped well in not being oppreſſed under the ruins of his fortune. His father had two crimes objected againſt him, which he was not guilty of; plurality of offices, and preferring his relations. The faults objected to him were, that he loved women and ſpent his eſtate. His eſtate was his own: He had often loſt it for the King, and might now be allowed to enjoy it himſelf. If he was *ſui profuſus*, he never was *alieni appetens*. If he was extravagant in ſpending, he was juſt in paying his debts, and at his death charged them on his eſtate, leaving much more than enough to pay them [*W*]. 'If he was a 'grievance, as he told the Houſe of Commons *(tt)*, he was the cheapeſt to the public that 'ever was complained of.' He had no children by his Dutcheſs, nor heirs capable of inheriting his eſtate or title. His amours were too notorious to be concealed, and too ſcandalous to be juſtified by ſaying he was bred in the latitude of foreign climates, and now lived in a vicious age and court, where his accuſers of this crime were as guilty as himſelf. He lay under ſo ill a name for this, that whenever he was ſhut up in his chamber, as he loved to be *neſcio quid meditans nugarum*, or in his laboratory over the fumes of charcoal, it was ſaid to be with women; when a dirty chymiſt (*), a fox-hunter, a pretender to poetry or politicks, a rehearſal, ſhould entertain him, while a meſſenger to ſummon him to Council could not be admitted. This is true of him, that, of all the noiſe made of his loving women, he never had ſo much as a baſtard laid to his charge that he or any body elſe believed to be his own. Some pretended to love his perſon, but it was his eſtate which ſmarted for it. It is hard to tell by his expence *(uu)* which was his favourite pleaſure: I think his chymiſtry at home, and fox-hunting abroad. I will conclude his character with ſaying, that if human frailty will not excuſe theſe faults, let Chriſtian charity oblige us to hope, that as God gave him time, he gave him alſo the grace of true repentance. His wife Mary, Dutcheſs of Buckingham, was a moſt virtuous and pious Lady in a vicious age and court: If ſhe had any of the vanities, ſhe had certainly none of the vices of it. The Duke and ſhe lived lovingly and decently together; ſhe patiently bearing with thoſe faults in him which ſhe could not remedy. She ſurvived him many years, and died near St James's at Weſtminſter, and was buried in the vault of the family of the Villiers in Henry VIIth's chapel, anno 1705, ætat. 66 *(ww)*. Moſt of the productions of the Duke's pen were collected and publiſhed, not many years after his deceaſe, in two volumes 8vo; the ſecond edition of which came out in 1704; and the third in 1715 [*X*]: And there is another edition now [1762] in the preſs.

(*) In 1673 his chymiſt was one Robert Bathurſt, an Iriſhman, a kinſman of Dr Ralph Bathurſt, ſome time Preſident of Trinity-college in Oxford. See the Doctor's article in the Appendix.

(*tt*) See remark [*Z*].

(*uu*) Among other unaccountable extravagancies, he fell into a new way of expence, in building in that ſort of architecture which Cicero calls *infame ſubſtructiones*; and himſelf, when his friends diſſuaded him from it, called it his Folly. Fairfax, p. 35.

(*ww*) Id. p. 39.

[*W*] *Leaving much more than enough to pay his debts.*] The above authentic account of the circumſtances of his Grace's exit furniſhes a very neceſſary key to the deſcription given of it by Mr Pope in the following lines:

In the worſt Inn's worſt room, with mat half hung,
The floors of plaiſter, and the walls of dung;
On once a flock-bed, but repaired with ſtraw,
With tape-tied curtains never meant to draw;
The George and Garter dangling from that bed,
Where tawdry yellow ſtrove with dirty red,
Great VILLIERS *lies—alaſs, how chang'd from him,*
That life of pleaſure, and that ſoul of whim!
Gallant and gay in Cliveden's *proud alcove,*
The bower of wanton Shrewſbury, *and love;*
Or juſt as gay at Council, in a ring
Of mimick'd ſtateſmen and their merry King.
No wit to flatter left of all his ſtore!
No fool to laugh at, which he valued more.
There, victor of his health, of fortune, friends,
And fame, this Lord of uſeleſs thouſands ends.
His Grace's fate ſage Cutler *could foreſee,*
And well (he thought) adviſ'd him, Live like me.
As well his Grace replied, Like you Sir John!
That I can do when all I have is gone.
Reſolve me, Reaſon, which of theſe is worſe,
Want with a full or with an empty purſe (55).

(55) Epiſt. 3. to Allen Lord Bathurſt, ver. 299, et ſeqq.

We have already obſerved, that this excellent Poet frequently over-ſeaſoned his ſatires with gall (56). Whether in this inſtance it does not ſink into a libel waits the deciſion of Biſhop Warburton, the undertaker of this Poet's *honeſt* fame.

(56) Pope's article, rem. [*AA*].

[*X*] *His works.*] Theſe volumes are a Bookſeller's Miſcellany, containing various ſpeeches, poems, &c. The chief of thoſe which belong to his Grace have been mentioned in the courſe of this memoir, except *An eſſay on human reaſon, addreſſed to Martin Clifford, Eſq*; Five letters on election affairs, Ten little burleſque and ſatirical palms: In the ſecond volume. And in the firſt, Four poems by the Duke and Lord Rocheſter; *upon nothing, a Seſſion of the Poets, a Satire on the follies of the men of the age, Timon, a ſatire on ſome new plays*, and a poem, entitled, The loſt miſtreſs, a complaint againſt the Counteſs of ——, 1675. This was probably the Counteſs of Shrewſbury, whoſe Lord he killed in a duel on her account, and who is ſaid to have held the Duke's horſe, diſguiſed like a page, during the combat; to reward his proweſs in which, ſhe went to bed to him in the ſhirt ſtained with her huſband's blood. We have alſo, of the Duke's writing, A demonſtration of the Deity: As alſo Verſes on two lines of Mr Edward Howard, printed in the third part of Miſcellanies in 1693: And a Letter to Sir Thomas Oſborn. All mentioned by the Catalogue of royal and noble Authors. In the Gazetteer for Feb. 24, 1759, was inſerted the following challenge, ſaid to be ſent by his Grace ſometimes (57) to a young Lady on Valentine's day:

Brimfull of anger, not of love,
The Champion ſends his Foe One glove:

(57) *In the London Magazine* for that month the verſes are aſcribed to the late Dr B——y.

But I, that have a double ſhare
Of ſofter paſſion, ſend a pair.
Nor think it, deareſt Delia, cruel,
That I invite you to a duel;
Ready to meet you, face to face,
At any time, in any place;

Nor ſhall I leave you in the lurch,
Though you ſhould dare to fix the Church:
There come equipt with all your charms,
A ring and licence are my arms;
I will th'unequal conteſt try,
Reſolv'd to fight, though ſure to die.

P

USHER [JAMES], the pious and learned Archbiſhop of Armagh in Ireland, was born on the 4th of January, 1580, in the pariſh of St Nicholas in the city of Dublin, where his father, Mr Arnold Uſher, was one of the ſix Clerks in Chancery, a gentleman of a good eſtate and reputation, and deſcended of a very ancient family, which in England bore the name of Nevil, till the reign of Henry II, when it was changed by one of his anceſtors, who about the year 1185, paſſing with Prince [afterwards King] John in quality of Uſher into Ireland, ſettled there by the name of his office (*a*), and his deſcendents ſpreading into ſeveral branches, filled the moſt conſiderable poſts in and about Dublin for many ages (*b*), to the time of our Author, whoſe perſonal merit will appear in the ſequel to have reflected an honour upon his deſcent. He had excellent natural endowments, with a moſt tractable temper. The firſt ſteps of his education were diſtinguiſhed by ſome remarkable incidents. Having learned to read from two of his maternal aunts (*c*), who were both blind from their cradle. He had the good fortune to be prepared at the age of eight years, to be taken into a very good ſchool, opened at that time by two eminent ſcholars [*A*], ſent by James I, then King of Scotland, to keep up a correſpondence with the nobility and gentry about Dublin, in order to ſecure his intereſt in that country, in the view of his eventual ſucceſſion to the Crown of England. Under theſe maſters our young genius advanced ſo quick in the rudiments of claſſical learning, that the College of Dublin being compleated in 1593, he was found qualified to be then admitted, at the age of thirteen, the firſt ſcholar upon that foundation (*d*); the charter of which had been obtained from Queen Elizabeth by an uncle of his own name, and his predeceſſor in the ſee of Armagh [*B*]; and Mr James Hamilton, one

(*a*) This was a practice much uſed in thoſe early ages, to which no doubt the ambition of founding a family was the great motive.

(*b*) Parr's Life of our Archbiſhop, p. 1, Edit. 1686. fol.

(*c*) That is, ſiſters to his mother, Margaret, daughter of James Stanyhurſt, Eſq, Recorder of Dublin, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in three Parliaments, and a Maſter in Chancery. Vita Uſſerii a T. Smith, p. 5, 6, Edit. 1707.

(*d*) There were three admitted; but Uſher's name is ſtill ſtanding at the head of all in the College-Regiſter. Letter 240 in Parr's Collection. Sir James Ware ſays, they were admitted in this order, Walſh, Uſher, Lee.

[*A*] *Two eminent ſcholars.*] Their names were *James Fullerton* and *James Hamilton*, both young Scotch gentlemen. This employment was made uſe of for a colour; good ſchoolmaſters being then much wanted in Ireland. They were afterwards both knighted by King James; and the firſt being appointed of the bedchamber to his Majeſty, the other was at length created, by that King, Viſcount Chandebois. The Archbiſhop always recounted this as a remarkable inſtance of God's providence towards him (1).

(1) Parr's life of Uſher, as above, p. 2.

[*B*] *An uncle of his name, and his predeceſſor in the ſee of Armagh.*] His name was Henry Uſher, he had been bred at Cambridge, from whence he went to Paris to compleat his education. And was at that time Archdeacon of Dublin, having been deputed before to Queen *Elizabeth*, upon an affair relating to St *Patrick*'s church (2), which he managed with the ſame ſucceſs as he afterwards met with in this of the college. *Henry Fitz-Simons* (of whom hereafter) tells a ſtory, which muſt reſt upon his authority (3), that, when the Archbiſhop had ſpent a conſiderable time in writing a work againſt Cardinal *Bellarmin*, all his papers were forced away by his wife, who threw them into the fire, alledging, that the match was unequal between a man who, having a great family of children, was continually interrupted by his domeſtic affairs, and one who was entirely free from all earthly cares. Mr *Bayle* (4) has ſpent a long note to ſhew, that this Lady's argument, though plauſible in the theory, was not well grounded in fact and experience. This, I believe, would be thought meer trifling at this time of day, at leaſt in England, ſince it is nothing elſe than giving a liſt of all the beſt Proteſtant writers of our church, ſome of whom (as *Hooker*) have been as much exerciſed by their wives as Socrates. But *Bayle* (as is well known) frequently launches out into ſuch reaſonings chiefly for the ſake of ſome piece of wit, as here he concludes with obſerving, that *Bellarmin* had not ſo much leiſure as the Archbiſhop's lady imagined. 'Here 'follows, continues he, a paſſage I met with in a piece, 'publiſhed in 1625 (5). Cardinal Bellarmin, of pious 'memory, ſaid often to the moſt illuſtrious Cardinal 'Rochefoucault, 'I aſſure you, my Lord, that I am 'oppreſſed with people and viſits, and muſt needs con'feſs there are too many Chriſtians in the world. 'Monſignore veramente ci ſono troppo Chriſtiani al mondo.' But to return to the proper buſineſs of this remark, the foundation of Dublin-college; to ſollicit which our Archdeacon went to England in 1590, and returned to Dublin with the charter, dated March 30, 1592. He was promoted immediately from the archdeaconry, by a rare example, to the primacy in Auguſt, 1595, and died April 2, 1613, leaving a ſon, *Robert Uſher*, who being bred at Dublin-college, was firſt choſen Fellow, and afterwards, by the intereſt of his couſin James, unanimouſly elected *Provoſt* of the ſociety in 1629, whence he was advanced to the biſhoprick of *Derry* in 1634. But in the Iriſh rebellion, in 1641, retiring to England, he died there towards the latter end of the next year, at Bridgenorth in Shropſhire (6). This is related by Dr Thomas Smith, who likewiſe obſerves, that the Dublin-college was firſt founded by *Alexander Bicknor*, Archbiſhop of Dublin, in 1320, and that this foundation being intirely demoliſhed, the firſt motion in parliament for reſtoring it was made in 1569, by Dr James Uſher's father-in-law, James Stanyhurſt, Eſq; (7), who died at Dublin, Dec. 27, 1575, aged fifty-one years (8). So that our Archbiſhop had a double title to the favour mentioned in the text. His father-in-law had a ſon, named Richard, who, being a man of diſtinguiſhed learning, and much reſpected on that account by his nephew, our Archbiſhop, who held a correſpondence with him, deſerves ſome notice to be taken of him here. He was born in Dublin in 1547; and having been bred at ſchool under the famous *Peter White* (9), became a Commoner of Univerſity-college, Oxon. in 1563, where he wrote *Commentaries on Porphyry* at two years ſtanding. After taking the degree of A. B. he left the college, retired to London, became firſt a Student in *Furnival's* Inn, and afterwards in that of *Lincoln*, where ſpending ſome time in the ſtudy of the common law, he then returned to Ireland. But reſolving to change his religion, he went into the Low-countries, France, and elſewhere, being then a married man. Upon the death of his wife, he was made Chaplain to the *Archduke of Auſtria*, who gave him a handſome ſalary. He died at Bruſſels in 1618, with the character of an excellent Theologiſt, Grecian, Philoſopher, Hiſtorian, and Orator (10). He is the Author of the following pieces: 1ſt, *Harmonia, ſive catena Dialectica in Porphyrianas conſtitutiones* (11), Lond. 1570, fol. 2d, *De rebus in Hibernia geſtis* (12), lib. 4. Antw. 1584. 4to. To which is annexed, *Rerum Hibernicarum Appendix ex Silveſtro Giraldo Cambrenſi collecta cum annotationibus adjectis*. 3d, *Deſcriptio Hiberniæ*, of which an Engliſh tranſlation was inſerted in *Holingſhead's Chronicle*, Vol. I. Lond. 1586, fol. 4th, *De vita S. Patricii Hiberniæ Apoſtoli*, lib. 2. Antw. 1587. 5th, *Hebdomada Mariana, ex orthodoxii catholicæ Rom. eccleſiæ patribus collecta &c.* Antw. 1609, 8vo. 6th, *Hebdomada Euchariſtica*, Dunc. 1614, 8vo. 7th, *Brevis præmunitio pro futura concertatione cum Jacobo Uſſerio* (13), Dunci, 1615, in about three ſheets 8vo. 8th, *The principles of the Catholic religion*. 9th, He alſo tranſlated into Engliſh heroical blank verſe, *the firſt four books of Virgil's Æneis*, Lond. 1583,

(2) The affair of St Patrick's church related to its revenues, which he ſaved out of the hands of Sir John Perrot, then Deputy, who had reſolved to ſeize them for the public ſervice. Uſſerii vita, a T. Smith, p. 10.

(3) In Britonomach. Miniſtrorum, lib. 3. cap. 6. p. 348.

(4) Note [*B*] in the article of Henry Uſher.

(5) Intitled Reſponſeaux demandes d'un grand prelat touchant la hierarchie de l'egliſe, & la juſte defenſe des privileigiez & des religieux, p. 204, 205.

(6) Jacobi Uſſerii vita, a T. Smith, p. 11.

(7) Id. p. 7.

(8) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 443.

(9) He was born in Ireland, became Fellow of Oriel college in Oxford in 1551, and A. M. in 1556, and Dean of Waterford, from both which being ejected for Popery by Queen Elizabeth, he afterwards taught ſchool at Munſter, and was much encouraged by the Popiſh gentry and nobility. Id. col. 249.

(10) Camden ſtiles him *Eruditiſſimus ille nobilis Rich. Staniheuſtus*. In Hibernia, in com. Weſt-Meath.

(11) This being communicated to Edm. Campian before it went to the preſs, he gave a great character of the Author. In Epiſt. ſuis editis. Ingolſt. 1602, p. 50.

(12) Dedicated to his brother, Baron of Dunſany.

(13) This piece accordingly was to have been followed by another, which was expected by our Author in vain. See remark [O].

one of his ſchoolmaſters, being at the ſame time made Senior Fellow of the Society, and a Profeſſor of Philoſophy, was appointed his tutor (e). In the beginning of his ſtudies he was particularly fond of poetry, and loſt too much time in diverſions (f); but was reclaimed by a paſſage he luckily met with in *Cicero* (g), which putting him upon the peruſal of *Sleidan de quatuor Monarchiis:* this gave him a ſtrong inclination to the ſtudy of hiſtory, which he proſecuted with an almoſt unexampled vigour. In this purſuit, beginning at fourteen years of age to make extracts from all the hiſtorical books he could meet with, he placed the facts in a chronological order for the aſſiſtance of his memory [C]. In the mean time, he did not neglect the neceſſary academical ſciences, and having made a ſuitable progreſs in logick and the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, he took the degree of A.B. in 1586 (b), and immediately applied himſelf to the ſtudy of divinity, chiefly upon the controverted points between the Roman Catholic and Reformed Churches, his country being then moſtly inclined to Popery. However, in 1598, he held the part of Reſpondent with great applauſe in the philoſophy act, that was performed in compliment to the *Earl* of *Eſſex*, upon his firſt coming over Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (i), and Chancellor of the Univerſity of Dublin. Our ſtudent the ſame year, upon the death of his father, who had deſigned him for his own profeſſion, the Common Law (k), diſcovered an uncommon degree of reſolution and firmneſs of mind. The paternal eſtate, which deſcended to him as eldeſt ſon and heir, he reſigned, though of conſiderable value, to his younger brother [D]: and reſerving only ſo much of it as was neceſſary to ſupport him in a ſtudious life at the college, he followed his own inclination in devoting himſelf to the profeſſion of divinity, and being thereby qualified by the ſtatutes (E), he was admitted Fellow of the Society. The proficiency he made in this ſtudy, was anſwerable to his reſolution. At the age of eighteen, our ſtripling entered the liſts with *Henry Fitz-Simons*, a learned Jeſuit, then priſoner in the caſtle of Dublin, who had given a general challenge to defend Bellarmin's principles againſt any oppoſer [F]. The next

(e) Letter 145, p. 412, of his Life by Dr Parr.

(f) Smith tells us, he was much addicted to card-playing. Vitæ Illuſtrium Viror. 1707, 4to, in Vita Uſſerii, p. 15.

(g) The paſſage was this, *Nescire quid ante quam natus ſis, accidere id eſt ſemper eſſe puerum.* Id. ibid.

(b) Viz. anno ætatis decimo ſeptimo. Vita a T. Smith. 16.

(i) Parr, p. 5.

(k) Smith, p. 18.

1583, 8vo. To which he ſubjoined an Engliſh tranſlation of *certain pſalms of David* [the four firſt] *according to the obſervation of the Latin verſes*, that is without rhime. 10th, *Poetical conceits*, Lond. 1583, in Latin and Engliſh. 11th, *Certain epitaphs, framed as well in Latin as Engliſh*, one of which is upon his Father. Mr Wood tells us, that he and *Gab. Harvey* were eſteemed by ſome to be the beſt Poets for Iambics in their age (14).

(14) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 442.

[C] *For the aſſiſtance of his memory.*] Dr Parr informs us (15), that, between the age of fifteen and ſixteen, he had drawn up, in Latin, an exact chronicle of the Bible as far as to the book of Kings, not much different from the method of his annals, only in the enlargement by ſome more accurate obſervations and ſynchroniſms of heathen annals.

(15) In the Abp's life, p. 3.

[D] *He reſigned the paternal eſtate to his younger brother.*] Dr Parr is ſtill our informer, who intimates, that this ſtep was not taken out of an inconſiderate juvenile raſhneſs, but was the effect of a mature deliberation, upon viewing the condition of the eſtate, which he found greatly incumbered with law-ſuits, beſides being loaded with ſiſters portions. That he wrote out a complete terrier of all the eſtate and leaſes, and, to obviate the cenſure of doing any thing raſhly and with precipitation, he drew up an exact ſtate of all the law-ſuits and incumbrances that lay upon it, with directions what to do in them, tranſmitting it to his uncle as guardian for his brother and ſiſters, to be managed for their advantage, which was performed ſo well, that moſt of his ſiſters (of whom he had no leſs than ſeven) were afterwards very well married, and ſome of them to perſons that proved eminently conſiderable in church and ſtate (16). Add to this, that our Author, beſides ſomething for his ſupport at the college, reſerved a ſum to purchaſe books ſufficient to carry on his ſtudies. His younger brother, named *Ambroſe*, was alſo a very deſerving youth, and, being bred at Cambridge, early attained a great ſkill and perfection in the oriental tongues, and rendered a great part of the Old Teſtament from the original Hebrew into Engliſh before King James's tranſlation was made (17), the manuſcript of which Dr Parr had ſeen, being then lodged in the hands of his nephew, Sir *Theophilus Jong*, Knt. one of his Majeſty's privy council in Ireland. Mr Uſher alſo tranſlated, out of Latin into Engliſh, his brother's treatiſe *De Chriſtiana in eccleſiam ſucceſſione et ſtatu*, the manuſcript of which was then extant. We have a Latin letter to the Archbiſhop, written April 9, 1607, by one *William Eyre*, Fellow of Emanuel college in Cambridge, a good judge of oriental learning, wherein Ambroſe's ſkill in the Arabic tongue is ſtrongly intimated, as follows: *Interea vero loci, agnoſco me valde obæratum eſſe et tibi, et doctiſſimo fratri tuo* Ambroſio, *qui peritiſſima manu ſua quædam in uſum meum ex Alcorano Arabice exſcripſit* (18). Theſe early productions gave room to expect many others, had not he been prevented by his death, which cut him off in his youth (19).

(16) Ibid. p. 6.

(17) Dr Smith mentions a Latin tranſlation of *Surata Cavernæ* from the Alcoran, ſome Hebrew and Arabic collections, and an Arabic lexicon, beſides ſome tracts upon various points of Theology of his writing, which are extant in the archives of Dublin-college library. Vita Uſſerii, p. 9.

(18) Collection of letters by Dr Parr, No. III.

(19) Smith, as before.

[E] *Qualified by the ſtatutes.*] By the firſt draught of the ſtatutes all the fellowſhips were appropriated to Divinity, which was afterwards altered by the directions of Dr *Bedel*, the ſecond Provoſt (after Mr Temple (20).) 'I ſuppoſe, ſays that Provoſt in a letter to our Archbiſhop, it hath been an error all this while to neglect the faculties of law and phyſic, and attend only to the ordering of one poor college of Divines. I did communicate the plan of the four faculties (21) to my Lord of Canterbury—who ſeemed not to diſlike it, but required it ſhould be maturely thought of by your Grace and the Univerſity, in which caſe he promiſed his aſſiſtance, if it was judged fit. At that time I left with him the ſtatutes of our College, which I had this winter written out with mine own hand, and cauſed to be fair bound (22).'

(20) Grandfather to Sir W. Temple. See his article.

(21) That is apparently, Philoſophy or Arts, Law, Phyſic, and Divinity.

(22) This letter is dated in 1628, and is the 126th in Dr Parr's collection.

[F] *He held a diſpute with* Henry Fitz-Symonds *&c.*] This challenge by *Fitz-Symonds* is in the dedication of a piece already quoted (23), where he declares he offered to maintain ſuch particulars as were thought by the Proteſtants to be the weakeſt in the Romiſh doctrine, and to attack all thoſe points which they thought to be the ſtrongeſt in their doctrine. 'Donec ego (ſays he) *cauſæ bonitate ſuffultus defendere quicquid inter nos infirmiſſimum, vel impugnare quicquid inter ipſos tutiſſimum reputant, in me reciperem.* The Jeſuit then proceeds to give an account of his diſpute in theſe terms: *Sed neque in ſpecula eminentem videre, neque in caſtris, clauſiſque Stentoria ut agnoſcunt voce provocantem, exaudire voluerunt. Prodiit quidem ſemel in ſumma vocis vultuſque trepidatione octodenarius præcocis ſapientiæ (non tamen malæ ut videbatur indolis) Juvenis, neſcio an auræ popularis cupidior, ſaltem de abſtruſiſſimis rebus Theologicis, cum adhuc philoſophica ſtudia non eſſet emenſus, nec Ephebis egreſſus, diſputandi avidus &c. Hunc autem Juſſi ſuorum calculos aſſervere, quibus pugil ſeu agoniſta idoneus renunciaretur, et vel cum ipſo diſputationem me initurum. Sed ſicut Ipſi eum minime tanto honore dignati ſunt, ita me vicliſſim ſua deinceps præſentia dignatus ipſe non fuit* (24).' But no body would hear me, though I called with a voice as loud as Stentor to the conteſt. Only there once came to me a youth of about eighteen, very forward in his underſtanding, who ſhewed a very ſtrong deſire of diſputing upon the moſt abſtruſe points of Divinity, though he had not yet completed his courſe of philoſophy, nor arrived to manhood. But when I aſked him if he had leave from his Superiors, promiſing in that caſe to enter the liſts with him, the young man, not being honoured with any ſuch commiſſion, had nothing to ſhew, and returned no more. Thus the Jeſuit; but the matter is related by another author, as follows: *Henry Fitz-Simon*, the Jeſuit, challenging his adverſaries to meet him in the caſtle of Dublin, this beardleſs youth combated ſo bravely and frequently that veteran in the main article of his cauſe, viz. Antichriſt, that he repented his having challenged him, and met with opponents ſufficient in this one youth, who was but eighteen years old. *Cum Henrico Simonde Jeſuita*

(23) In note (3).

(24) Præfatio Britonomoch. p. 14.

(l) He was much pleaſed with this office, and ſpoke of it with pleaſure after he became Archbiſhop. Epiſt. to Archbiſhop Laud in Parr's Collection, p. 459.

(m) It is obſervable, that the famous Origen was appointed to the like office of inſtructing the catechumens in the ſchool of Alexandria at the ſame age. Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 6. c. 3.

next year, 1600, he proceeded A. M. was appointed Proctor (*l*), and choſen Catechetical Lecturer of the Univerſity (*m*). About the ſame time having met with *Stapleton's Fortreſs of Faith*, he taſked himſelf to read the Fathers [G] thoroughly, being reſolved to examine the *Jeſuita poſcente ſibi dari adverſarios in caſtro Dublinienſi de arce cauſæ ſuæ, ſcil. Antichriſto ſæpius quidem conflixit* ——This Author then proceeds thus: *Ipſum audite Jeſuitam in præfatione libri ſui quem de* Britannomachia miniſtrorum *placuit inſcribere. Prodiit quidem ſemel inquit octodenarius*, and ſo on as before to the words *diſputandi avidus*, at which he ſtops with an &c. (25). Whereupon Mr *Bayle* remarks pertinently enough, 'The Reader, 'ſays he, will pleaſe to take notice of the &c. where 'he muſt not ſuppoſe the reſt to be omitted as being 'of no uſe to the ſubject; for the only reaſon why they 'were ſuppreſſed is, becauſe they are inconſiſtent with 'what was ſaid before (26).' However, Dr *Thomas Smith* has made it ſufficiently evident, that there was a diſpute between them (27): And Dr *Parr* informs us (28), that the ſubject was *Bellarmin*'s controverſies; and becauſe the ſeveral matters in debate could not be diſputed in one or two meetings, they appointed to meet once a week; and beſides gives us the following letter of Mr Uſher to *Fitz-Simonds*, which ſhews that, after a few meetings, the Jeſuit declined the combat.

(25) Vita Jacobi Uſſerii in collectione Bateſiana, p. 737. Lond. 1681, 4to.

(26) Bayle, in our Author's article, rem. [*A*].

(27) In vita Uſſerii, p. 19, 20, 21.

(28) In our Author's life, p. 6.

'I was not purpoſed, Mr *Fitz-Simonds*, to write unto 'you, before you had firſt written unto me, concerning 'ſome chief points of your religion, as at our laſt 'meeting you promiſed. But, ſeeing you have deferred the ſame (for reaſons beſt known to yourſelf) 'I thought it not amiſs to enquire further of your 'mind concerning the continuation of the conference 'begun betwixt us. And to this I am the rather moved, 'becauſe I am credibly informed of certain reports, 'which I could hardly be perſuaded ſhould proceed 'from him, who in my preſence pretended ſo great 'love and affection to me. If I am a boy (as it hath 'pleaſed you very contemptuouſly to name me) I give 'thanks to the Lord, that my carriage towards you hath 'been ſuch as could miniſter no juſt occaſion to deſpiſe 'my youth. Your ſpear belike is, in your own conceit, 'a weaver's beam, and your abilities ſuch, that you 'deſire to encounter with the ſtouteſt champion in the 'hoſt of Iſrael; and therefore, like the Philiſtine, you 'contemn me as being a boy. Yet this I would fain 'have you know, that I neither came then, nor do 'come now unto you, in any confidence of any learning that is in me (in which reſpect notwithſtanding, 'I thank God, I am what I am) but I come in the 'name of the Lord of hoſts, whoſe companies you have 'reproached, being certainly perſuaded, that even out 'of the mouths of babes and ſucklings he was able to 'ſhew forth his own praiſes; for the further manifeſtation whereof, I do again earneſtly requeſt you, that, 'ſetting aſide all vain compariſon of perſons, we may 'go plainly forward in examining the matters that reſt 'in controverſy between us. Otherwiſe I hope you 'will not be diſpleaſed if, as for your part you have 'begun, ſo, I alſo, for my own part, may be bold, 'for the clearing of myſelf, and the truth which I profeſs, freely to make known what hath already paſſed 'concerning this matter. Thus intreating you in a few 'lines to make known unto me your purpoſe in this 'behalf, I end; praying the Lord that both this and 'all other enterprizes that we take in hand may be ſo 'ordered, as may moſt make for the advancement of 'his own glory and the kingdom of his ſon Jeſus Chriſt.

'*Tuas ad aras uſque,*

'James Uſher.'

Dr Parr obſerves, with the Author of *Collectio Bateſiana*, that the ſame Jeſuit, living to underſtand our Author better, ſtiles him *Acatholicorum Doctiſſimus* (29). And to form a judgment of the value of this teſtimony of our Author's literary merit, it will be neceſſary to enquire into the worth and credit of the witneſs. *Henry Fitz-Simon* was the moſt noted Jeſuit in his time, if we may believe the Oxford Antiquary, who informs us, that he was an Iriſhman born, and the ſon of a merchant in Dublin, that he was matriculated at Oxford as a member of *Hart-hall* [now Hertford-college] April 26, 1583, and in that of his age, fourteen. That in December following it ſeems probable that he was elected Student of Chriſt-church (30): But that he did not ſtay long at the Univerſity, which he left without taking any degree, being come to a reſolution to change the church of England for that of Rome. In which diſpoſition he croſſed the ſea, and entered himſelf in the *Society of Jeſus* at *Louvain*, where putting himſelf under the inſtructions of the famous *Leonard Leſſius* (31), he made ſuch a quick proficiency, that he became eminent enough, in a ſhort time, to be himſelf a Teacher, eſpecially in Philoſophy, which he taught publickly for ſeveral years. At length, returning to his native country of Ireland, he made it his buſineſs, as a miſſionary, to gain proſelytes to his religion. To which end he had both private conferences and public diſputes with Proteſtant miniſters. In this work he perſiſted for two years without diſturbance, being eſteemed the chief diſputant among thoſe of his party, and ſo ready and quick, that few or none would undertake to deal with him. In fine, being apprehended for a dangerous perſon, he was committed to ſafe cuſtody in *Dublin caſtle* in 1599, where he continued about five years. Though confinement hindered him from proceeding to ſpread his principles, yet did it not break his reſolution, or damp his courage and good-will for the cauſe. On the contrary, he was no ſooner fixed in a priſon, than he ſaid, that, being *a priſoner, he was like a bear tied to a ſtake, and wanted ſome to bait him*; which expreſſion being looked on as a challenge, was taken up by our Author, then Mr James Uſher. Afterwards, at the end of the five years, being ſet at liberty, on his promiſe to behave quietly, and give no diſturbance to the King and kingdom, he went forthwith into voluntary exile into the Low-countries, where he ſpent his time in performing offices requiſite to his function, and in writing books, particularly, *A catholic confutation of Mr* John Rider's *claim of antiquities, and a calming comfort againſt his caveat, with a reply to Mr Rider's poſtſcripts, and a diſcovery of Puritan partiality in his behalf.* To which is annexed, *An anſwer to certain complaintive letters of afflicted Catholics for religion.* All printed together in quarto, at *Rohan*, in 1608, in which year he went, according to ſummons, to Rome, where being appointed for the miſſion of Ireland, he publiſhed his profeſſion of the four vows; and then, being ſent back to the Low-countries, he went again into Ireland, where he ſpent many years, in confirming the Roman catholics in their religion, and in making new proſelytes. At length, having been a great encourager and abetter of the rebellion which broke out there in 1641, he was, after the rebels began to be ſubdued, forced to fly for ſhelter into woods and on mountains, and to creep and ſkulk into every place, for fear of being taken and hanged by the Engliſh ſoldiers. In the beginning of the year 1643 he was forced to change his place, and retire for ſafety into a mooriſh and boggy ground, where ſheltering himſelf under a ſhepherd's cot, no better than a hovel, which did not keep out the wind and rain, he lived there in a very ſorry condition, and had for his bedding a pad of ſtraw, which would be often wet by the riſing and coming in of the water. Notwithſtanding all this miſery he ſeemed to be very cheerful, and was ready to inſtruct the young ones about him, and comfort others. But being in a manner ſpent, and his age not able to bear ſuch miſery long, he was with great difficulty taken away, and being conveyed by ſome of the brethren into a better place, he expired among them on the calends of February the ſame year 1643-4. By his death, concludes this writer, the Roman catholics loſt a pillar of their church, being eſteemed, in the better part of his life, a great ornament among them, and the greateſt defender of their religion in his time (32). Beſides the pieces already mentioned, he wrote *A Juſtification and Expoſition of the Sacrifice of the Maſs*, in two books, or more, printed in 1611, 4to. And *Britannomachia miniſtrorum in plerisque & fidei fundamentis & fidei articulis diſſidentium.* Duac. 1614, 4to. As alſo a third piece, which was *A Catalogue of the Iriſh Saints.*

(29) His life, p. 7, 8. And Collect. Bateſiana, page 737.

(30) One of both his names was then elected a Student there.

(31) This famous Jeſuit was born in the pariſh of Brechtan, near Antwerp, in 1554, taught Philoſophy and Theology at Louvain with reputation, and died in 1623. We have a treatiſe *De Juſtitia & Jure*, by him, and other works, which make two volumes folio in Latin. Ladvocat's Diction. Portatif, 2d edit. Paris, 1755, in 2 Vols. 8vo.

(32) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 45, 46.

[G] *He was put upon reading the Fathers by* Stapleton's Fortreſs.] That the Archbiſhop ſhould be particularly moved to enter into ſo long and laborious a ſtudy by Stapleton's book, is eaſily accounted for from the great reputation

the truth of that learned Author's quotations from them. He ſpent eighteen years in this ſtudy [*H*] without interruption, only by way of refreſhment, ſpending ſome hours occaſionally

reputation of the Author, who was eſteemed the moſt learned Roman catholic of all his time. He was ſon of William Stapleton, and born in 1535, of a genteel family at *Henfield* in *Suſſex*. He received the firſt part of his education under one John Twine, a noted ſchoolmaſter at Canterbury, and being removed thence to Wykeham's ſchool at Winchester, he went in the ordinary courſe to New-college in Oxford, of which he was admitted perpetual Fellow in 1594, and made Prebendary or Canon of Chicheſter a little before the death of Queen Mary, being then only Batchelor of Arts. But, upon the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth to the crown, religion beginning to put on another face, the Canon, as well as his father and family, left the kingdom, and went to Louvain, where being ſettled, he applied himſelf with great zeal to the ſtudy of Theology, and in a ſhort time making great proficiency therein, he went to Paris to compleat his knowledge in the ſacred tongues. Afterwards he took a journey to Rome, from a motive of devotion, ſays my Author; however, he made no long ſtay there, but returning to Louvain, he ſet about writing an anſwer to Biſhop Jewel, and tranſlating Bede's church hiſtory into Engliſh, *to the end that* Queen Elizabeth, to whom he dedicated it, *might ſee and underſtand the ancient faith and religion of our anceſtors*, &c. This ſervice to his church being finiſhed, he left Louvain, and removed to Doway, which Univerſity had been erected a little before. Thither he haſtened at the requeſt of Dr William Allen, Preſident of the Engliſh college there, and for a time performed the office of Catechiſt Reader at *Anchine*, near that place. Afterwards he took the degrees of Batchelor, Licentiate, and Doctor of Divinity, under *Matthew Gallen*, Provoſt of the church of *St Amoure*, and Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Doway*, who collated him to a canonry in that church; and he was alſo made Regius Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity. However, he reſigned both theſe preferments ſome time after, and entered into the *Society of Jeſus* at Doway: but, upon a long and diligent probation, finding that order not to agree with his temper and courſe of life, he quitted it, and returned to his former way of teaching, (to the great joy of many) and became a Canon once more of the church of *St Amoure*. At length, being called to *Louvain*, he was made King's Profeſſor of Divinity, and Canon of the church of St Peter there, and writing ſeveral things, particularly againſt Mr *Whitaker* of Cambridge, his fame ſpread over all thoſe parts, and he grew into great eſteem with the King of Spain, ſo that he had the deanery of *Hilverbeck* in *Kampenland* in *Brabant* conferred upon him: [*Little enough, God wot, for ſuch a rare and moſt learned clerk as he was*] ſays Mr Wood, who repeats it again, that in all kind of literature he obtained ſuch perfection, that he was numbered among the moſt learned men of that age. And it was generally thought, continues our Antiquary, that he deſerved a Cardinal's cap before *Allen*; but ſo it was, that his ability being eclipſed by the activity of the other, he did not riſe higher than a Dean. In the poſſeſſion of this dignity, and his profeſſorſhip and canonry at Louvain, having lived to the age of ſixty-three years, he expired there, greatly lamented by all learned Roman catholics, on the 12th of October, 1598, and was interred in the church of St Peter in the ſame city, where ſoon after a monument was erected to his memory, with a large inſcription thereon, containing the ſucceſſion of his employments in the univerſities and church, as well in England as beyond-ſea. He wrote and tranſlated many things, moſt of which were printed in four large volumes in folio, at Paris, in 1620. The titles of them are in the firſt volume. 1. De principiis fidei doctrinalibus, lib. 12. Paris, 1579 and 1582, &c. 2. Defenſio ſucceſſionis eccleſiaſticæ, lib. 1. 3. Refectio principiorum fidei doctrinalium, Antw. 1592. 4. Defenſio authoritatis eccleſiaſticæ, contra Gul. Whittakerum, Anglo-Calviniſtam. 5. Triplicatio pro eccleſiæ authoritate, adverſus eundem Whittakerum. The ſecond volume contains, 1. De univerſæ juſtificationis doctrina hodie controverſ. lib. 12. 2. Speculum pravitatis hereticæ per orationes quaſi ad oculum demonſtratæ, Duac. 1580. 3. Orationes Funebres, Antw. 1577. 4. Orationes academicæ miſcellaneæ; ſome of which were publiſhed in 1602. 5. Orationes Catecheticæ, five manuale peccatorum de ſeptem peccatis capitalibus, Antw. 1598. 6. De magnitudine Romanæ eccleſiæ, lib. 2. Antw. 1599, in 4to. 7. A Fortreſs of Faith, firſt planted among us Engliſhmen, and continued hitherto in the univerſal church of Chriſt, the faith of which times the Proteſtants call Papiſtry, Antw. 1565, 4to. This learned treatiſe the Author, as before intimated, wrote upon occaſion of his tranſlating Bede's church hiſtory into Engliſh, wherein he endeavours to ſhew, that the ſame faith was profeſſed in the primitive times as in his. This being read over ſeveral times by Archbiſhop Uſher, then Bachelor of Arts, ſome miſtruſt of the quotations of ancient authors therein put him upon reading the Fathers. 8. The Horn-blaſt: or A Reply to the anſwer of Robert Horne, the falſe Biſhop of Winchester, in four books, Lovain, 1567. 9. A diſcourſe of Proteſtancy and the firſt Authors of it. In volume the third are, 1. Antidota Evangelica in Matthæum, Marcum, Lucam, Johannem, Antw. 1595. 2. Antidota Apoſtolica in Acta Apoſtol. Tom. I. Antw. 1595. 3. In Epiſt. Pauli ad Romanos, Tom. II. Ibid. 1595. 4. In duas Epiſt. ad Corinthios, Tom III. Ibid. 1598 and 1600. The fourth volume is filled with, 1. Promptuarium in Evangelia Dominicalia; pars hyemalis, Antw. 1591, pars æſtualis, Venet. 1594. 2. Promptuarium Catholicum in Evangelia Dominicalia totius anni, Col. 1592 et 1602. 3. Promptuarium Catholicum ſupra Evangelia Ferialia totius quadrages. 4. Promptuarium Catholicum ſuper Evangelia in feſtis S. S. totius anni. 5. Tres Thomæ, ſeu res geſtæ S. Thomæ Apoſt. S. Tho. [a Becket] Archiepiſcop. Cantuarienſis, et Thomæ Mori Angliæ Cancellarii, Duac. 1588.

Beſides the pieces contained in theſe four volumes, our Author wrote A Treatiſe *de Juſtificatione*, printed at Paris in 1582. As alſo A Return of untruths, againſt Mr *Jewel*, Antw. 1566. His tranſlation from the Latin into Engliſh of Venerable Bede's hiſtory of the church of England beforementioned was printed at Antwerp in 1565. This tranſlation, to which he added ſome marginal notes, was cenſured by the learned Selden (33) as not altogether true. Stapleton alſo tranſlated Frederic Staphyle's large volume De diſſidiis Hæreticorum, printed at Antwerp in 1565. It is remarked, to the honour of his works, that Pope Clement VIII. was ſo much delighted with them, that he commanded them to be read daily at times of his refection, or mealtimes, and invited him to Rome, with a deſign to confer upon him the place of Apoſtolical Prothonotary, or, as ſome ſaid, to make him a Cardinal. Among which high order the famous Cardinal Perron, who was well read in the controverſies of his time, was wont to poſtpone all controverſial writers in compariſon with Stapleton, whom he eſteemed to be the beſt of his time and before. To conclude, paſſing by all the commendations given him by thoſe of his own faith and perſuaſion, it is ſufficient for his fame to mention thoſe of his antagoniſt *Whitaker*, who ſays in Latin, Stapletonus hanc cauſam (de traditionibus) omnium acutiſſime ac accuratiſſime tractavit, &c. (34). And elſewhere, ſpeaking of the opinion, as well of Papiſts as Proteſtants, in divers matters, he ſaith modeſtly of himſelf, that he differed as much from Stapleton as Troilus from Achilles.

(33) Selden's Preface to the Decem Scriptores, p. 9, 10. Edit. 1652.

(34) In contr. 1. q. 3. cap. 3. In epiſt. dedicat. lib. de Scriptura.

[*H*] *He ſpent eighteen years in reading the Fathers.*] In proſecuting this ſtudy, his method was to make notes and obſervations upon their writings, taking them in order, and marking the paſſages, which were genuine, and which ſpurious and forged. In this compaſs of time he not only read the Greek and Latin Fathers, but moſt of the conſiderable Schoolmen and Divines from the firſt to the thirteenth century. He intended to have publiſhed theſe collections under the title of *Bibliotheca Theologica*, after a book of that title publiſhed by one *Johannes Molanus*, Profeſſor of Divinity at Louvain (35). This appears from his Epiſtle to the Reader, prefixed to his anſwer to the challenge of Malone the Jeſuit (36), where, having given an account of the chronological catalogue annexed to the end of that treatiſe, apparently drawn from this ſtore, he proceeds thus: 'The 'exact diſcuſſion, as well of the Authors times as of 'the cenſure of their works, I refer to my *Theological* 'Bibliotheque, if God hereafter ſhall lend me life and 'leiſure to make up that work for the uſe of thoſe that 'mean to give themſelves to that noble ſtudy of the 'doctrines and rites of the ancient church.' And how much he deſired it might be done appears from hence, that, being aſked upon his death-bed what his will was concerning

(35) See his letter to his uncle, Mr Richard Stanyhurſt, at the Engliſh college there, deſiring him to procure this book for him. Letter 1 in Parr's collection.

(36) This anſwer was printed at London in 1625, in 4to, and again in 1631. Malone publiſhed a reply about 1629, which was ſtuffed with ſo many falſe citations from the Fathers, or elſe out of ſuppoſititious authors, and alſo forged miracles and lying legends, that the Archbiſhop diſdained to take any notice of it; but an anſwer was wrote by Dr Hoyle, Dr Sing, and Mr Puttock. Parr, p. 25.

ſionally in ſearching into, and collecting the antiquities of his country [*I*]. In 1601, he entered into holy orders (*n*), and was in a little time appointed Afternoon Preacher on Sundays before the State at Chriſt-Church in Dublin. In the courſe of this duty, he preached a remarkable Sermon againſt granting a toleration to the Papiſts [*K*]. In 1603, a collection of eighteen hundred pounds being made to buy books for his college-library, he was pitched upon, with Dr *Chaloner*, to execute that truſt [*L*]. This brought him into England, where he became acquainted with Sir *Thomas Bodley*, who being then upon the like employ for his new erected library at Oxford, they mutually aſſiſted each other (*o*). In 1606, the like buſineſs of purchaſing books and manuſcripts relating to the Engliſh hiſtory (in which ſtudy our Author was then engaged) brought him again into England [*M*]. And the following year, he proceeded Batchelor of Divinity, and was choſen Profeſſor of that faculty in his college (*p*). He was alſo promoted to the Chancellorſhip of the cathedral of St Patrick the ſame year [*N*]. In 1609, he wrote his treatiſe about *Hermage and Corban lands* [*O*], not only in Ireland, but in England, whither he came a third time this year to buy books, and conſult MSS. upon the ſubject of hiſtory and antiquities. In which ſearch, he viſited, among others, the libraries in both the Univerſities, and contracted an acquaintance with moſt of the *Literati* in that way [*P*] here. In the ſame manner he continued

(*n*) He was ordained Deacon and Prieſt the ſame day (Sunday before Chriſtmas-day) by his uncle, Henry Uſher, Archbiſhop of Armagh, who had diſpenſed with his want of age, which was allowed by the Canons in caſe of extraordinary merit. Smith, p. 23, who tells us he had preached before the State for ſome time without orders.

(*o*) Dr Smith obſerves, that Sir Thomas muſt have been very ſerviceable on this occaſion to our Author, who was then only twenty-three years of age. Vita Uſſerii, P. 28.

(*p*) He held this place thirteen years, and read lectures weekly, but they are all loſt. They were written chiefly upon the points in diſpute with the Papiſts. Parr, p. 10, 11.

concerning thoſe collections, he anſwered to this effect, That he deſired they might be committed to his dear friend Dr *Langbaine*, Provoſt of Queen's college, Oxford, the only man on whoſe learning as well as friendſhip he could rely, to caſt them into ſuch a form as might render them fit for the preſs. They were accordingly put into the hands of that learned Doctor, who in order thereto had them tranſcribed (37), and then ſet himſelf to fill up the breaches in the original, the quotations in the margin being much defaced with rats. But the Doctor, ſtudying in ſevere cold weather in the public library, contracted a cold, which put an end to his life in 1657, while he was upon this taſk; and Dean Fell afterwards endeavoured to get it finiſhed, but in vain.

(37) The tranſcript of Dr Langbaine is in the Bodleian library; and the original, in our Author's handwriting, was once in the poſſeſſion of Dr Edward Stillingfleet, Dean of St Paul's in 1686. Parr, p. 12, 13.

[*I*] *He ſpent ſome time in collecting the antiquities of his country.*] In his letter to his uncle Stanyhurſt afore-cited he writes thus: 'Beſides my main ſtudies, I have 'deſtined, as a kind of recreation, to ſpend ſome time 'in gathering together the ſcattered antiquities of our 'nation, whereof I doubt not but many relicks are 'come into your hands, which I would very willingly 'hear of:' And then, running over ſeveral, he particularly inſiſts upon a copy of *the life of St Patrick* (which he obſerves is in manuſcript in the Jeſuit's college at *Louvain*) not only becauſe the Author ſeemed to be of ſome antiquity, but as he alledged ſeveral ſentences out of St *Patrick*'s own writings. 'If any of our countrymen, 'continues he, ſtudious of ſuch matters, will be pleaſed 'to communicate either that or any other antiquities 'of like nature, I do promiſe that I will take as much 'pains for him, and make full recompenſe of courteſie 'in the ſame kind.'

[*K*] *Sermon againſt granting a toleration to the Papiſts.*] The text was from Ezechiel, c. iv. v. 6. *And thou ſhalt bear the iniquity of the houſe of Judah forty days: I have appointed thee each day for a year*, which he applied to Ireland. *From this year*, ſays he, *I reckon forty years, and then theſe whom you now embrace ſhall be your ruin, and you ſhall bear their iniquity.* This conjecture at that time ſeemed to be the preſent thoughts of a young man who was no friend to Popery; but when the Iriſh rebellion broke out in 1641, and ſo many thouſand Proteſtants were killed, and the whole nation haraſſed by a bloody war, ſome perſons then alive, who heard this ſermon, began to think the preacher a young *prophet*. Our Author was particularly lucky in ſome other ſuch predictions, inſomuch that there is a treatiſe extant *de prædictionibus Uſſerii*. Dr Smith (38) has thought proper (how judiciouſly I refer to others) to cenſure theſe ſurmiſes of our Author as proceeding from a vain humour to dive into the myſtical ſenſe of Scripture, and an idle pretence of being endued with a prophetic ſpirit. But ſuch kind of predictions being only a judicious conjecture and foreſight, it ſeems more to the purpoſe of his character, that, in this paſſage of his ſermon, he put the non-toleration of Popery upon the intolerant perſecuting ſpirit of that religion, diſſuading a toleration thereof upon reaſons of danger to the ſtate, and not ſolely upon its idolatry. The uſe of this will appear preſently.

(38) In vita Uſſerii, p. 25, 26. See more of this in remark [*SS*].

[*L*] *He was appointed with Dr Chaloner to that truſt.*] The money was raiſed by the Engliſh army, after having defeated the Spaniards that had come to the aſſiſtance of the Iriſh at Kingſale: And it was reſolved by the benefactors that theſe two ſhould be employed to buy the books. They diſcharged the truſt to the ſatisfaction of the donors and the whole college (39). Our Author always teſtified the greateſt regard for the benefit of the college in every point, as is evident from many of his letters. He was Vice-chancellor ſeveral years, and frequently correſponded with *Abbot* and *Laud*, the two ſucceeding Chancellors. But it ſeems to have been during his abſence upon this occaſion that his mother was reconciled to the Romiſh religion, a misfortune which gave him the moſt afflicting concern, and the more as ſhe continued obſtinate therein to the laſt, dying at Drogheda in the communion of that church (40). The ſame writer obſerves (41), that her father, the Recorder, though outwardly a conformiſt to the new religion, after its eſtabliſhment by Queen Elizabeth, yet ſtill retained his old affection for Popery, as appears from his ſupporting firſt in his own houſe *Edmund Campian*, afterwards the famous Jeſuit, then a refugee from England, and in the next place recommending him to a friend in the country, where he might be ſecure from the danger of being ſeized (42) and brought to juſtice for treaſonable practices, in drawing her Majeſty's ſubjects from their allegiance. The Recorder took care however to manage ſo prudently, as to give no umbrage to the government, and by that means continued unmoleſted in his poſt.

(39) Parr, p. 12.

(40) Idem, p. 8, 9, who ſays her change happened during our Author's abſence in England, but without ſpecifying the particular time.

(41) P. 6.

(42) Epiſt. III. in the ſelect pieces of Edmund Campian, edit. Antwerp, 1631. See alſo Campian's preface to his Hiſt. of Ireland, publiſhed from a MS. in our Archbiſhop's library, by Sir James Ware, at Dublin, 1633.

[*M*] *The ſame buſineſs brought him again to England.*] He now contracted an intimate acquaintance and friendſhip with ſeveral learned men, and among others, Sir *Robert Cotton*, *Thomas Allen* of Oxford, and Mr *Camden* (43), which laſt deſigning a new edition of his *Britannia*, conſulted with him about publiſhing *Ninias*, *St Patrick*, and *Congal*, and other things relating to the ancient ſtate of Ireland and the city of Dublin (44), a great part of the anſwers to which were inſerted in the edition of the *Britannia* publiſhed in 1607, with this elogy of our Author: *For many of theſe things concerning Dublin I acknowledge myſelf indebted to the diligence and labour of James Uſher, Chancellor of the church of St Patrick, who in various learning and judgment far exceeds his years* (45).

(43) Smith, p. 29. See an account of Thomas Allen in Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 574, et ſeq.

(44) Uſher's letter to Camden, No. 61. p. 76. in the Collection of Camden's letters, Edit Lond. 1691.

(45) Camden's *Britannia*, Lond. 1607, Folio, p. 752.

[*N*] *Chancellor of St Patrick's.*] This place was conferred upon him by Dr *Adam Loftus*, then Archbiſhop of Dublin. It was his firſt eccleſiaſtical preferment; he had no other till his promotion to the biſhoprick of Meath. Dr Parr obſerves, that though he had no particular obligation by this poſt to preach, yet he would not omit it in the place whence he received the profits, viz. *Finlaſs*, not far from Dublin, which he endowed with a vicarage, and preached there every Sunday, unleſs hindered by very extraordinary occaſions.

[*O*] *His treatiſe about* Hermage and Corban lands.] Theſe were lands anciently received by the *Chorepiſcopi* (46). Archbiſhop Bancroft, to whom this treatiſe was addreſſed, preſented it to King James. The manuſcript is ſtill extant in the library at Lambeth, but the ſubſtance of it was tranſlated into Latin, and publiſhed at the end of his diſſertation *de Corbis*, &c. in the firſt part of his gloſſary, by Sir *Henry Spelman*, who gives our Author the character of *Literarum inſignis Pharus*.

(46) Theſe lands were free from all taxes and ſecular juriſdiction, but liable to ſervices and penſions to the Biſhops, which not being performed, they ceded from their right. Dr Smith ſays they were firſt called *Termon-lands*, either as belonging to the monks, or as being ſeparated from lay lands by boundaries, called *Termini*. Vita Uſſerii, p. 34.

[*P*] *He became acquainted with moſt of the Literati here.*] Among theſe were *Henry Bourchier*, afterwards Earl of *Bath*, Sir *Henry Saville*, *Henry Briggs*, *John Selden*, *John Davenant*, afterwards Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, *Samuel Ward*, afterwards Maſter of *Sidney*-college in Cambridge, and laſtly *Thomas Lydiat*, famous for his chronological writings againſt *Joſeph Scaliger*, and being now much reduced in his fortune, the Archbiſhop carried him to Ireland,

tinued ever after to make once in three or four years a viſit to London, paſſing one month of his ſtay in the ſummer at Oxford, and another at Cambridge. Thus eager in the

Ireland, where he afterwards married his Grace's ſiſter (47). He was the ſon of Chriſtian Lydiat, Lord of the manor of Aulkrynton (48), commonly called *Okerton*, near *Banbury* in Oxfordſhire, and citizen of London. Thomas was born at Okerton, in the beginning of the year 1572, and diſcovering pregnant parts from his infancy, was, by the application of his father, elected at about thirteen years of age one of the children of *Wykeham*'s college near Wincheſter, whence, according to the ſtatutes of the two foundations, he was removed to New-college in Oxford, and choſen Probationer-fellow in 1691: At which time being under the tuition of Dr (afterwards Sir) *Henry Marten*, he made great proficiency in Logick, and two years afterwards was admitted *Verus Socius*. After he had taken the degrees in arts (49), he applied himſelf to Aſtronomy, Mathematics, the learned languages, and Divinity; the laſt of which he was very deſirous to have made his principal ſtudy, and took holy orders, as the ſtatutes of the college required; but, finding a great defect in his memory and utterance, of which he often complained, particularly to Dr Bancroft, Biſhop of Oxford, his Dioceſan (50), he reſolved to reſign his fellowſhip, as he did in 1603, and retiring to his patrimony at Okerton, and contenting himſelf with the revenues thereof, though but ſmall, he proſecuted his ſtudies with indefatigable diligence, and ſpent ſeven years in finiſhing and publiſhing ſuch books as he had begun in the college. He was thus employed, when his merit coming to the knowledge of *Prince Henry*, his royal highneſs appointed him his Chronographer and Coſmographer. He was poſſeſſed of theſe honours in 1609, when publiſhing his capital book *De emendatione temporum*, he dedicated it to that Prince, who, agreeably to his excellent good-nature, accepted it very graciouſly, and, had he lived, would have proved a truly royal patron to him; but all our Author's towering hopes from this quarter were buried in the grave of that moſt amiable Prince, who died in the flower of his youth a year after. In the interim, his Grace the Primate of Ireland being in London this year, 1604, found out our Chronologer, and, taking him into Ireland, provided him a chamber in the college of Dublin, where he continued two years; at the end of which, purpoſing to return home, he obtained a promiſe from the Lord Deputy and Chancellor of Ireland of a competent maintenance (51) whenever he ſhould come back to that kingdom. But, on his arrival in England, the rectory of Okerton, his native place, becoming vacant, though when he was Fellow of New-college he had refuſed the offer of it by his Father, who was Patron, yet he did now, after ſeveral demurs, and not without much reluctancy of mind, accept of it in the year 1612. Thus ſettled, he entered into a marriage with his friend our Primate's ſiſter, and ſat down to his ſtudies more cloſely than ever. Beſides going over the harmony of the Goſpels, and making ſix hundred ſermons thereon, he wrote and intirely finiſhed ſeveral books, and laid the foundation of others in the twelve enſuing years. All theſe pieces he deſigned to publiſh, but was prevented by having unadviſedly engaged for the debts of a near relation, upon which bond he was arreſted, and not being able to pay for the preſent (having ſpent his ſmall patrimony in printing his books) he was thrown into a priſon called *Bocardo*, in Oxford, where he remained, and in the King's bench and elſewhere, till Sir *William Boſwell*, a great encourager of deſerving men, Dr *Robert Pink*, Warden of New-college, and Primate *Uſher*, laid down the money, and releaſed him. As ſoon as he had obtained his liberty (in procuring which Archbiſhop *Laud*, at the requeſt of Sir Henry Marten, gave his aſſiſtance) he preſented a petition to King Charles I. for leave to travel into foreign parts, viz. Turkey, Ethiopia, or the Abaſſinian empire, in the ſearch after manuſcripts, eſpecially relating to civil and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, in order to publiſh them in print, or whatſoever copies might tend to the propagation or increaſe of good learning. And further alſo, as his Majeſty had Leiger Ambaſſadors and Agents, with his confederates, Emperors, Kings, and Princes, of other countries, they might in his Majeſty's name, in behalf of Mr Lydiat and his aſſignes, move their Highneſſes to grant the like privileges to him and his aſſignes &c. What effect this petition had does not appear, probably not ſuch a one as was agreeable to the ardor of his wiſhes. However that be, it is an inconteſtible evidence of his noble intentions and public ſpirit for the advancement of letters. Neither did his diſappointment in it leſſen his reſpect for the King, in whoſe cauſe he ſhewed himſelf a firm and zealous loyaliſt on the breaking out of the civil wars, in which he was a great ſufferer at his rectory of *Okerton* by the Parliament party. In a letter written by him to Sir *William Compton*, Knt. Governor of Banbury-caſtle, dated Dec. 7, 1644, he complains of having been four times pillaged by the Parliament's forces of *Compton-houſe* (commonly called *Compton in the hole*) in Warwickſhire, to the value of at leaſt 70l. and was forced, for a quarter of a year together, to borrow a ſhirt to change his linnen; that he had alſo been twice forced from his houſe, and carried once to *Warwick*, and another time to *Banbury*. To the firſt of which places he was hurried away on a raſcally jade of a horſe, and was infamouſly abuſed by the ſoldiers there, and ſo ſorely hurt, that at the writing of the ſaid letter he was not perfectly reſtored, and doubted he ſcarce ever ſhould be. The cauſe of all which ill uſage was for that he had denied them money, and had defended his books and papers, and afterwards, while a Priſoner in Warwick-caſtle, he had ſpoken boldly in behalf of the King and Biſhops. At length, after he had lived at Okerton ſeveral years in great poverty and obſcurity, he was taken out of this world on the third of April, 1646, and was buried the day following in the chancel of the church at Okerton, which he had rebuilt ſome time before. In 1669 a ſtone, with an inſcription, was laid over his grave, at the expence of the Warden and Fellows of New-college in Oxford, and an honorary monument, with an inſcription, was erected by the ſame ſociety in the cloyſter of their college. Mr Wood obſerves, that though he was a perſon of ſmall ſtature, yet was he of great parts, and of a public ſoul, and though a *poor and contemptible prieſt* to look upon (for ſo he was held by the vulgar) yet he not only puzzled *Chriſtopher Clavius*, and the whole college of Mathematicians, but alſo that *Goliah* of literature, *Joſeph Scaliger*, who, when he was worſted by our Author's writings (as was maintained by great men, and particularly *Archbiſhop Uſher*) inſtead of acknowledging the ſuperiority of his antagoniſt, meanly betook himſelf to abuſive language, calling *Lydiat*, in the moſt ſcornful manner, *a beggarly, beardleſs, and gelt prieſt*. That as he was much eſteemed by learned men at home, among whom, beſides our Primate, were Sir *Adam Newton*, Secretary, and Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, Chamberlain to *Prince Henry*, Dr *John Bainbridge*, Mr *Henry Briggs*, Dr *Peter Turner*, &c. who were his great acquaintance, ſo was he by the Virtuoſi beyond-ſea, who even did not ſcruple to rank him with the Lord *Bacon* of *Verulam* and Mr *Joſeph Mede*. And when they heard that *Lydiat* and *Mede* were very poorly preferred, they declared that the Engliſh were unworthy of ſuch brave ſcholars, ſince they ſhewed no more regard for them. This character of Mr Lydiat was apparently drawn from a peruſal of his works, of which therefore we ſhall give a liſt, as follows: 1. *Tractatus de variis annorum formis*, Lond. 1605, 8vo. 2. *Prælectio Aſtronomica de natura cæli et conditionibus elementorum*. 3. *Diſquiſitio Philologica de origine fontium*. Theſe two were printed with the firſt, and are always bound up with it. 4. *Examen canonum chronologiæ Iſagogicorum*, annexed to, 5. *Defenſio Tractatus de variis annorum formis contra Joſephi Scaligeri obtrectationem*, Lond. 1607, 8vo. 6. *Emendatio temporum ab initio mundi huc uſque compendio facta contra Scaligerum & alios*, Lond. 1609, 8vo. (*). 7. *Explicatio et additamentum argumentorum in libello emendationis temporum compendio factæ, de nativitate Chriſti & miniſterio in terris*, printed in 1613, 8vo. 8. *Solis et Lunæ periodus, ſeu annus magnus*, Lond. 1620, 8vo. 9. *De anni ſolaris menſura epiſtola Aſtronomica ad Hen. Savilium*, Lond. 1620-1, 8vo. 10. *Numerus aureus melioribus lapillis inſignitus, factuſque gemmeus, e theſauro anni magni, ſive Solis et Lunæ periodi octodeſexcentenariæ &c.* Lond. 1621, in one large ſheet on one ſide. 11. *Canones chronologici, nec non ſeries ſummorum magiſtratuum et triumphorum Romanorum*, Oxon. 1675, 8vo, printed from a manuſcript in the library of Dr *John Lamphire*, Principal of Hart-hall, now Hertford-college, Oxford. 12. Letters to Dr James Uſher, afterwards Primate of Ireland, annexed to that Primate's life, publiſhed by Dr Parr, 1686. 13. *Marmoreum chronicon Arundelianum cum annotationibus*, printed in *Marmora Oxonienſia*, publiſhed

(47) The Primate, in ſome of his letters to Lydiat, ſubſcribes your loving brother-in-law, particularly letter XXI, and others in Parr's collections, viz. on the 26th and 27th of March.

(48) Our Author, in a letter to Uſher, calls it Alkerton. Letter XX. in Parr's collection.

(49) He took that of A. B. May 5, 1595, and A. M. February 5, 1598. Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 150 and 154.

(50) Dedication to his Lordſhip of a Sermon preached at a Viſitation while he was rural Dean.

(51) There was a deſign of preſenting him to the free-ſchool at Armagh, the ſalary of which was raiſed for that purpoſe to 50l. per annum at leaſt. Lydiat's letter to Uſher, dated from the Inner Temple, Aug. 22, 1611, and Uſher's anſwer, Oct. 4 the ſame year. Letters V. and VII. in Parr's Collection &c.

Both Inſcriptions may be ſeen in Hiſt. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. II. p. 149 & 155.

(*) Another edition was printed at the Hague, in 1654, 12mo.

the purſuit of knowledge he declined the provoſtſhip of his college to which he was elected in 1610 (q). Two years afterwards he commenced D. D. (r); and the next year, 1613, being at London, he publiſhed his firſt treatiſe [2] *De Eccleſiarum Chriſtianarum Succeſſione et Statu*; it was preſented by Archbiſhop Abbot to King James, as the eminent firſt-fruits of Dublin Univerſity (s). Returning home a little before Midſummer, he married *Phœbe*, the only daughter of Dr *Luke Chaloner* [R] abovementioned. In 1615, he drew up articles of religion for the Church of Ireland; which being intirely Calviniſtical in reſpect to the doctrine of abſolute *predeſtination* and *reprobation*, a handle was made of this ſtep to endeavour the ruin of his intereſt in King James, by repreſenting him as inclined to Puritaniſm: but the impotent malice turned (as is not unuſual in ſuch caſes) greatly to his advantage [S]. For coming, as

(r) He was admitted by Dr Hampton, Abp. of Armagh, then Chancellor. Having performed the uſual exerciſes, part of which being to read two lectures on ſome part of Scripture, he choſe Dan. ix. 24, and Rev. xx. 4. explaining both againſt the Millenaries of the elder and latter times. Parr.

(q) He recommended Sir William Temple's Grandfather to it. Smith, p. 34.

(s) Parr, p. 43.

(t) They were framed with very little alteration from the nine Lambeth articles, ſo called, becauſe confirmed there by Archbiſhop Whitgift, in 1595.

liſhed by *Humphrey Prideaux*. In this piece Mr *Lydiat* had animadverted upon the edition of the *Marmora Arundeliana* by Mr *Selden*, whom, inſtead of a *moſt judicious*, he has ſtiled only an *induſtrious Author*; which coming to the ears of that learned gentleman, was ſo much reſented by him, that, though otherwiſe in general a friend and ſupporter of learned men under difficulties, yet, when deſired and importuned to contribute towards Lydiat's releaſe from priſon, he abſolutely refuſed. Theſe are all the pieces of our Author's extant in print. He alſo left behind him a great number of manuſcripts, moſt of which are: 1. Annotations upon that part of Mr *Edward Brerewood*'s treatiſe of the Sabbath, wherein he denies the Chriſtian ſabbath on the Lord's day, or the firſt day of the week, to be eſtabliſhed *jure divino*, by God's commandment. The beginning of this manuſcript *there was brought to me, being priſoner in the King's bench, on Friday evening, Dec. 3, 1630 &c.* which is mentioned, as it ſhews the time of his confinement in that priſon. 2. Annotations upon ſome controverted points of the Chronical Canons. 3. A few annotations upon ſome places or paſſages of the ſecond and third chapters of the book, intitled *Altare Chriſtianum*. 4. A treatiſe touching the ſetting up of altars in Chriſtian churches, and bowing in reverence to them or common tables, and bowing the knee or uncovering the head at the name or naming of Jeſus, occaſionally made in 1633, written upon the requeſt of ſome London miniſters, to declare his judgment therein, and dedicated to Archbiſhop Laud in gratitude for his releaſing him out of priſon, [*which ſhews that he was not a priſoner in* 1633, *though probably diſcharged not long before*]. In a poſtſcript to this diſcourſe about bowing at the name of *Jeſus*, he endeavours to anſwer the four arguments of Biſhop *Andrews* in his ſermon on Philip. ii. 10, 11. 5. An anſwer to Mr Joſeph Mede's treatiſe of the name of altar, or Θυσιαστήριον, anciently given to the holy table; written in February, 1637. 6. An anſwer to the *defence of the coal from the altar*. 7. Evangelium contractum ex quatuor Evangeliis &c. written in Hebrew. 8. Annales Eccleſiæ Chriſti inchoati ſecundum methodum Baronii: This is written in Latin, but is imperfect. 9. Chronicon Regum Judæorum methodo magis perſpicua, written in Hebrew. 10. Meſolabium geometricum. 11. Chronicon mundi emendatum. 12. Divina ſphæra humanorum eventuum, dedicated to the King in 1632. 13. Problema Aſtronomicum de Solis eccentricitate. 14. Diatribæ, et Animadverſiones aſtronomicæ ternæ. 15. Circuli dimenſio Lydiatea, Archimedea. All which manuſcripts, with others, treating of Divinity, Mathematics, and Aſtronomy, amounting to the number of thirty-eight at leaſt, were bound up in twenty-two volumes, and reſerved as rarities in the hands of the forementioned Dr John Lamphire, Principal of Hart-hall, now Hertford-college.

[2] *His treatiſe* De Eccleſiarum Chriſtianarum Succeſſione et Statu.] This piece is a continuation of Biſhop Jewel's Apology, written in anſwer to that captious queſtion of the Papiſts, *where was your* [Proteſtant] *religion before Luther?* The deſign therefore is to prove that the proteſtant tenets are the ſame with thoſe of the primitive church, in executing which Jewel ſhews, that there alſo were ſome viſible members of this church down to the 6th century, which is here extended to the 13th by our Author, who further proves that there were ſome perſons in the Weſtern churches, during the darkeſt times of ignorance, not tainted with the errors of the Romiſh faith. It is divided into three parts. The firſt reaches to the tenth century, when Gregory VII. was raiſed to the popedom. The ſecond was to have reached from that period to the year 1370. And the third was planned to bring it to the Reformation. How far he had brought it in this edition is ſeen in the following extract of a letter written to his brother-in-law, *Thomas Lydiat*, dated at Dublin, Auguſt 16, 1619. 'You have rightly obſerved, 'ſays he, that in my diſcourſe, *De Chriſtianarum Eccleſiarum Succeſſione et Statu*, there is wanting, for the accompliſhment of the ſecond part, an hundred years [from 1240 to 1370, viz. the laſt chapter of this part] which default in the continuation of the work is by me ſupplied. I purpoſe to publiſh the whole work together, much augmented, but do firſt expect the publication of my uncle *Stanyhurſt*'s anſwer to the former, which, I hear, ſince his death (52), is ſent to Paris to be there printed. I am advertiſed alſo, that even now there is one at Antwerp who hath printed a treatiſe of my countryman *De ſacro Boſco*, *De veræ Eccleſiæ inveſtigatione*, wherein he hath ſome dealing with me: Both theſe I would willingly ſee, before I ſet about reprinting my book, meaning, that if they have juſtly found fault with any thing, I may amend it; if unjuſtly, I may defend it (53).' We have already ſhewn what reaſon he had to expect the anſwer here mentioned from his uncle; but that was never publiſhed, nor did our Author publiſh any other edition of his work, as he here purpoſed. Probably prevented by the diſtraction of the times (54). It was reprinted at Hanover in 1658, 8vo, without any amendments. In the laſt edition of 1687, containing likewiſe his *Antiquity of the Britiſh churches*, are theſe words in the title-page: *Opus integrum ab Auctore auctum et recognitum*, which Dr Smith obſerves was a meer puff of the Bookſeller.

(52) He died at Bruſſels the year before. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 250.

(53) Letter 38 in Parr's collection.

(54) It is certain that, in his journey to St Donate, mentioned hereafter, he loſt two MSS. concerning the *Waldenſes*, which he had obtained toward the writing of this work. Parr, p. 60.

[R] *He married Dr Chaloner's daughter.*] This gentleman was deſcended from the ancient family of the *Chaloners* in Yorkſhire. He was one of the four firſt Fellows of the college of Dublin (55), and had been a great aſſiſter and benefactor to it, having been appointed Overſeer of the building, and Treaſurer for the money raiſed for that purpoſe, and was both a learned and pious man. In all theſe reſpects Dr Uſher muſt needs be very agreeable to him, and we are aſſured that he courted this alliance, intending, had he lived, to have given this friend his only daughter, with a conſiderable eſtate in land and money (56). But dying before it was concluded (57), he charged her upon his death-bed, that, if Dr *Uſher* would marry her, ſhe ſhould think of no other perſon for a huſband; which command of her dying father ſhe punctually obeyed, and continued his wife forty years, and was always treated by him with great tenderneſs to her death, which preceded his about a year and a half.

(55) There was only four appointed at firſt, viz. Luke Chaloner, William Daniel, James Fullerton, and James Hamiltoft.

(56) Parr.

(57) He died at Dublin on the 27th of April, 1612.

[S] *Turned in the end to his advantage.*] Among thoſe articles, which amount to the number of 104, beſides aſſerting the doctrine of predeſtination and reprobation in the ſtrongeſt terms (58), one of them profeſſes that there is but one catholic church, out of which there is no ſalvation; and another maintains that the ſabbath-day ought to be kept holy (59). Upon theſe accounts, Dr Heylin called the paſſing of theſe articles an abſolute plot of the Sabbatarians and Calviniſts in England, to make themſelves ſo ſtrong a party in Ireland as to obtain what they pleaſed in this convocation (60). Our Author was well known to be a ſtrong aſſerter of the predeſtinarian principles, and being beſides of opinion, that epiſcopacy was not a diſtinct order, but only a different degree from that of Preſbyters, he lay obnoxious enough to the charge of Puritaniſm. However, as he always warmly aſſerted the King's ſupremacy, and the epiſcopal form of church government eſtabliſhed, and all the diſcipline of it, it is evident all the objections to him, as inclined to Puritaniſm, were the effect of party, the church beginning about this time to be divided between the Calviniſtic and Arminian principles upon the quinquarticular controverſy. Dr Parr tells us his enemies were of no great repute for learning and worth, and that our Author, hearing of their attempts to rivet him out of his Majeſty's favour, procured the following letter from the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to the Privy-Council in England.

(58) From the IXth to the XVIIth inclusive.

(59) They were ſigned by Archbiſhop Jones, then Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and the Speaker of the Houſe of Biſhops in convocation, and Prolocutor of the clergy, and likewiſe by the Lord Deputy Chicheſter in King James's name, and by his Majeſty's order.

(60) Heylin's Petrus reſpondet P. 47.

'May

as his cuſtom was, to England in the latter end of the year 1619, he brought a letter to the Privy-Council to clear him of that charge, and he afterwards gave the King in diſcourſe ſuch intire ſatisfaction in the point, that the Biſhopric of *Meath* (*u*) being then vacant, his Majeſty of his own accord nominated him thereto in 1620 [*T*]; ſoon after which, he preached before the Houſe of Commons [*U*], on February 20 (*w*) that year, and printed his Sermon at their requeſt (*x*). He was conſecrated to his ſee on his return home the following year. In 1622, he publiſhed, at Dublin, his treatiſe concerning *The Religion of the ancient Iriſh and Britons* (*y*). And in October the ſame year, upon Lord Falkland's receiving the ſword as Lord Deputy of Ireland, our Prelate preached a Sermon before him which gave great offence [*W*]: but at the cenſuring ſome officers on the 22d of November for refuſing to take the oath of ſupremacy, he made a ſpeech in the caſtle of Dublin in defence of that ſupremacy, for which he received a letter of thanks from his Majeſty (*z*) [*X*]. In June, 1623,

(*x*) It was printed in 1621, in 4to. This and another printed in 1625, which was preached before the King at Wanſtead, Jan. 20, 1624, on Eſther iv. 14. are all the Sermons publiſhed by himſelf.

(*y*) Subjoined to Chriſt. Sibthorp's book upon the ſame ſubject, and reprinted at London in 1631, 4to. In it he endeavours to prove the religion of thoſe ancient Chriſtians to be the ſame with that of the Proteſtants, in the moſt material points of difference from the Church of Rome.

(*u*) His conduct in the Government of this ſee, ſhews him to be far enough from being diſaffected to the diſcipline of the eſtabliſhed Church. See Parr, p. 27, 28.

(*w*) By miſtake it is Feb. 10 in Parr, and ſo copied in the General Dictionary.

(*z*) Dr Parr has preſerved an extract of this letter, p. 24, and 25.

'May it pleaſe your Lordſhips,

'The extraordinary merit of this bearer, Mr Doctor 'Uſher, prevailed with us to offer that favour (which 'we deny to many that move us) to be recommended 'to your Lordſhips; and we do it the rather, becauſe 'we are deſirous to ſet him right in his Majeſty's opi'nion, who it ſeemeth hath been informed, that he is 'ſomewhat tranſported with ſingularities, and unapt'neſs to be conformable to the rules and orders of 'the church. We are ſo far from ſuſpecting him in 'that kind, that we may be bold to recommend him 'to your Lordſhips as a man orthodox, and wor'thy to govern in the church, when occaſion ſhall be 'preſented, and his Majeſty may be pleaſed to advance 'him. He being one that hath preached before the 'ſtate here for eighteen years, and hath been his 'Majeſty's Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity thir'teen years, and a man who has given himſelf over to 'his profeſſion. An excellent and painful preacher, 'a modeſt man, abounding in goodneſs, and his life 'and doctrine ſo agreeable, as thoſe who agree not with 'him are yet conſtrained to love and admire him. And 'for ſuch a one we beſeech your Lordſhips to under'ſtand him, and accordingly to ſpeak to his Majeſty. 'And thus, with remembrance of our humble duties, 'we take leave of your Lordſhips, moſt humbly at 'command. From Dublin the laſt of September, 1619. '*Adam Loftus*, Chancellor; *Henry Docwra*; *William 'Metherwold*; *John King*; *Dudley Norton*; *Oliver St 'John*; *William Tuamenſis*; *Francis Axingiers*.'

Upon this letter the King ſent for him, and, after much converſation upon the ſubject, declared his ſatisfaction in the Doctor, by ſaying, that the *Knave Puritan was a bad man, but the Knave's Puritan was an honeſt man* (61).

(61) Parr.

[*T*] *The King nominated him Biſhop of Meath.*] Upon this occaſion he received the following letter from the Lord Deputy of Ireland:

'My Lord,

'I thank God for your preferment to the biſhopric 'of Meath. His Majeſty therein hath done egregious 'favour to his poor church here. There is none here 'but are exceeding glad that you are called thereunto: 'Even ſome Popiſh gentlemen themſelves have largely 'teſtified their gladneſs of it. Your grant is, and other 'neceſſary things ſhall be, ſealed this day or tomorrow. 'I pray God bleſs you and whatever you undertake. 'So I reſt,

'Your Lordſhip's moſt affectionate Friend,

(62) Idem.

Dublin, Feb. 3, 1620. 'Oliver Grandiſone (62).'

[*U*] *He preached before the Houſe of Commons.*] Upon his appointment to preach on the 7th of February, the Prebendaries of Weſtminſter-abbey claimed the privilege of their church, and their exemption from epiſcopal juriſdiction for many years, and offered their ſervice (63); whereupon the Houſe being diſpleaſed, appointed the place to be at the Temple, and he was ordered a ſecond time to preach before them. And Secretary Calvert, by the appointment of the Houſe, ſpoke to the King that the choice of their Preacher might ſtand. The King ſaid it was well done. Feb. 13 the Biſhop was at court, kiſſed the King's hand, and had a conference with him upon his ſermon: when his Majeſty told him he had an unruly flock to look after next Sunday, obſerved that the Houſe were in no proper temper for receiving the Sacrament, that after the late contentions many might eat their own condemnation. He bid the Biſhop tell them he hoped they were prepared, but wiſhed they might be better; to exhort them to unity and concord; to love God firſt, and then their Prince and Country; to look to the urgent neceſſity of the times, and the miſerable ſtate of Chriſtendom; concluding with *his dat qui cito dat*. Feb. 27 the Houſe ſent Sir James Perrot and Mr Drake to give him thanks, and deſire him to publiſh his ſermon, which was done accordingly (64).

(63) Dr Laud, afterwards Abp of Canterbury, was inſtalled a Prebendary a few weeks before. See his article.

(64) In this ſermon he ſtates the doctrine of Chriſt's preſence in the Sacrament againſt the real preſence. In which view he refers to it in his treatiſe againſt *Malone* the Jeſuit, ch. iii. *in initio*, and gives the ſubſtance of it.

[*W*] *A ſermon which gave great offence.*] We have an account of this by himſelf in a letter to Lord Grandiſone from Dublin, Oct. 16, 1622, wherein he acquaints that nobleman (late Lord Deputy) that, taking his text in Rom. xiii. *He beareth not the ſword in vain*, he expreſſed his wiſhes, that if his Majeſty were pleaſed to extend his clemency towards his ſubjects, that were Recuſants, ſome order notwithſtanding might be taken with them, that they ſhould not give us public affronts, and take poſſeſſion of our churches before our faces. 'I alſo intreated, continues he, that, whatever con'nivance were uſed to others, the laws might be ſtrictly 'executed againſt ſuch as had revolted from us (65).' Upon this a report was raiſed that he had ſaid, *the ſword had reſted too long in the ſheath*. But the reaſon of this addreſs to Lord Grandiſone was what ſome gave out, that he had taxed his Lordſhip with being too remiſs in proſecuting the Papiſts during his government, which he here expreſly denies. However that be, it is certain he fell under the diſpleaſure of his Metropolitan, Dr *Hampton*, Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, who wrote him the following letter.

(65) Letter 53 in Parr's collection.

'My Lord,

'In the exceptions taken by the Recuſants againſt 'your ſermon, I cannot be affected as *Gallo* was at the 'beating of *Softhenes*, to take nothing for them. I am 'ſenſible of that which my brethren ſuffer: and, if my 'advice had been required, I ſhould have counſelled 'your Lordſhip to give lenitives of your own accord 'for all which was conceived over-harſh or ſharp. The 'Inquiſition, whether an offence were given or taken, 'may add to the flame already kindled, and provoke 'further diſpleaſure; it is not like to pacify anger. 'But let your caſe be as good as Peter's was, when 'the brethren charged him injuriouſly with preaching 'to the uncircumciſed, the great Apoſtle was content 'to give them a public ſatisfaction, *Acts* ii. and it 'wrought good effects; for the text, ſays his auditors, '*quieverunt & glorificaverunt Deum*, it brought peace 'to the congregation and glory to God.

'My noble Lord Deputy hath propounded a way of 'pacification, that your Lordſhip ſhould ſatisfy ſuch of 'the Lords as could be preſent, wherein my poor en'deavours ſhall not be wanting. Howbeit (to ſay in'genuouſly as I think) that is not likely to have ſucceſs; 'for my Lord of Kilkenny and your other friends, try'ing their ſtrength in that kind at *Trim*, prevailed not, 'but can tell your Lordſhip what is expected. And 'if my wiſhes can take place, ſeeing ſo many men 'having ſomething againſt you, tarry not till they com'plain, but prevent it by a voluntary retractation, and 'milder interpretation of the points offenſive, eſpecially 'of drawing the ſword, of which ſpirit we are not, nor 'ought to be; our weapons are not carnal, but ſpiritual. 'Withal it will not be amiſs, in mine opinion, for your 'Lordſhip to withdraw yourſelf from theſe parts, and 'to ſpend more time in your own dioceſe, that ſuch as 'will not hear your doctrine may be drawn to love and 'reverence your Lordſhip for your hoſpitality and con'verſation (66).'

(66) Letter 54 ibid, dated from Tredagh, October 17, 1622.

[*X*] *He made a ſpeech &c.*] This ſpeech is too long to be inſerted here (67), and contains nothing more than the common arguments. However, it had ſo good an

(67) It is printed by Dr Parr, p. 19 to 24.

1623, he was conſtituted a Privy-Counſellor of Ireland (*aa*), and went not long after to England, by his Majeſty's ſpecial command, in order to carry on a work, which he had begun ſome time before, concerning the antiquity of the Britiſh Churches (*bb*). This buſineſs keeping him here till the death of Dr *Chriſtopher Hampton*, Archbiſhop of Armagh, in January 1624, made way for his advancement to that ſee, upon which occaſion he prepared to return to Ireland; but being ſeized with a quartan ague, which held him nine months, it was Auguſt 1626, when he arrived there (*cc*). Before he left England, he had a diſputation (*dd*) with a Popiſh Prieſt at *Drayton* in *Northamptonſhire*, the ſeat of Lord *Mordaunt*, afterwards Earl of *Peterborough*, who thereby became a convert to the Proteſtant religion [*Y*]. King James granted him the temporalities of the Archbiſhopric, notwithſtanding his abſence, and he was ordered four hundred pounds ſterling out of the revenues of Ireland, by King Charles I, not long after his acceſſion to the throne (*ee*). Being now at the head of the Iriſh Church, he omitted nothing which might either reform the abuſes, or relieve the wants of it, both in regard to doctrine and diſcipline [*Z*], keeping a watchful eye to defeat the reſtleſs endeavours of its neareſt and moſt dangerous enemies the Papiſts. In this ſpirit, he oppoſed vigorouſly a deſign which was ſet on foot by them in the winter after his arrival for granting a more full toleration to them [*AA*]. At the ſame time obſerving the daily

(*aa*) Letter 55 in Parr's Collection from Mr Henry Holcroft to our Biſhop, dated June 13, 1623.

(*bb*) See remarks [*H*] [illegible]

(*cc*) Parr, p. 27.

(*dd*) Ibid. p. 26, it was held in Nov. 1625. The event was of ſingular ſervice to Lady Peterborough, and the grateful ſenſe ſhe had of it will be ſeen in the ſequel.

(*ee*) Ibid. p. 26.

an effect, that diverſe of the offenders being ſatisfied they might lawfully take the oath of ſupremacy, did thereby avoid the ſentence of *Præmunire*, then ready to be pronounced againſt them. It muſt be obſerved, that there had been a ſynodical meeting (as it is called) of the popiſh clergy, together with ſome common lawyers, and Monks of the Ciſtertian, Franciſcan, and Jeſuits order, wherein a decree was made, declaring the abſolute unlawfulneſs of taking this oath of ſupremacy (68).

(68) See Wilkin's Concil. Brit. & Hibern. Vol. IV. p. 445.

[*Y*] *He diſputed with a Jeſuit, and converted Lord Mordaunt to the proteſtant religion.*] He was ſcarce recovered from his ague, when Lord Mordaunt, a zealous Roman catholic, being greatly deſirous to bring his Lady into the pale of that church, concluded, that there could be no better or more certain way of bringing it about, than to procure a diſputation to be held between two learned and principal perſons, one of each ſide, at which his Lady ſhould be preſent. In that reſolution he choſe, for the champion of his own cauſe, the Jeſuit *Beaumont*, whoſe true name was *Rookwood*, being brother to that *Rookwood* who was executed for the gunpowder treaſon. Againſt this antagoniſt Lady Peterborough choſe our Primate, who, notwithſtanding his health was not ſufficiently confirmed to engage in ſuch a taſk, yet from the ardent zeal for the reformed doctrine, with which he was conſtantly animated, and to ſave a ſoul from falling into the wiles of an artful Jeſuit, he did not refuſe to comply with her Ladyſhip's requeſt. The place appointed for holding the diſputation was my Lord's ſeat at Drayton in Northamptonſhire, a place very proper for the buſineſs, as being furniſhed with a moſt copious library of the writings of all the ancient fathers of the church, which were ready at hand, if it ſhould happen (which is ordinarily the caſe) that any of them ſhould be referred to in the engagement. The heads of the diſpute were agreed to be upon *Tranſubſtantiation*; *the Invocation of Saints*; *of Images*; *and the Perpetual Viſibility of the Church*. After it had been held for three days, five hours each day, in which our Primate ſuſtained the part of Reſpondent, that office for the fourth day lay upon Beaumont, according to the regulation ſettled by himſelf. But no Jeſuit then appeared. On the contrary, he ſent a letter to the Baron, with an excuſe for the default, alledging, *that all the arguments which he had formed had ſlipt out of his memory, nor was he able by any effort to recollect them, imputing the cauſe of the misfortune to a juſt judgment of God upon him, for undertaking of his own accord, without the licence of his Superiors, to engage in a diſpute with a perſon of ſo great eminence and learning as the Primate* (*). Such a ſhameful tergiverſation ſunk deeply into the mind of Lord Mordaunt, ſo that, after ſome conferences with the Primate, he renounced popery, and continued in the profeſſion of the proteſtant faith to the end of his life. This account is given in the life of our Archbiſhop by Dr *Nicholas Bernard*, who ſays he had it from an eye and ear witneſs. And it is in a great meaſure confirmed by the reproach thrown upon Beaumont by *Chaloner*, a ſecular prieſt, who in a piece wrote againſt the Jeſuit, admoniſhes *him to beware of* Drayton-houſe, *leſt he ſhould there chance to light upon another* Uſher, *and be again put to flight, to the great diſgrace both of himſelf and his profeſſion* (69). As to the Primate, the eminent ſervice done by this diſputation to Lady Peterborough could not but be very *ſenſibly felt by her*; and that it was ſo, ſhe gave his Grace ſufficient proofs in that extraordinary kindneſs and reſpect which ſhe ſhewed to him all his life after.

(*) To the ſame purpoſe it is ſaid that Sir John Savile once brought our Archbiſhop, under the notion of a country parſon, to diſpute with a learned Jeſuit, who, upon trial, ſaid, that country Vicar had more learning than all the Biſhops in England. Ducat. Leod. p. 626.

(69) Bates, ubi ſupra, p. 741.

[*Z*] *He reformed the doctrine and diſcipline of the Iriſh church.*] For that purpoſe he made frequent perſonal viſitations, admoniſhing thoſe of the clergy whom he found faulty, and giving excellent advice and directions to the reſt, charging them to uſe the liturgy of the church in all public adminiſtrations, and to preach and catechiſe diligently in their reſpective cures, and to make the Holy Scripture the rule as well as the ſubject of their doctrine and ſermons. He alſo endeavoured to reform the Proctors, Apparitors, and other officers of the Eccleſiaſtical courts, where there were many great complaints of abuſes and exactions in his Predeceſſor's time (70).

(70) Parr, p. 27, 28.

[*AA*] *He oppoſed a full toleration to the Papiſts.*] The propoſitions to which the Papiſts offered to conſent, in caſe of a more full toleration, were to pay their quota towards maintaining 500 horſe and 5000 foot-ſoldiers: Upon which occaſion a general aſſembly of the nation, both Proteſtants and Papiſts, was called by the then Lord Deputy Falkland in the hall of the caſtle of Dublin. The Biſhops, by the Lord Primate's invitation, met firſt at his houſe, where a proteſtation was drawn up in form, importing, that the popiſh religion being ſuperſtitious and idolatrous, a full toleration of it would be ſinful, and moreover a matter of moſt dangerous conſequence. This paper was ſigned by our Archbiſhop at the head of eleven Prelates, one of whom [the Biſhop of Derry] at the next meeting of the aſſembly, April 23, 1627, publiſhed it at Chriſt-church before the Lord Deputy and Council in the middle of his ſermon, wherein he declared warmly againſt the toleration; in which he was ſeconded by the Primate in a ſermon preached the Sunday following before the ſame auditory (71). Hereupon other reſolutions were taken. Mr *Bayle* (72) having tranſcribed Bates's account (73) of this proceeding of the Biſhops, makes the following remark: 'I am to obſerve, that our Archbiſhop and 'his Suffragans acted according to the principles of thoſe 'who are the moſt rigid enemies to toleration, they not 'grounding their declaration upon political reaſons, 'like moderate men of that party, but only on the 'nature of the worſhip in the popiſh communion, without 'once mentioning its perſecuting ſpirit, which is the only 'reaſon why even ſuch as favour toleration ſuppoſe that it 'ought not to be tolerated.' To paſs by this Critic's rath aſſertion, that the favourers of toleration ground their opinion of exempting Popery only upon account of its perſecuting ſpirit, the contrary of which is notoriouſly evident in our famous Poet *Milton*, who gives the very ſame reaſon for denying a Toleration to Popery with our Archbiſhop, viz. *its idolatry* (74). It will be ſufficient to repreſent the true ſtate of the caſe with reſpect to the Primate's conduct, which probably was unknown to Bayle. The Papiſts here underſtood by the Iriſh Biſhops proteſtation were ſuch as either deſcended of the race of the ancient Engliſh, or ſuch as held their eſtates from the crown, who being generally loyal ſubjects to his Majeſty, thereupon took this occaſion to propoſe the ſuſpenſion of the laws againſt Recuſants. This raiſed a murmur among ſeveral of the Proteſtants, for whoſe ſatisfaction it might be very neceſſary for the Biſhops to make the mentioned declaration. But that the Primate had no ſuch ſpirit of Intolerancy as is here intimated by his Accuſer, is evident from what followed, which was, That the Proteſtants, refuſing to contribute their quota to the ſupport of a ſtanding army, were aſſured that the laws againſt Recuſants ſhould remain in full force, and that if the Papiſts, on the other hand, would

(71) Parr, p. 29.

(72) Under our Prelate's article, remark [*B*] at the end.

(73) In vita Uſſerii, p. 741, 742.

(74) Milton's treatiſe of true religion, hereſy, ſchiſm, and toleration, in his works, Vol. II. Edit. 1753, 419.

daily growth and increaſe of Arminianiſm, which was looked on by him as a very dangerous doctrine, he employed ſome time in ſearching into the original of the *Prædeſtinarian Controverſy*, and meeting with a curioſity upon that ſubject, he publiſhed it in 1631, at Dublin *(ff)* in 4to [*BB*]; as he did alſo another in 1632 *(gg)*, *Concerning the ancient Iriſh Church* [*CC*]. This year he was likewiſe employed in recovering ſeveral lands belonging to his own dioceſe, in which he was aſſiſted by Archbiſhop *Laud (hh)*. From the time that Lord *Wentworth Earl of Stafford* held the poſt of Lord Deputy of Ireland, the Archbiſhop left no means untried to improve the revenues of that Church in general [*DD*], having

(ff) It was the firſt book in Latin that was printed in Ireland.

(gg) Which was reprinted in 1665, 4to, at Paris.

(hh) See his letters to that Archbiſhop, No. 154, and 172, in Parr's Collection.

would give nothing without ſuch a ſuſpenſion, they might perhaps agree that the condition of the kingdom required ſome ſtanding forces. It was reſolved therefore, by the Lord Deputy and Council, that the *Primate* ſhould, *in regard of his great eſteem with all parties*, declare, in a ſpeech to the whole aſſembly, the true ſtate of the kingdom, and the neceſſity of a ſtanding army for the defence thereof againſt any foreign invaſions or inteſtine commotions; and conſequently, that a competent ſupply was needful for that purpoſe, and to be raiſed, without any condition whatſoever, as well by the Roman catholic as Proteſtant ſubjects. The ſpeech is too long to be inſerted here, though it is an exquiſite proof of his Lordſhip's abilities in matters of ſtate, and being tranſmitted by the deſire of the Lord Deputy to the King, was well approved by him. The following paſſage in it is apparently a full vindication of the Archbiſhop againſt Bayle's accuſation of a perſecuting ſpirit. 'Where the burden is born, ſays he, in common, and 'the aid required to be given to the Prince by his ſubjects 'of different judgments in religion, it ſtands not with 'the ground of common reaſon, that ſuch a condition 'ſhould be annexed unto the gift as muſt of neceſſity 'deter the one party from giving at all upon ſuch terms 'as are repugnant to their conſciences: as therefore 'on the one hand, if we deſire that the Recuſants 'ſhould join with us in granting a common aid, we 'ſhould not put in the condition of executing the ſtatute, 'which we are ſure they would not yield unto; ſo on 'the other hand, if they would have us to join with 'them in the ſame contribution, they ſhould not require 'the condition of ſuſpending the ſtatute to be added, 'which we in conſcience cannot yield unto. The way 'will be then freely to grant unto his Majeſty, without 'all manner of conditions that may ſeem unequal unto 'any ſide, and to refer unto his own ſacred breaſt how 'far he will be pleaſed to extend or abridge his favour; 'of whoſe lenity, in forbearing to execute the ſtatute, 'our Recuſants have found ſuch experience, that they 'cannot expect a greater liberty, by giving any thing 'that is demanded, than now already they do freely 'enjoy.' The inference from this argument is obvious; That though it could not conſiſt with a conſcientious regard for the ſafety of the true religion, to conſent that Popery, as being idolatrous, ſhould have the ſanction of a law to warrant the exerciſe of it, yet he expreſsly approves his Majeſty's lenity in forbearing to reſtrain that exerciſe, except where the ſafety of the public, and thence of the eſtabliſhed religion therewith, makes it neceſſary. In ſhort, he is for keeping the rod in his hand, but to uſe it ſparingly againſt them. Is not this the principle which is univerſally maintained at this day by the favourers of Toleration?

[*BB*] *He publiſhed a curioſity upon the Predeſtinarian controverſy.*] It is entitled, *Goteſchalci & predeſtinarianæ Controverſiæ ab Eo motæ hiſtoria* (75). Our Author had begun twelve years before to make collections for a hiſtory of Predeſtinarianiſm; but, upon the coming out of that hiſtory by *Voſſius* (76), he dropt his deſign of publiſhing any thing of it except theſe written by Goteſchalc himſelf, which were not mentioned by Voſſius, and had never been printed. He had procured them out of Corbey abbey in France. Thus he writes to Dr *Ward* (76), who had aſſiſted him about the ſame time with ſome obſervations touching the nickname of the Predeſtinarians, impoſed by the Semipelagians on the followers of St Auſtin. Hereby it is ſeen how much reaſon we have, at this time of day, to lament the great waſte of time and labour which was thrown away upon this abſurd doctrine by perſons whoſe abilities might have been of ſo much more ſervice to religion and learning upon better ſubjects. The only uſe ſuch productions ſeem to be capable of being turned to at preſent is, to look upon them as ſo many *ſea-marks*, to avoid falling into the like futilities.

(75) He dedicates the piece to Voſſius, for whom his Grace would willingly have procured the deanery of Armagh. Letter 144 in Parr's Collection, February 3, 1629.

(76) Letter 149 ibid. dated Decemb. 10, 1630, where he writes that it was then finiſhed.

[*CC*] *Another concerning the ancient Iriſh church.*] The title of this piece is, *Veterum Epiſtolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*, containing a choice collection of letters out of ſeveral ancient manuſcripts, and other Authors, to and from Iriſh Biſhops and Monks, from anno 592 to 1180, concerning the affairs of the Iriſh church; which ſhew the great eſteem, as well for learning as piety, in which the Biſhops and Clergy of that church were held both at Rome, France, England, and elſewhere: with ſeveral matters relating to the great controverſies of thoſe times about the keeping of Eaſter, and alſo every thing relating to the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline and juriſdiction of the church of that kingdom.

[*DD*] *He left no means untried for improving the revenues of the Iriſh church.*] A remarkable inſtance of this appears in the warmth with which he oppoſed a patent granted to Sir *John Bathe* of 300l. per annum, at this time to be paid out of the impropriations. The Primate having given orders to ſtop his patent, received a letter from the Lords Juſtices, deſiring him to declare his motives for it. In anſwer to which he expreſſes himſelf in theſe very warm terms: 'I cannot nor need not 'produce any other reaſon than that which I have done, 'and for the maintenance of the ſufficiency whereof 'I will adventure all I am worth, namely, that, for 'the particular grant now in queſtion, Sir *John Bathe's* 'letter hath been gotten from his Majeſty by meer ſur'reption, and therefore no patent ought to be paſſed 'thereupon. For though I eaſily grant, that my Lord 'Treaſurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer might 'certify unto his Majeſty, that there was no other thing 'to be paſſed here but impropriations, though Sir John 'Bathe, I think, hath found already ſomewhat elſe to 'be paſſed in his books, and may do more, if he will 'not be too haſty, but take time to enquire; yet how 'does it appear, that either of theſe two noble gentle'men did as much as know that his Majeſty had taken 'a former order for the ſettlement of theſe things upon 'the church, to which reſolution had they been privy, 'I do ſo preſume of their nobleneſs, and care of the 'publick good, that the remittal of a matter of 2000l. 'would not induce them to divert his Majeſty from 'making good that precious donation, which, by the 'example of his father of never dying memory, he had 'ſolemnly devoted to God and his church; ſuch an 'eximious act of piety as is not to be countervailed 'with 2000l. or 20000l. of any earthly treaſure. 'But whatſoever they knew, or knew not, of his 'Majeſty's own pious reſolution, and conſtant purpoſe 'never to revoke that which he hath once given unto 'God, I reſt ſo confident, as I dare pawn my life upon 'it, that, when he did ſign thoſe letters of Sir John 'Bathe's, he had not the leaſt intimation given unto 'him, that this did any way croſs that former gift, 'which he made unto the church upon ſo great and 'mature deliberation; as being grounded upon the 'advice firſt of the Commiſſioners ſent into Ireland, 'then of the Lords of the Council upon their report 'in England, thirdly of King James that ever bleſſed 'Father of the church, and laſtly of the Commiſſioners 'for Iriſh affairs, unto whom, for the laſt concluſion 'and debating of this buſineſs, I was by his now 'Majeſty referred myſelf at my being in England (77).' But it appears, by Biſhop *Laud's* anſwer, that the ſeal was put to Sir John Bathe's grant in April before, of which doctrine, ſays that Prelate, you may make this uſe, what cloſe conveyance and carriage there may be when the church is to be ſpoiled (78). Sir *John Bathe*, to procure this grant, had repreſented that the clergy had a third part of Ireland in their hands: To ſet that matter right, our Author had been at the pains of procuring a rental of all the revenues of the biſhoprics and deaneries, which he ſent to Biſhop Laud. It appears alſo, by a letter of *Uſher* to *Laud* (79), that the former was made by his Majeſty Guardian of ſpiritualties for the Iriſh church; and in the ſame letter, recommending his nephew Mr Uſher to the provoſtſhip of Trinity-college, he has this expreſſion, 'I would 'rather loſe my life than not to anſwer the truſt repoſed 'in me by my Sovereign.' Upon the whole it appears, by theſe letters, that he perfectly concurred with Laud in

(77) Letter 156, dated at Dregheda, April 3, 1630.

(78) Letter 166, dated July 5, 1630.

(79) No. 145 in Dr Parr's Collection.

ing for the uſe of it ſome years before obtained a grant from his Majeſty of ſuch impropriations belonging to the crown as were then leaſed out, as ſoon as they ſhould fall (*ii*). In 1634, a little before the meeting of the Parliament, he preſerved the right of his ſee to the primacy againſt the attempts of the Archbiſhop of Dublin, who challenged it (*kk*), in conſequence of which his precedency to the Lord Chancellor was obtained at the ſame time. The Convocation meeting together with the Parliament, he had the principal hand in compoſing and eſtabliſhing the Iriſh Canons, in which the liberties of that Church were maintained by him againſt Dr *Bramhall*, then Biſhop of *London-Derry* [*EE*]. All this while he kept a correſpondence in all countries for the advancement of learning [*FF*], whereby, among

(*ii*) Parr, p. 41.

(*kk*) He wrote a paper upon this ſubject, which being ſent to England, the right was declared in his favour by his Majeſty. The precedency to the Lord Chancellor was given him without his ſeeking. Id. p. 41, 42.

in promoting the honour, power, wealth, and revenues of the hierarchy; ſo far was he from giving way to a ſpirit of Puritaniſm.

[*EE*] *He drew up and defended the canons of the Iriſh church.*] Biſhop *Bramhall* propoſed to have the canons of the church of England eſtabliſhed for that of Ireland, without any alteration whatſoever. This was thought ſomething prejudicial to the liberties of the Iriſh church; whereupon it was concluded that the church of Ireland ſhould not be tied to that book, but that ſuch canons ſhould be ſelected out of the ſame, and ſuch others added, as the preſent convocation ſhould think fit, which was accordingly done, as appears from the view of each. It is more than probable that Biſhop Bramhall was influenced by Archbiſhop Laud, who, upon paſſing theſe canons, wrote thus to Uſher: 'For your canons, 'to ſpeak truth, and with liberty and freedom, though 'I cannot but think the Engliſh canons intire (eſpecially 'with ſome amendments) would have done better, yet 'ſince you and that church have thought otherwiſe, 'I do very eaſily ſubmit to it.' His Grace afterwards writes thus: 'As for the particular about ſubſcription, 'I think you have couched that very well, ſince, as it 'ſeems, there was ſome neceſſity to carry that article 'cloſely; and God forbid you ſhould upon any occaſion 'roll back upon your former controverſy about the 'articles (80).' To explain his Lordſhip's meaning, it muſt be obſerved, that in thoſe canons the thirty-nine articles of the church of England were received, and declared to be the confeſſion of the faith of the church of Ireland, to which every clergyman was obliged to ſubſcribe. Upon which Dr Heylin aſſerted, that the Iriſh articles of 1615 abovementioned were now repealed (81). But he recalled this error when he found (the truth) that the Iriſh articles were ſtill retained and confirmed in theſe very canons. The Doctor indeed obſerved, that the inconſiſtency of the ſeveral articles proved the virtual repeal of the Iriſh ones: yet it is plain that this was not ſo underſtood at that time, nor for ſeveral years after, ſince both the Primate and all the reſt of the Iriſh Biſhops, at all ordinations, took the ſubſcription of the party ordained to both ſetts of articles, till the Iriſh rebellion put a ſtop to all ordinations. However, ſince the Reſtoration of King Charles II, a ſubſcription only to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England is required.

(80) Letter 184 in Parr. See alſo ſeveral particulars relating to this affair in a letter of Deputy Wentworth to Biſhop Laud, dated Dec. 6, 1634, in Straford's Letters, &c. Vol. I. p. 343.

(81) *Petrus reſpondet*, Sect. IX. where he gives inſtances of this inconſiſtency, ſome of which are mentioned already.

[*FF*] *He kept a correſpondence in all parts for the advancement of learning.*] We have before, in the courſe of this work (82), mentioned his procuring a Latin tranſlation of the *Chronicon Samaritanum* by *Henry Hottinger*, Profeſſor of Hebrew at *Zurich* in Switzerland; and having alſo referred hither for an account of another of his correſpondents (83), the preſent remark ſhall be employed in diſcharging that promiſe. The perſon was the famous *Chriſtian Ravis*, *Rave*, or *Ravius*. He was born in Berlin, the capital city of the marquiſate, as it then was, of Brandenburg in Germany, anno 1613, and after he had ſpent about eight years in ſome foreign academies, became a ſojourner in Oxford in 1638; much about which time he addreſſed a letter to our Primate, who thereby perceiving his merit, gave him an invitation to come to Dublin, with a proffer of very honourable terms. In the mean time his merit coming to the knowledge of the famous *Hugo Grotius*, that excellently learned man, unawares to the Primate, commended and afterwards conveyed him with him to Cardinal *Richlieu*, then Arbiter of France, who, after diſcourſing him in a proper manner, offered to employ him as his Agent in the Eaſtern parts of the world; but Ravius modeſtly declined accepting the propoſal, alledging his obligations to the Engliſh nation, and eſpecially to our Primate, *whereupon the Cardinal diſmiſſed him with an honourable donative*, ſays my Author, in the preſence of that renowned Ambaſſador Grotius, with whoſe ſon (when a courtier in the court of the King of Sweden, anno 1636) (84), he had acquaintance at *Stockholm*. It was therefore by the encouragement and munificence of our Primate that Ravius began his travels into the Eaſt. In theſe travels, being at Conſtantinople in 1639, our Primate wrote him a Latin letter, containing a promiſe to allow him 24*l.* a year towards his ſupport, giving him inſtructions to procure, if poſſible, ſome manuſcripts which he mentions to him (85). Here he became acquainted with Dr *Pococke*, then in that city upon the ſame deſign with Ravius, who, bringing with him ample teſtimonials of his worth, was kindly received by the Engliſh Ambaſſador there, as he was alſo by the Engliſh Conſul of Smyrna, Mr *Edward Stringer*, a worthy and learned gentleman, who, for Dr Uſher's ſake, was never weary of ſhewing him all the favour he could. After his return into England, (bringing with him a choice treaſure of Oriental manuſcripts) the Primate's bounty was diſpenſed to him with ſo liberal and large a hand, that he confeſſed himſelf to have had all along an exceeding rich ſupply from that learned and religious perſon: and therefore, upon the conſideration of ſo much generoſity, and eſpecially done to a ſtranger, only at the motion of the learned Dr *Elielman*, he was enjoined by *John Gerhard Voſſius*, and *Lud. de Dieu*, as an indiſpenſible duty, to make a ſuitable acknowledgment for the ſame. *Ravis* was now ſettled in England, and in 1642 reſided at Greſham-college, and afterwards at London-houſe, in both which places he taught the Eaſtern languages, being then ſubſervient to the prevailing party here. Afterwards he took another ramble to Holland, and viſited the principal towns of Amſterdam, the Hague, Utrecht, &c. In the beginning of the year 1648 we find him again in England, whither the hopes of being preferred by the Parliament had brought him.. Accordingly, having taken the Covenant, he was made, by the parliamentary viſitors, Fellow of *Magdalen*-college in Oxford; but finding few perſons, either in that college or any other, inclined to the ſtudy of the Eaſtern tongues, wherein his excellency lay, he continued there not above a year. He had been encouraged a long time by the parliament committee to expect their favour, in ſucceeding his friend Mr Pococke as Arabic Profeſſor in that Univerſity, a promotion which was much againſt the mind of our Primate, who uſed all his influence to diſſuade him from purſuing his views of it. How far he was wrought upon by this great Patron is not known; but it is certain the deſign miſcarried, and that he afterwards travelled into *Sweden*, became Profeſſor of the Eaſtern languages in the Univerſity of *Upſal* there, and that, having married a Swediſh woman, by whom he had a family of children, he was in a ſhort time reduced to great poverty, all the revenues of the profeſſorſhips in that Univerſity being applied to defray the expences of the war in which the Swede was engaged againſt the Dane about 1657. Hereupon he ſettled at *Kiel*, in the dutchy of *Holſatia* in Germany, and lived there in a comfortable condition till his death, which happened in 1677 (86). We have the following pieces of his writing: 1. Panegyricæ orationes duæ de linguis Orientalibus, Ultr. 1643-44, 4to. 2. Diſſertatio de ſcribendo Lexico Arabico, Ibid. 1644, 4to. 3. Obteſtatio ad univerſam Europam pro diſcendis rebus et linguis Orientalibus ac conjuganda Africæ atque Aſiæ eruditione, Ibid. 1644, in eight ſheets folio: This was written at Conſtantinople four years before. 4. Orthographiæ et Analogiæ (vulgo Etymologiæ) Ebraicæ delineatæ juxta vocis partes abſtractas; 1. Conſonas, 2. Vocales, 3. Accentus, &c. Amſtel. 1646, 4to. 5. Prima tredecim partium Alcorani, Arabico-Latini, ubi textus Arabicus, &c. Or *thus*, Primæ aliquot Alcorani Suratæ, &c. printed beyond-ſea in 1646, 4to. 6. Specimen Alcorani Arab.-Lat. printed with the laſt-mentioned piece; as alſo, Catalogus CLXI manuſcriptorum Arabicorum bibliothecæ Laurentinæ in Eſcuriali Regis Catholici, which catalogue was made by Licent. Caſtillius, Auguſt 16, 1583. 7. A diſcourſe of the Oriental tongues, viz. Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic, Lond. 1649-50,

(82) In Vol. V. p. 3374, remark [*S*], note (34).

(83) Ibid. p. 3378, remark [*DD*], note (60).

(84) Hugo Grotius was then Ambaſſador from Sweden to France, and his eldeſt ſon, Cornelius, in 1636, was Latin Secretary to Oxenſtiern, then Prime Miniſter and High Chancellor of Sweden. Life of Hugo Grotius by Burigny, Engliſh Edit. 1754, 8vo, Book IV and VI. p. 339.

(85) Letter CCCV in Parr's collection. It is dated Nov. 12, 1639.

(86) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II, col. 599.

among other things, he had procured in 1634 a very curious copy of the *Samaritan Pentateuch* from the East; beſides one of the old Teſtament in [*GG*] Syriac, and other valuable manuſcripts. And notwithſtanding the aforementioned neceſſary avocations in the diſcharge of his epiſcopal office, he proſecuted his ſtudies with indefatigable diligence, the fruits of which appeared in 1638, when he publiſhed at Dublin, in 4to, his *Emanuel, or a Treatiſe on the Incarnation of the Son of God* (*ll*), which was followed by his *Britannicarum Eccleſiarum* [*HH*] *Antiquitates* (*mm*) in the enſuing year. In the beginning of 1640, he came into England with his family, intending (as before) to return in a year or two at fartheſt. Soon after his arrival he went to Oxford (*nn*) for the more convenience of purſuing his ſtudies: but theſe were unhappily interrupted by the urgent neceſſity of the times which put him upon writing ſome pieces that were publiſhed at Oxford in 1641, upon the ſubject of epiſcopacy [*II*]: It was about this time alſo, that he drew up his remarkable treatiſe concerning *the Power of the Prince, and Obedience of the Subject* [*KK*], and the ſame year being

(*ll*) The ſecond edition came out in 1643 at Oxford, the third at London in 1645, the fourth in 1648, and it was reprinted in 1670 in fol. It is reckoned a maſter-piece of our Author.

(*mm*) The ſecond edition *Autoris Manu paſſim aucta* was printed at Lon in 1687.

(*nn*) An apartment was provided for him at Chriſt-Church in the lodgings of Dr Morrice, Regius Hebrew Profeſſor. Parr, p. 44.

1649-50, 8vo: It treats of the antiquity, virtues, copiouſneſs, uſe, unity, and eaſineſs of the ſaid tongues. To it is annexed a copper-plate print, in form of an almanack, divided into ſeveral columns, one of which contains the orthography, another the etymology, of conſonants, vowels, and accents, another the ſyntax of the holy tongue, &c. 8. A general grammar of the Hebrew, Samaritan, Syriac, Chaldean, Arabic, and Ethiopic tongues, Lond. 1649, 8vo. There are alſo other cuts annexed to this for the ſake of explanation, and at the end is ſubjoined, Seſqui-Decuria epiſtolarum adoptivarum ex variis orbis partibus commiſſarum, circa Orientalium ſtudiorum promovendorum curam, Lond. 1648, 8vo. Theſe epiſtles were written to Ravis by ſeveral learned men: Among others there is one of Mr (afterwards Dr) Edward Pococke, dated at Oxford, July 16, 1647, which begins thus: '*Clariſſ. et doctiſſ. Vir, Binas a Te literas accepi, unaque Libellos genuinam ingenii Raviani fœtum, et affectus ſingularis indicium.*' And a little after are theſe words: '*Concordantiarum compendium a Te elaboratum avide expectamus, opus haud dubie uſus ſingularis omnibus φιλεβραίοις futurum &c.*' 9. Epiſtolæ variæ ad doctiſſimos Viros; beſides other things, as his Catena Magnetica, his Fons Zionis, his Chronologia Biblica, &c.

Our Ravius had a brother, called *John Ravius*, who was Profeſſor of Eloquence in the Univerſity of *Roſtock*, who publiſhed an edition of *Cornelius Nepos* in 1636; as alſo, *Tractatus de propoſitionibus modalibus contra Scharfium*, 1637, and *Logica Noviſſima &c.* 1638.

[*GG*] *A very curious copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, &c.*] It was one of the firſt of thoſe Pentateuchs that ever were brought into theſe Weſtern parts of Europe, as Mr Selden (86) and Dr Walton (87) acknowledge; and the Syriac Teſtament was much more perfect than had hitherto been ſeen in theſe parts. The other manuſcripts were procured by the means of one Mr *Davits*, then a merchant at Aleppo. The Archbiſhop collated the Samaritan with the Hebrew, and marked the differences, after which he intended it for the library of Sir *Robert Cotton* (88). But this, as well as the other manuſcripts, being borrowed of him by Dr *Walton*, and made uſe of by him in the edition of the Polyglot Bible, were not recovered out of the hands of that Biſhop's executors till the year 1686, and are now in the *Bodleyan* library at *Oxford*.

(86) In Marmore Arund. &c.

(87) Præfat. ad Bibl. Polyglott.

(88) Our Author's letter to Mr Selden, No. 122 in Parr, where he gives an account of theſe MSS.

[*HH*] *Britan. Eccleſ. Antiquitates.*] This hiſtory contains a moſt exact account of the Britiſh church, from the firſt planting of Chriſtianity in twenty years after our Saviour's crucifixion. He brings it down, both in Britain and Ireland, to the end of the VIIth century. The piece was of great ſervice, particularly to Dr *Lloyd* (89) and Biſhop *Stillingfleet* (90), his followers upon the ſame ſubject. And a good uſe has been made of it by Mr *Thoreſby* in an imperfect treatiſe, firſt printed in this work (91).

(89) In his Hiſtorical Account of the ancient church government in Great Britain and Ireland.

(90) In his Origines Britannicæ.

(91) See his article, in rem. [*G*].

[*II*] *Some pieces upon the ſubject of Epiſcopacy.*] Theſe were: 1. *The judgment of Dr Reynolds concerning the original of Epiſcopacy defended.* 2. *The Original of Biſhops, or a chorographical and hiſtorical diſquiſition touching the Lydian or Proconſular Aſia, and the ſeven metropolitical churches contained therein.* The deſign of this treatiſe is to prove, from Acts xix. 17. ſupported by Rev. ii. 1. and confirmed by Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, that Biſhops and Metropolitans were inſtituted by the Apoſtles; meaning only with regard to their ſuperiority in degree; for he did not hold Epiſcopacy to be a ſuperior order to Preſbytery. He alſo endeavours to prove, that the Biſhop of Epheſus was not only the Metropolitan of the Proconſular Aſia, but the Primate or *Exarch* of all the provinces that were comprehended within the compaſs of the whole Aſian dioceſe; and that he acted ſuitably to the patriarchal juriſdiction, which was in effect conferred upon him. In the proſecution of the argument he ſhews: 1. That the Stars deſcribed in the Revelations are the Angels of the ſeven churches. 2. That theſe Angels were the ſeveral Biſhops of thoſe churches, and not the whole college of Preſbyters. 3. That each of theſe ſeven churches was at that time a metropolis. 4. That theſe Biſhops were ordained by the Apoſtles as conſtant permanent officers in the church, and ſo in a ſort *Jure Divino*, not to be diſpenſed with except in caſes of neceſſity. Theſe tracts were printed with others upon the ſame ſubject under the following title: *Certain briefe treatiſes, written by diverſe learned men, concerning the ancient and moderne government of the church, wherein both the primitive inſtitution of epiſcopacy is maintained, and the lawfulneſs of the ordination of Proteſtant Miniſters beyond the ſeas likewiſe defended*, Oxford, 1641, 4to. Some of his Grace's arguments in this learned tract have been generally thought too high-ſtrained even by the orthodox part of Divines. No wonder therefore that Milton's ſpirit was raiſed to the height of exultation upon it. Nor is it more a wonder to find the fiery malevolence of that antiepiſcopal ſpirit falling upon the Archbiſhop in his ſtrongeſt fort, and where he is fairly defenſible againſt any attack whatſoever. His Grace obſerves, that the ground of epiſcopacy is fetched partly from the pattern preſcribed in the Old Teſtament, and partly by the imitation thereof brought in by the Apoſtles. The champion for a Preſbyterian parity takes this poſition to taſk, and, having poured forth a redundancy of wit, void of ſolid reaſoning, to prove the divine inſtitution in the Goſpel of the Preſbyterian form of church government, he concludes in theſe words, which are produced as an exact ſample of all that goes before: '*We may remember then*, ſays he, *that Prelaty neither hath nor can have foundation in the law, nor yet in the goſpel; which aſſertion, as being for the plainneſs thereof a matter of eyeſight rather than of diſquiſition, I voluntarily admit, not forgetting to ſpecify this note again, that the earneſt deſire which the Prelates have to build their hierarchy upon the ſandy bottom of the law, gives us abundantly to ſee the little aſſurance which they find to rear up their high roofs by the authority of the goſpel; repulſed as it were from the writings of the Apoſtles, and driven to take ſanctuary among the Jews. Hence that open confeſſion of the Primate beforementioned, Epiſcopacy is fetched partly from the pattern of the Old Teſtament, and partly from the New as an imitation of the Old; though nothing can be more rotten in divinity than ſuch a poſition as this, and is all one as to ſay, Epiſcopacy is partly of divine inſtitution, and partly of man's own carving. For who gave the authority to fetch more from the pattern of the law than what the Apoſtles had already fetched, if they fetched any thing at all, as hath been proved they did not. So was Jeroboam's epiſcopacy, partly from the pattern of the law, and partly from the pattern of his own carnality; a party-coloured and a party-membered Epiſcopacy; and what can this be leſs than monſtrous (91)?*

(91) Reaſon of church government, urged againſt Prelaty, Book I. Chap. V.

[*KK*] *His piece upon the power of the Prince, &c.*] This tract was not printed till after the Reſtoration, when it came out with a remarkable preface by Biſhop Sanderſon. It is too well known to need any comment here. We ſhall only take notice, that Dr Parr ſeems to have had this book in his eye (92), where he tells us, '*that, after the ſitting of the long parliament, the Primate made it his buſineſs, as well by preaching as writing, to exhort them to loyalty and obedience to their*

(92) In the Abp's life, p. 44.

ing conſulted by the King in the *Earl of Strafford*'s affair, he gave his opinion againſt his Majeſty's ſigning the bill [*LL*] for attainting that nobleman. In the rebellion which broke out

'their Prince, endeavouring, to the utmoſt of his power, 'to heal up thoſe breaches, and reconcile thoſe differ- 'ences, that were ready to break out both in church 'and ſtate. The book was wrote by the King's com- 'mand, but forborn then to be publiſhed becauſe of the 'increaſing violence of the times.' And, if we may believe the aforementioned writer of the Archbiſhop's life, the reaſon of his not doing it during the time of the *Uſurper* was, an apprehenſion that either his adherents or others might interpret it to his advantage. It was publiſhed by his Grace's grandſon, James Tyrrel, Eſq; in 1661. Biſhop Sanderſon obſerves (93), that in it every thing may be found which can be met with either in the Holy Scriptures, fathers, philoſophers, common reaſon, and the laws and ſtatutes of the realm, to prove it altogether unlawful for a ſubject to take up arms againſt his ſovereign Prince, and is alſo there made uſe of to the greateſt advantage. Dr Parr has given his Grace's anſwers to ſeveral queries propoſed to him while he was at Oxford concerning this matter, in one of which (94) he gives the following rule for obeying extrajudicial precepts of his Majeſty: "If they be ſuch, ſays he, as command me to be active in doing that which is unjuſt by the known law of the land, he yields true obedience that denies to fulfil ſuch a command: Only this muſt not be generally pronounced as a rule in time of war, where neceſſity will be in many things a ſtronger law than that which is fixed for a peaceable government. But if they be any of ſuch commands as make me only paſſive in requiring ſome of my eſtate by a loan or tax, I may not haſtily ſquare with my Sovereign by denial and ſtanding out: For any man, as he may recede from his right, and that which is his own, ſo ought he not to conteſt with his Sovereign upon matters of no very great moment. As for the infringing of the liberties of the Subject, ſuch taxes or loans, or any other extrajudicial commands, muſt be general, extending to all or moſt ſubjects; and cuſtomary, being often impoſed before they can be judged ſo immediately to infringe the Subject's liberties, as to make a ſubject think he is bound to deny." Hence it appears, that the Archbiſhop knew how to diſtinguiſh between unlimited paſſive obedience and legal reſiſtance. He held every means for defending and maintaining the liberties of the Subject lawful except that of taking up arms againſt him: But all attempts of that kind, either by open violence or ſecret machinations, he abſolutely condemned, as built apparently upon popiſh principles, which he took all proper occaſions to expoſe. In that ſpirit we find him preaching a remarkable ſermon in St Mary's church at Oxford, before the Univerſity, on the fifth of November this ſame year 1640 (95). One *Ralph Buckland*, a popiſt prieſt, had publiſhed two tracts in 12mo, intitled: 1. *Seven Sparks of the enkindled Soul.* 2. *Four Lamentations, which, compoſed in the hard times of Queen* Elizabeth, *may be uſed at all times when the church happeneth to be extreamly perſecuted:* Drawn out of the Holy Scriptures, after the form of pſalms. To theſe was ſubjoined a *Jeſus pſalter*. Where or when theſe were printed is not mentioned in the title-page. However, that it was after the acceſſion of King James I. to the crown of England appears in the firſt pſalm, p. 12. thus: *By the hand of thy great Servant* James *ſhake off our yoake, that we may find him an honorable Comforter— Beautify him with a name more precious than his crown; by the true name of a good King, &c.* Our Primate having procured a copy of theſe pious pieces, took occaſion in the ſermon juſt mentioned to obſerve, that the ſaid tracts having been printed at *Rome* in 1603, or thereabouts, the Gunpowder-treaſon, which was not diſcovered till 1605 in England, was known two years before at Rome, where theſe two tracts were printed in 1603, or thereabouts; and that prayers were ſent up there at the ſame time for the proſperous ſucceſs of the ſaid treaſonable plot, which was evident from ſeveral paſſages in theſe tracts, which he read before his audience, as follows: Pſ. ii. p. 25. *Confirm their hearts in hope; for the redemption is not far off. The year of viſitation draweth to an end: and Jubilation is at hand.*—— Pſ. ii. p. 32. *But the memory of Novelties ſhall periſh with a crack: as a ruinous houſe falling to the ground.*——Ibid. p. 33. *He will come as a flame that burneth out beyond the furnace, &c. His fury ſhall fly forth as thunder*—— Pſ. iv. p. 54. *The crack was heard into all lands; and made Nations quake for fear.*——Ibid. p. 66. *In a moment canſt thou cruſh her bones, &c.* But we muſt not omit the remarks made hereupon by Mr Wood, who, having informed us, that all theſe paſſages delivered from the pulpit by our learned and godly Archbiſhop were then generally believed, proceeds thus: 'I muſt make bold 'to tell the Reader, being an eager purſuer of truth, 'that, by the ſeveral copies of the ſaid books which 'I have ſeen, it doth not appear at all that they were 'printed at *Rome* (96), or where elſe: and if it may really 'be gueſſed by the make or mould of the letter where- 'with they were printed, I ſhould rather take them '(as one or more Doctors of the Univerſity do the like) 'to have been printed either at *Rheims* or *Doway*, or 'not unlikely at Antwerp: For at *Rome* there were 'ſeldom before that time, then or ſince, ſuch fine or 'clear letters uſed, as by multitudes of books which 'I have ſeen, that were printed at that place, appears; 'nor indeed ever were or are any Engliſh books printed 'there (97).' This moſt diligently inquiſitive writer furniſhes us, purſuant to the plan of his work, with an account of the author, *Ralph Buckland*, who, he ſays, was 'an Eſquire's ſon, born and deſcended from an 'ancient genteel family of his name at *Weſt Harptree* in 'Somerſetſhire, became a Commoner of Magdalen- 'college, Oxford, in Michaelmas term, 1579, aged 'fifteen, or thereabouts; but, before he took a degree, 'went to London, and ſtudied the Common law. At 'length, being inflamed with a love to the Roman 'catholic religion, he left his parents, country, and 'the proſpect of a fair inheritance (for he was the firſt 'heir to his father) and went forthwith (by the inſtiga- 'tion, without doubt, of ſome prieſt) to the Engliſh 'college at *Rheims*; in which place and at Rome he 'ſpent about ſeven years, in the eager obtaining of 'knowledge in philoſophy and divinity. Afterwards 'being made prieſt, and ſent into the *miſſion* of *Eng- 'land*, lived chiefly, I preſume, in his own country, 'and ſpent above twenty years in doing offices belong- 'ing to his profeſſion.' Then follows an account of his writings, beginning with the two tracts abovementioned, which he calls, *Two little things that contain ejaculations very full of moſt fervent devotion for the reconcile- ment of England and Scotland to the Romiſh church.* The next piece is, *An Embaſſage from Heaven, wherein our Lord Chriſt giveth to underſtand his indignation againſt all ſuch as, being catholicly minded, dare yield their preſence to the rites and public prayers of the malignant church*, in 8vo, without date of time or place. He alſo tranſlated, from Latin into Engliſh, a book, intitled, *De perſecutione Vandelica*, lib. 3. written in Latin by *Victor*, Biſhop of *Biſerte* or *Benſerte* in Africa. Alſo the ſix tomes of Laur. Surius, *De vitis Sanctorum*. After this the concluſion follows in theſe terms: "What elſe our zealous Author hath written and tranſlated I find not as yet, nor any thing elſe of him only that he, dying in 1611, was buried, I preſume, in his own country, near to the graves of his anceſtors, who were all zealous Roman catholics, but ſince not. He left behind him, among the Brethren, the character of a *moſt pious and ſeraphical perſon, a perſon who went beyond all of his time for fervent devotion* (98)." We have tranſcribed this article of Buckland, in Mr Wood's own words, becauſe it is a remarkable inſtance of the truth of Biſhop Burnet's charge againſt the Antiquary for his partiality to the Roman catholics (99).

[*LL*] *He gave his opinion againſt his Majeſty's ſigning that bill.*] His Grace having been miſrepreſented in this matter, we ſhall give a juſt account of it; and firſt from Dr Nicholas Bernard's funeral ſermon, in the preface to which he declares he had the account from the Primate himſelf in writing, as follows: 'That Sunday morn- 'ing wherein the King conſulted with the four Biſhops '(of London, Durham, Lincoln, and Carliſle) the 'Archbiſhop of Armagh was not preſent, being then 'preaching (as he then accuſtomed every Sunday to do) 'in the church of Covent-garden; where a meſſage 'coming unto him from his Majeſty, he deſcended 'from the pulpit, and told him that brought it, he was 'then, as he ſaw, employed about God's buſineſs; 'which as ſoon as he had done, he would attend upon 'the King to underſtand his pleaſure. But the King 'ſpending the whole afternoon in the ſerious debate 'of the Lord Strafford's caſe with the Lords of the 'Council and the Judges of the land, he could not 'before evening be admitted into his Majeſty's preſence.

'There

(93) In the preface.

(94) Viz. the 7th. There are eight queries in all.

(95) MS. in Biblioth. Tho. Marſhall, coll. Lincoln, Oxon.

(96) I believe it will hardly be doubted that the Primate had proper information of the time and place where the books were printed, probably by the ſame conveyance that procured them for him.

(97) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 375.

(98) Ibid. col. 374, 375.

(99) Vindication &c. and Anſwer &c. of the Oxford Hiſtoriographer, prefixed to the 2d Volume of Athen. Oxon. Second Edition, 1721.

out this year in Ireland, the Popiſh party made ſpoil of all the effects of the Primate, except ſome furniture in his houſe at *Drogheda*, and his library there, which were conveyed thence to *Cheſter*. Thus deprived and plundered, he never more ſaw his native country, and had the Biſhoprick of Carliſle, lately vacant by the death of Dr *Potter*, given him by the King to hold in commendam; but the revenues of it were much impaired by the quartering of the Scotch and Engliſh armies upon it: neither did he above once or twice receive the annual penſion of four hundred pounds voted to be given him by the Parliament, upon their ſeizing the Biſhop's lands [*MM*]. In 1642, he returned to Oxford, where beſides his cloſe

'There the queſtion was again agitated, whether the 'King in juſtice might paſs the bill of attainder againſt 'the Earl of Strafford; for that he might ſhew mercy 'to him was no queſtion at all, no man doubting but 'that the King, without any ſcruple of conſcience, 'might have granted him a pardon, if other reaſons 'of ſtate, in which the Biſhops were made neither 'Judges nor Adviſers, did not hinder him. The whole 'reſult therefore of the determination of the Biſhops 'was to this effect, that therein the matter of fact and 'matter of law were to be diſtinguiſhed. That of mat-'ter of fact he himſelf might make a judgment; having 'been preſent at all the proceedings againſt the Earl, 'where, if, upon hearing the allegations on either ſide, 'he did not conceive him guilty of the crimes where-'with he was charged, he could not in juſtice condemn 'him. But for matter of law, what was reaſon, and 'what was not, he was to reſt in the opinion of the 'Judges, whoſe office it was to declare the law, and 'who were ſworn therein to carry themſelves indiffer-'ently between him and his ſubjects, which gave his 'Majeſty occaſion to complain of the dealing of the 'Judges with him not long before; that, having ear-'neſtly preſſed them to declare in particular, what point 'of the Lord Strafford's charge they judged to be trea-'ſonable, (foraſmuch as, upon hearing of the proofs 'produced, he might in his conſcience perhaps find him 'guiltleſs of the fact) he could not by any means draw 'them to nominate any in particular, but that, upon 'the whole matter, treaſon might juſtly be charged 'upon him. And in this ſecond meeting it was ob-'ſerved, that the Biſhop of London ſpake nothing at 'all; but the Biſhop of Lincoln not only ſpake, but 'put a writing alſo into the King's hand, wherein what
(100) Parr, p. 46. 'was contained the reſt of his brethren knew not (100).'
This account is certainly ſufficient to any candid Enquirer. But it having been laid to the Primate's charge, that he perſuaded the King to ſign this bill out of revenge, becauſe the Earl, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, had outwitted him, and made him the inſtrument, before he was aware, of abrogating the Iriſh articles of religion, that pretence has been invalidated, as we have already ſeen, by Dr Parr, who expoſes it ſmartly enough, obſerving, that *if the Primate had any private grudge againſt the Earl upon this ſcore, he carried it very ſlily, inſomuch that neither the Earl himſelf nor any of his friends were ſenſible of it. For*, ſays he, *whilſt the Earl continued in Ireland, there never was any diſpute or unkindneſs between them, but they parted good friends. The Earl wrote to him after this buſineſs, and not long before his going for England, full of kindneſs and reſpect. And after the Earl's commitment to the black rod, as alſo when he was a priſoner in the Tower, the Primate frequently viſited him, and the Earl was pleaſed to conſult with him in divers matters relating to his defence at his trial. Now certainly, had the Earl believed that the Primate bore any malice towards him, much more had adviſed the King to put him to death (which could not have been well concealed from him) though we may ſuppoſe the Earl had ſo much Chriſtian charity as to forgive ſo great an injury, yet, it is not very likely that he ſhould exerciſe ſuch a piece of mortification as to chuſe him, whom he believed to be the promoter of his death, to prepare him for it, and to be the man to whom he addreſſed his ſpeech upon the ſcaffold, and whoſe aſſiſtance he deſired in that his laſt extremity.* Dr Parr likewiſe
(101) Page 61. aſſures us (101), that, in the Primate's extreme illneſs at St Donate's caſtle in Wales, he aſked his Grace whether he had adviſed the King to paſs the bill againſt the Earl of Strafford. To which the Primate anſwered: *I know there is ſuch a thing moſt wrongfully laid to my charge; for I neither gave nor approved of any ſuch advice, as that the King ſhould aſſent to the bill againſt the Earl; but, on the contrary, told his Majeſty, that, if he was ſatisfied, by what he had heard at his trial, that the Earl was not guilty of treaſon, his Majeſty ought not in conſcience to conſent to his condemnation. And this the King knows well enough; and can clear me, if he pleaſes.* Nor was the Primate, continues Dr Parr, miſtaken in this: For when, not long after, it was told his Majeſty at Oxford, that the Archbiſhop of Armagh was dead, he ſpoke to Colonel *William Legg* and Mr *Kirk*, then of the Bedchamber, to this effect, '*that he was very ſorry for his death*,' together with high expreſſions of his piety and merits. And when one there preſent replied, 'that he believed 'he might be ſo, were it not for his perſuading your 'Majeſty to conſent to the Earl of Strafford's execution.' To which the King in a great paſſion returned, *that it was falſe*; '*for*, ſaid he, *after the bill was paſt, the 'Archbiſhop came to me, ſaying, with tears in his eyes, 'Oh Sir! what have you done? I fear that this act may 'prove a great trouble to your conſcience, and pray God 'that your Majeſty may never ſuffer by the ſigning of this 'bill*;' or words to that effect (102). Moreover it is certain, that his Majeſty, the next day after he had ſigned the bill, and the day before the Earl's execution, pitched upon the Primate as the fitteſt perſon to be entruſted with a meſſage of the moſt intereſting nature, to be delivered privately to the Earl. We have a letter, written by Mr Radcliff to William Earl of Strafford (ſon to the former Earl) the contents of which are as follows:

(102) Of this Dr Parr had an affidavit, ſigned by the perſons here named.

'My Lord,

'Since I wrote laſt to your Lordſhip, my Lord Pri-'mate hath ſhewed me my Lord Primate Uſher's *Alma-'nack*. In the beginning whereof I find written what 'is contained in the note I here ſend your Lordſhip, 'the contents whereof being the only occaſion of this 'letter. I reſt,

'My Lord,

'Your Lordſhip's moſt humble

Dublin, Nov. 17, 1666. 'And obedient Servant,

'Thomas Radcliffe.'

P. S. The Lord Primate *Uſher*'s note.

May 11, 1641.

The King wiſheth me to deliver unto my Lord *Strafforde* tomorrow,

1. That if the King's life only were hazarded thereby, he would never have given paſſage unto his death.
2. That the execution, without extreme danger, could not be deferred.
3. That he was moved by the Lords for his wife and children, and intended to diſpoſe his entire eſtate upon them.
4. That if his ſon be capable, he will take eſpecial notice of him for his employment and preferment (which I muſt tell none but him).
5. That for Lord Chancellor *Lowther* and *Derry*, he ſtops the proceedings, until they give good reaſon for their authority.
6. Lord *Dillon*'s ability above all the Natives.
7. *Earl* of *Ormond* will be Knight of the Garter in his place.
8. *Carpenter* to be at liberty to look to his eſtate, or any one whom he ſhall appoint to have care of his children (103).

(103) Strafford's Letters, &c. Vol. II. verſus finem, where there is alſo a letter of the Earl to Sir G. Radcliff with this expreſſion: *The King ſaith he will give all my eſtate to my ſon, ſends me word ſo by my Lord Primate.*

[*MM*] *He was plundered upon ſeizing of the Biſhop's lands.*] Dr Bernard, in his funeral ſermon, tells us, that about this time Cardinal Richelieu invited him into France, with a promiſe of a very noble penſion, beſides freedom of his religion: And Dr Parr obſerves this is not unlikely (though he never heard his Lordſhip ſpeak of it) from an inſtance of the honour that Cardinal ſhewed him, upon receiving a preſent of his treatiſe *of the antiquity of the Britiſh churches*, by a letter full of kindneſs and reſpect, accompanied with a gold medal of conſiderable value, with his own effigies ſtampt upon it, which, ſays Dr Bernard, is ſtill preſerved. The

close application to study, he preached every Sunday at some of the churches [*NN*]. The following year he was nominated one of the *Assembly of Divines* at *Westminster*, but was so far from complying to it, that he even spoke against their authority in some of his sermons, upon which he was not only voted out again, but his library seized by the Parliament; yet he met with some friends who redeemed it [*OO*]. In 1644, he published *(oo)* at Oxford *Polycarpi et Ignatii Epistolæ, &c. (pp). Quibus præfixa est non de Ignatii solum et Polycarpi Scriptis sed etiam de Apostolicis Constitutionibus et Canonibus Clementi Romano Attributis Dissertatio:* Upon the decline of the King's affairs, Oxford being threatened with a siege, he left that city, and retired to *Caerdiffe* in Wales to the house of Sir *Timothy Tyrrel*, who had married his only daughter, and was then Governor of that garrison, and General of the Ordnance. Having brought many chests of books with him, he prosecuted his studies here undisturbed for six months, and made a good progress in the first part of his *Annals:* Till this garrison was

(pp) In 1647, he printed at London in 4to, under the title of *Appendix Ignatiana*, a new edition of the genuine letters of *Ignatius*, with a new Latin version, and some pieces relating to Ignatius, with remarks, in which he endeavours to prove the genuineſs of those letters, and explains several points of

(oo) This library consisted of such of both books as the Primate had either brought over with him, or bought there, or left behind in Chelsea College. Part, p. 50.

antiquity. Vid. Jortin's Remarks upon Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. from p. 54 to p. 68, and from p. 355 to p. 372.

same writer also says, that the University of Leyden offered at this time to chuse him their honorary Professor, with an increase of the stipend. It is true, these facts are somewhat questioned by Dr Smith (104), who however does not omit mentioning, that the Primate was invited ten years afterwards by Anne of Austria to that kingdom (105), but upon what terms he could not tell.

(104) In vita Usserii, p. 84, 85.

(105) See Letter 306 from Usher to Arnold Boot, dated London, Nov. 29, 1651.

[*NN*] *He preached every Sunday at one or other of the churches in Oxford.*] He had generally a crowded audience, and, as he preached frequently at the church of *All-hallows*, joining to Lincoln-college (106), *Thomas Marshall*, then a young Student of that college, constantly attended his Grace's sermons there, which so exceedingly wrought upon his affections, that he resolved from thenceforth to make him the pattern of all the religious and learned studies and conduct of his life, and therefore could never after endure those that should, in their common discourse and writings, reflect in the least on our sacred Prelate. This Dr *Marshall* became afterwards an exemplary Divine, and an eminent Critic in the Gothic and Saxon languages, and on that account challenges some further notice to be taken of him in these memoirs. He was the son of a father of both his names, was born at *Barkebey* in Leicestershire, educated there in grammar-learning under *Francis Foe*, Vicar of that town, entered a Batchelor in Lincoln-college in Michaelmas term, 1640, aged nineteen years, and on the 31st of July the following year he was elected one of *Robert Trapp*'s scholars in that house, about which time it was that he became a constant auditor of Archbishop Usher at All-hallows church, the advowson whereof is in that college. Soon after Oxford being garrisoned upon the breaking out of the rebellion, he bore arms therein for his Majesty in the regiment of Henry Earl of Dover at his own proper costs and charges, and therefore in 1645, when he stood candidate for the degree of Batchelor of Arts, he was admitted thereto without paying fees. But, upon the approach of the parliamentary visitation, he left the University, crossed the seas, and became Preacher to the English merchants at *Rotterdam* and *Dort*, in the place of *Henry Tozer*, deceased (a). In 1661 he was admitted Batchelor of Divinity, and four years after, publishing *Observations on the Evangelists*, did thereby revive the memory of himself so much in his college, that the Society chose him Fellow thereof without his knowledge or seeking, Dec. 17, 1668. In the year following he proceeded Doctor in his faculty, and upon the promotion of Dr *Crew* to the see of Oxford (*), he succeeded that munificent benefactor in the rectory of his college, and was afterwards appointed Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty. In the month of May, 1680, he became Rector of *Bladon* near *Woodstock* in *Oxfordshire*; and, upon the promotion of Doctor *Frampton* to the see of *Gloucester*, he was nominated Dean of that church in January, 1680; in which deanery being installed on the 30th of April, 1681, he resigned the rectory of *Bladon* in February, 1682. Neither did he live to enjoy the Deanery many years, his death happening suddenly at his lodgings at *Lincoln*-college, early in the morning of the 19th of April, 1685. He was buried in that chancel commonly called the college-chancel of the church of All-hallows, or All-saints aforementioned. By his last will and testament he gave to the public library of the University of Oxford all such of his books, whether manuscripts or printed, that were not then in the said library, except only such as were in his said will otherwise disposed of: and the remaining part to Lincoln-college library, that is, such as were not already there at that time. Also he gave to the said college the money that should be raised by the sale of his estate: This amounted to the sum of 600l. and upwards, with which was purchased 14l. per annum, a fee-farm-rent issuing out of the manor of *little Dean* in Gloucestershire, and 12l. per annum, a rent-charge out of some lands in *Brill* in Bucks: Which benefaction is now enjoyed by three scholars of the society. Upon the whole, the Oxford Antiquary does him no more than strict justice, when he records him as a person very well versed in books, a noted Critic, especially in the Gothic and English Saxon tongues, a painful preacher, a good man, and a good Governor, and one every way worthy of his station in the church. He hath written: 1. *Observationes in Evangeliorum versiones perantiquas duas Gothica scil. et Anglo-Saxonica &c.* Dordrecht, 1665, in a thick large 4to. 2. *The Catechism set forth in the book of Common-prayer, briefly explained by short notes, grounded upon Holy Scripture.* Oxford, 1679, 8vo. The short notes were drawn up and composed by our Author at the desire and motion of Dr Fell, Bishop of Oxford, to be used by the ministers of his diocese in catechizing the children of their respective parishes. In other editions, that followed soon after, was added, *An Essay of Questions and Answers framed out of the same notes, for the exercise of youth*, by the same hand: Which catechism, with the notes and essay, was translated into Welsh by *John Williams*, a Cambridge scholar, but Tutor to a nobleman of Jesus-college in Oxford, printed at Oxford, 1682, 8vo. 3. An Epistle for the English reader, prefixed to Dr Thomas Hyde's translation, into the Malayan language, *Of the four gospels of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Acts of the Apostles*, Oxford, 1677, 4to, in a sheet and a half. Dr *Marshall* did also take a great deal of pains in compleating the life of Primate *Usher*, published by *Dr Richard Parr*, but died before it saw the light (107).

(106) This church has been since rebuilt, and situated in the High-street, at some small distance from the college.

(107) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 782, 783.

[*OO*] *He met with friends who redeemed it.*] It was seized by the Committee of Delinquents estates, and would have been sold by them, had not *Dr Fealty*, who was then in some favour with them (108), made interest, by the means of Mr Selden, to obtain them for his own use, either as a gift, or by laying down some money for them; and so got them into his hands, and secured them for the Primate. But several were either embezzled or stolen whilst in their custody. Among others, diverse papers and collections of his own writing, with all his letters, either to or from his learned friends, which he had left behind him, were then plundered.

(108) He sat in the Assembly of Divines, though otherwise orthodox and loyal. He had been Chaplain to Abp Abbot. Some of his letters to our Author are in Parr's Collection.

(*) See his article.

(a) There is something singular in the character of this Divine, who was a Devonshire man, born in 1602, elected Fellow of Exeter-college in 1623, and, taking holy orders, became a useful person in the society, by moderating, reading to Novices, and lecturing in the chapel. He afterwards proceeded B. D. and became an able and painful Preacher, had much of the primitive religion in his sermons, and seemed to be a most precise Puritan in his looks and life, on which account his preachings and expoundings in the churches of St Gyles and St Martin in Oxford were much frequented by the puritannical party. But being elected one of the Assembly of Divines in 1643, he refused to sit among them. In 1646, a little before the garrison of Oxford was surrendered to the Parliament, he was one of those Divines who, having either preached at Christ-church before his Majesty, or at St Mary's before the Parliament, were nominated by the Chancellor of the University for the degree of D. D. but this also he, as others, refused. In 1647 and 1648 he behaved himself as a stout champion against the unreasonable proceedings of the parliamentary visitors: For which being posted up by them for an expelled scholar, they revoked the sentence so far, that by an order, dated Nov. 2, 1648, they empowered him to use his chamber in Exeter-college, and also ordered that he should enjoy a traveller's allowance for three years: Upon which he went to Holland, and became Minister to the English merchants at Rotterdam, where he died in 1650, and was buried in the English church there, appointed to the said merchants. He published *Directions for a Godly life, especially for communicating at the Lord's table*, Oxon. 1628, 8vo. and then again the tenth time in 1680, 8vo 2. *Dicta & facta Christi, ex quatuor Evangelistis collecta, et in ordine disposita*, Oxford, 8vo. Besides several sermons; as, 1. *A Christian amendment.* 2. *Christian wisdom &c.* 3. A sermon on John xvii. 3. printed respectively at Oxford in 1633, 1639, and 1646 (*).

(*) Ibid. col. 153, 134, partly from the mouth of Dr Marshall, who, he says, was always taken for an honest and conscientious Puritan.

unfurnished

unfurniſhed for the King's ſervice, and his ſon-in-law obliged to give up his poſt, and quit the place. In this exigence, he very gladly accepted of an invitation from Lady Dowager *Stradling* to come to the caſtle at *St Donate*. But in paſſing thither, he unluckily fell into the hands of the Mountaineers, who ſtript him of all his books and papers, which yet were afterwards in a great meaſure recovered by the kindneſs of the Clergy, and Gentlemen of that country [*PP*]; and he met with an excellent library at *St Donate*, which he did not neglect to make uſe of while he was able; but within a month after his arrival, he was ſeized with a fit of ſickneſs, which reduced him to the laſt extremity (*qq*). After his recovery, he went to London by the invitation of the *Counteſs of Peterborough* [*QQ*], at whoſe houſe he arrived in June, 1646(*); and in the beginning of the next year was choſen Preacher to the Society of Lincoln's-Inn [*RR*]. This year he publiſhed his treatiſe *De Romanæ Eccleſiæ Symbolo* (*rr*), which following by his *Diſſertatio de Macedonum et Aſianorum anno ſolari* in the beginning of 1648, 8vo (*ss*) [*SS*]. About this time he was ſent for to the Iſle of Wight by his Majeſty, to aſſiſt him in treating with the Parliament upon the point of epiſcopacy; when he propoſed an expedient, which he called *Preſbyterian and Epiſcopal Government conjoined* (*tt*) [*TT*], which the King approved as the likelieſt means of reconciling the

(*rr*) It is dedicated to Gerard Voſſius, and contains the various copies of the creed uſed in the Roman Church, with other forms of confeſſions of faith wont to be propoſed to the Catechumens in the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches, with ſeveral other monuments of antiquity relating to the ſame.

(*ss*) Theſe were both reprinted, with his Annals, at Geneva, 1722, folio.

(*tt*) It was printed by Dr Bernard in 1658.

(*qq*) It began with the ſtaggers, and a ſuppreſſion of urine, and was relieved by bleeding at the noſe for 40 hours without any conſiderable intermiſſion.

(*) In his way to London, paſſing through Glouceſter, he had a conference with John Biddle, the famous Unitarian, about his notions; but without any ſucceſs, as might be expected. See Biddle's article, Vol. II. p. 787.

[*PP*] *He was robbed by &c.*] The Mountaineers, juſt as he was ready to go, got up, to the number of ten thouſand, in arms, in a tumultuous manner, and, chuſing officers, formed themſelves into a body, as was pretended, for the King: but they would neither be governed by Engliſh commanders, nor ſuffer any Engliſh garriſons in the country. To avoid theſe men, who lay between *Caerdiffe* and *Donate*, ſome perſons in Caerdiffe, at the requeſt of the Governor, undertook to convey him through by-ways; but they unluckily fell into the hands of a ſtraggling party that was ſcouting thereabouts, who, carrying them to the main body, immediately broke open the Primate's cheſt of books, &c. and ranſacking his manuſcripts, and papers of his own writing, theſe were quickly diſperſed into a thouſand hands; nor ſo content, they pulled the Primate and his daughter, and other ladies, from their horſes; all which he bore with his uſual patience and a ſeeming unconcernedneſs; when ſome of their officers (who were gentlemen of the country) coming in, ſeemed very much aſhamed of this barbarous treatment, and cauſed their horſes and other things to be reſtored: but the books and papers could not then be retrieved. They afterwards conducted him back to Sir *John Aubery*'s houſe, not far off, where he was very civilly received, and lodged that night. When he came thither, and had retired himſelf, 'I muſt confeſs,' ſays Dr Parr, that I never ſaw him 'ſo much troubled in my life; and thoſe that were with him before myſelf ſaid, that he ſeemed not more 'ſenſibly concerned for all his loſſes in Ireland than for 'this; ſaying to his daughter and thoſe that endeavoured to comfort him; *I know that it is God's hand, 'and that I muſt endeavour to bear it patiently; though I 'have too much human frailty not to be extremely concerned; 'for I am touched in a very tender place; and he has thought 'fit to take from me at once all that I have been gathering 'together above theſe twenty years, for the advancement 'of learning and the good of the church.*' Divers of the neighbouring gentry and clergy came to viſit him next day, and, condoling his loſs, promiſed to do their utmoſt to retrieve his books and papers, if not torn and burnt, and civilly attended him to St Donate, and by publiſhing in the churches every where in thoſe parts, that all who had any ſuch books or papers ſhould bring them to their maſters or landlords, there was brought, within two or three months, almoſt all his books and papers; ſo that we found not many wanting (110).

(110) Parr, p. 59, 60. The moſt remarkable were two MSS. mentioned in remark [*Q*]. As alſo another MS. catalogue of the Perſian Kings, communicated by Eliæmannus; and one Vol. of MS. *variæ lectiones* of N. T.: and of printed books, only Tully's works, and ſome others. The *variæ lectiones* were ſuch as were collected at Oxford: thoſe done out of the Cambridge copies were ſaved, and ſeveral years after conſulted by Dr Hammond in preparing his notes upon the N. T.

[*QQ*] *He went to London &c.*] Before he left Wales, his finances being much reduced by an expenſive ſickneſs, as well as by removals, the year paſt, ſeveral gentlemen of the country ſent him, unknown to each other, divers conſiderable ſums; ſo that in a few weeks he had enough to ſupply all his preſent occaſions, and alſo to defray the expences of his journey to England. This was conſidered by him as a particular Providence, for which he was very thankful. It is certain the ſupply was very ſeaſonable: For it now began not to be ſafe for him to ſtay at *St Donate*. Wherefore Oxford being like to be taken, and not caring willingly to truſt himſelf at London, he reaſſumed his former thoughts of paſſing beyond-ſea; and, having provided a veſſel, had procured a paſs for that purpoſe from the *Earl of Warwick*, then Admiral. But, as they were preparing to go, there came into the road before Caerdiffe a ſquadron of ſhips under the command of one *Moulton*, Vice-admiral for the Parliament. Whereupon the Primate ſent his Chaplain to him, then on ſhore at Caerdiffe, to know if he would ſuffer him to go, ſhewing the paſs; which Moulton not only refuſed to comply with, but ſaid, if he could get the Primate into his hands, he would carry him to the Parliament, and threatened to ſend the Chaplain immediately to his ſhip. So that this invitation from Lady Peterborough was exceedingly welcome to the Primate; and, having procured paſſes, he left St Donate's, after almoſt a year's reſidence there (111).

(111) Parr, p. 63.

[*RR*] *He was choſen Preacher at Lincoln's-Inn.*] The Society ordered him handſome lodgings, ready furniſhed, and divers rooms for his library, which was about this time brought up from Cheſter, being almoſt all the remains of his ſubſtance that had eſcaped the rebels. Mr (afterwards Lord Chief Juſtice) *Hale* was then a Bencher of the Society, and probably had the chief hand in procuring him this place; and it happened that the Society was well rewarded for it by that treaſure lodged in this library by the Lord Chief Juſtice in four volumes, which were extracted from the Primate's MSS (112); of which Dr Parr has ſubjoined to his life of the Primate a Catalogue, conſiſting of thirty-three very curious books. Here the Primate conſtantly preached all the Term time for almoſt eight years, till at laſt, his eyeſight and teeth beginning to fail him, he could not well be heard in ſo large a congregation, and was forced to quit this place about a year and a half before his death, to the great regret of that Society (113).

(112) In the catalogue of the Chief Juſtice's MSS. which he left them, they are called, *Chronological Remembrances, extracted out of the notes of Bp Uſher.*

(113) Parr, p. 64, 65.

[*SS*] *De Aſianorum anno ſolari.*] In this tract, beſides fixing the exact time of St *Polycarp*'s martyrdom, he hath compared the Grecian and Macedonian months with the Julian and other nations, and, having laid down the method and diſpoſition of the Macedonian and Aſiatic year, he adds rules for finding out the cycles of the Sun and Moon, and Eaſter for ever, with ſeveral curious accounts of the celeſtial motions according to the ancient Greek Aſtronomers, *Melon*, *Calippus*, *Eudoxus*, and others. To which is annexed an Ephemeris, or intire Greek and Roman Calendar for the whole year, with the riſing and ſetting of the ſtars in that climate.

[*TT*] *Preſbyterian and Epiſcopal government conjoined.*] Soon after his arrival, the King having conſented, though unwillingly, to the ſuſpenſion of Epiſcopacy for three years, would by no means agree to the abſolute abolition of it, which was obſtinately inſiſted on by the Preſbyterians: wherefore, to put a ſtop to the preſent career of the preſbyterian diſcipline, this expedient was deviſed by the Primate (114), which, not long after his coming thither, he delivered to his Majeſty, who had before, in his laſt meſſage to the Parliament, conſented to the reducing of Epiſcopal Government into a much narrower compaſs, viz. not only to the Apoſtolical Inſtitution, but to the taking away of Archbiſhops, Deans, and Chapters, &c. and ſettling preſbyterian government for three years, as has been ſaid. This was more than was propoſed by the Primate's plan, which ſuppoſes the Archbiſhops or Primates ought to be continued, appointing them Moderators of the Provincial Synods of Suffragans and Paſtors. It is true, he mentions Biſhops as to be only Preſidents of the Dioceſan Synods; yet he no where denies them a negative voice in that Aſſembly. And though in the beginning he ſays, that the Biſhops in the primitive times were wont to do nothing of moment without the advice of a ſynod of their clergy, as he proves from divers quotations out of the Fathers and ancient Councils; yet he does not aſſert this practice as a thing of divine and unalterable right (as the Scotch kirk does) but only as the cuſtom and practice of the church in thoſe times, which, being

(114) It had been drawn up long before by him, if we may believe Dr Bernard, who publiſhed it in 1658, with this title, *The Reduction of Epiſcopacy to the form of the Synodical government in the ancient church. Written in 1641 by that reverend and learned Father of the church, James Uſher, Abp of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland.* Dr Bernard alſo, in his *Clavi Trabales*, inſerted two letters of the Primate's upon church government. See Bp Sanderſon's article in Vol. V. p. 3590. Remark [*U*].

the then differences. But no propoſals, how moderate ſoever, were able to ſatisfy the Preſbyterians, till his Majeſty was taken out of their hands by the army, and brought to the ſcaffold, the ſight of which ſtruck our Primate with the utmoſt horror [*UU*]. In 1650, he publiſhed the firſt part of his *Annals of the Old Teſtament* (*uu*). In 1652 came out his *Epiſtola ad* Ludovicum Capellum *de variantibus Textus Hebraici Lectionibus*, at London, 4to. In 1654, *Cromwell* now raiſed to the Supreme Dignity with more than Kingly Power, under the title of Protector, thought it would become that character to put on the air and manner of a gracious Sovereign, equally regarding all his ſubjects with a paternal care, without diſtinction of parties or profeſſions. In this diſpoſition he began to ſhew favour to ſome of the orthodox Clergy of the Church of England: Among theſe was Dr Nicholas Bernard, who had been the Lord Primate's Chaplain in Ireland, and was afterwards Dean of *Kilmore*. Cromwell having ſaved his life at the taking of *Drogheda*, had now made him his Chaplain, when his Highneſs in the ſame humour ſending for the Primate, received him with great kindneſs and civility [*WW*], and the following year gave him a promiſe to grant liberty of conſcience to the epiſcopal Clergy [*XX*], which being evaded by the Uſurper, occaſioned the Primate thereupon to predict the King's Reſtoration [*YY*]. The

only prudential, may be altered according to the exigency or circumſtances of affairs. And though, in Sect. II. of this expedient, he propoſes the making of as many Suffragans in each dioceſe as there are rural deaneries in the ſame, and who ſhould aſſemble a ſynod of all the Rectors or Miniſters of their precinct; yet their power was only to be according to the ſtatute of 26 Henry VIII. whereby they are expreſsly forbid to act in any matters, but by the authority of, and in ſubordination to, their dioceſan Biſhops. Nor does he extend their power farther than to be Moderators of this leſſer ſynod, where matters of diſcipline and excommunication only were to be determined, ſtill reſerving power of ordination to the Dioceſan, which was no where given from him in this expedient. Neither was this power of excommunication left abſolutely to this leſſer ſynod, without an appeal to the dioceſan ſynod of the Suffragans and the reſt of the Paſtors, wherein the Biſhop was to preſide. Thus much I ſhall ſay, continues Dr Parr, that it was not the Primate's deſign or intention to rob the Biſhops of any of thoſe juſt rights which are eſſentially neceſſary to their order and conſtitution, and without debaſing Epiſcopacy into Preſbytery, or ſtripping the church of its lands and revenues, both which he always abhorred. However, as his Majeſty's propoſal was voted unſatisfactory before this ſcheme was delivered to him, there was no room to offer it; the Preſbyterians, as Dr Parr obſerves, being bent to aboliſh the very order of Biſhops (115), that no propoſals of his Majeſty, though ever ſo moderate, would content them; till at laſt, when they had wrangled ſo long as to ſee the King's perſon ſeized by the army, and that the power was likely to be taken out of their hands, then they grew wiſer, and would have agreed to his propoſals when it was too late; and ſo, continues the Doctor, the Preſbyterian party ſaw themſelves within a few days after forcibly excluded, and turned out of doors by that very army which they themſelves had raiſed, and hired to fight againſt their Prince; which, as it was the cauſe of his Majeſty's deſtruction, ſo it proved their own ruin (116).

(115) Thus it happened, as in the famous Interim many years before in Germany, that neither ſide were pleaſed with this expedient: In which Dr Smith complains, that the Biſhops, being ſtript of their peculiar power, both of order and juriſdiction, were left a meer empty name and ſhadow. Vita Uſſerii, p. 77.

(116) Parr's life of the Archbp, p. 66, 67.

[*UU*] *The King's execution ſtruck him with horror.*] The Counteſs of Peterborough's houſe, where the Primate then lived, being exactly oppoſite to Charing-Croſs, ſeveral of the family, at the time of the King's execution, went up to the leads of the houſe, which commanded a full view of Whitehall; and, as ſoon as his Majeſty came upon the ſcaffold, ſome of them went down and told the Primate, aſking him if he would not ſee the King once more before he was put to death. Though unwilling at firſt, yet he was perſuaded at length to go up, as well out of a deſire to ſee the King once again as curioſity, ſince he could ſcarce believe what they told him unleſs he ſaw it. When he came upon the leads, his Majeſty was in his ſpeech: The Primate ſtood ſtill, and ſaid nothing, but ſighed, and, lifting his hands and eyes full of tears towards heaven, ſeemed to pray earneſtly. But when the King had done ſpeaking, and had taken off his cloaths and doublet, and ſtood ſtript in his waiſtcoat, and the executioners in vizards began to put up his hair, the Primate grew pale, and began to faint; ſo that, if he had not been obſerved by his own ſervant, and ſome others who ſtood near, and thereupon ſupported him, he had ſwooned away. Upon this, they preſently carried him down, and laid him on his bed, where he made uſe both of tears and prayers; tears that ſo horrid a ſin ſhould be committed, and prayers that God would give his Prince patience and conſtancy to undergo thoſe cruel ſufferings, and that he would not, for the vindication of his own honour, permit ſo great a wickedneſs to paſs unpuniſhed (117). And he kept the 30th of January a private faſt as long as he lived.

(117) Id. p. 72. who tells us he had this from the Primate's grandſon, who heard it from his ſervant, that lived with him till his death.

[*WW*] *Cromwell received him very kindly.*] The converſation might not improbably (as Dr Parr was informed) turn chiefly about advancing the Proteſtant intereſt, as well at home as abroad, to which Cromwell made great pretences. And it was ſaid that, either now or ſome other time, he gave the Primate a penſion for life (118); the truth of which is much queſtioned by Dr Parr, who however tells us he remembered the Primate's ſaying that *Oliver* had promiſed to make him a leaſe of the lands belonging to the archbiſhopric of Armagh for twenty-one years, which he thought it no harm to accept, conſidering it was but his own, and which he had been deprived of above half that time, eſpecially in conſideration of his daughter, and many grandchildren, for whom he had as yet been able to do nothing. And if the church ſhould happen to be reſtored before that time, it could loſe nothing by this grant; and if not, he thought his children might as well reap the benefit of it as others. But though Dr *Bernard*, in his Epiſtle to the Reader, prefixed to the life of the Primate, was made (by Cromwell's Secretary who then had the copy in his power) to publiſh as if this grant had been really paſſed, yet the Uſurper was craftier than ſo; and as he delayed paſſing it as long as the Primate lived, ſo, after his death, he made a pretence (by imputing malignancy to the Primate's ſon-in-law and daughter) to free himſelf from that promiſe (119).

(118) This is aſſerted in the Primate's life, prefixed to a then late edition of the Body of Divinity.

(119) Parr, p. 73.

[*XX*] *A promiſe of liberty of conſcience to the Epiſcopal clergy.*] It was by the particular deſire of the Epiſcopal clergy in and about London, that the application had been made for this favour to Cromwell, who promiſed him they ſhould not be moleſted, provided they meddled not with any matters relating to his government. But when he went again, to get this promiſe ratified and put in writing, he found the Protector under the hands of his ſurgeon, who was dreſſing a great boil that he had then upon his breaſt. So he begged the Primate to ſit down, ſaying he would ſpeak with him when the dreſſing was over. Whilſt it was doing, he ſaid to the Primate, *if this core* (pointing to the boil) *were once out, I ſhould quickly be well.* To which the Primate replied, *I doubt the core lies deeper; there is a core at the heart that muſt be taken out, or elſe it will not be well. Ah!* replied Cromwell (ſeemingly unconcerned) *ſo there is indeed*, and ſighed. But, when the Primate began to ſpeak of the buſineſs he came about, he anſwered to this effect, that he had ſince better conſidered it, having adviſed with his council; who thought it not ſafe for him to grant libery of conſcience to thoſe ſort of men, who are reſtleſs, and implacable enemies to him and his government. And ſo took his leave with good words and outward civility (120).

(120) Id. p. 75.

[*YY*] *He predicted the King's Reſtoration.*] We have already obſerved (121), that ſuch kind of predictions were uſual with the Primate in expreſſing his reſentments of any great and violent wickedneſs. Upon the preſent occaſion, when he found it in vain to urge the matter any further, he returned to his lodgings very much troubled and concerned; and, when he was in his chamber, ſaid to ſome of his relations, and Dr Parr that came to viſit him, '*This falſe man hath broken his word with me, and refuſes to perform what he promiſed. Well, he will have*

(121) In remark [*K*].

The ſame year, 1655, his Grace publiſhed his laſt piece, *De Græca Septuaginta Interpretum verum Septagma*, to which was ſubjoined, *De Cainane in vulgata LXX editione ſuperaddita ex ejuſdem Chronologia Sacra nondum edita Diſſertatio, una cum ejuſdem edita ad* Lud. Capellum *de variantibus Textus Hebraici Lectionibus, anno* 1652 *& altera, a Gulielmo Eyrio, ad eundem*

have little cauſe to glory in his wickedneſs; for he will not continue long. The King will return: Though I ſhall not live to ſee it, you may. The government both in church and ſtate is in confuſion. The Papiſts are advancing their projects, and making ſuch advantages as will hardly be prevented (122).' Upon the whole it cannot be denied, that the Primate's rebuke of his Highneſs, mentioned in the preceding remark, was not only very uncourtly, but extremely unſeaſonable at a time when he was come to petition a favour. With regard to his predicting the Reſtoration from the wickedneſs of the times and the prevalence of Popery, we ſhall preſent the Reader with the following particular account from a manuſcript in the Muſæum Thoreſbianum, intitled, The predictions of that learned and holy man Biſhop Uſher.

(122) Idem. ibid.

That year wherein he died, being aſked by a gentleman 'what his preſent apprehenſions were of a very great perſecution that would fall upon the church of Chriſt in theſe nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, (concerning which he had ever confidently ſpoken many years paſt, when we were in the fulleſt peace and ſettlement) whether he did not believe theſe ſad times to be paſſed, or whether yet to come?' He told me they were yet to come, and that he did as confidently expect them as ever he had done. That they would fall upon ourſelves the Proteſtant churches in Europe. I anſwered, I hoped they might have been paſt as to this nation, ſince that I thought, though we in them had been puniſhed leſs than our ſins deſerved, and that the wars had left much leſs devaſtation than by that means had been brought upon other countries, yet many a houſe, fair and great, had been left without inhabitants, many a family had been impoveriſhed, and many thouſand lives loſt in that war; that Ireland and Scotland had drunk deep of the cup of God's anger, to the overthrow of government, and almoſt utter deſtruction of a great part of thoſe nations.

He turning to me, and fixing his eyes with that ireful look which he uſed to have when he ſpake God's words, and not his own, and the power of God upon him to conſtrain him ſo to do, Fool not yourſelf with ſuch hopes; for I tell you all that you have yet ſeen have been but the beginning of ſorrows to what is yet to come upon the proteſtant churches of Chriſt; which ſhall, e'er long, fall under ſharper perſecutions than ever yet hath been upon them. And therefore, ſaid he to me, look you be not found in the outer court, but a worſhipper in the temple before the altar; for Chriſt will meaſure all that profeſs his name, and call themſelves his people, and the outward worſhippers he will leave to be trodden down by the Gentiles.

The outward court (ſaid he) is the formal Chriſtians, whoſe religion ſtands in performing the outſide duties of Chriſtianity, without having an inward life and power of faith and love uniting them to Chriſt; theſe God will leave to be trodden down and ſwept away by the Gentiles. But the worſhippers within the temple and before the altar are thoſe who worſhip God in ſpirit and truth, whoſe ſouls are made his temples, where he is honoured and adored in the moſt inward thoughts they have, and who ſacrifice their luſts and foul affections in their own wills to him. God will hide them in the hollow of his hand and under the ſhadow of his wings. And that will be one great difference between theſe laſt and all other preceding perſecutions: In them the moſt eminent and ſpiritual miniſters were, firſt or laſt, violently fallen upon; but, in this laſt, theſe will be preſerved by God, as a ſeed of that glory that ſhall immediately fall to the church as ſoon as theſe ſtorms are over; for as they will be the ſharpeſt, ſo they will be but ſhort, and ſhall take away but the groſs hypocrites and formaliſts, while the true ſpiritual believers ſhall be preſerved till the calamity be paſt.

I then aſked him by what inſtruments this great trial would be brought on. He anſwered, by the Papiſts. I replied, that ſeemed to me very improbable, ſince they were leſs countenanced, and leſs in number in theſe nations, and the hearts of the people were more ſet againſt them, than ever ſince the Reformation. He anſwered that it would be by their hands, and in the way of a ſudden maſſacre, and that the now Pope would be the inſtrument of it. And theſe things he ſpoke with the aſſurance and ireful look that I have obſerved him to ſpeak with, when I have heard him myſelf predict things very unlikely, in human appearance, to come, which I myſelf had then lived to ſee happen according to his predictions; which made me give the more attention to what he uttered.

And he then added, that the Papiſts were, in his opinion, the Gentiles ſpoken of in Rev. ii. to whom the outward court ſhould be left, that they may tread it under foot, they having received the gentile worſhip in their adoring images and ſaints departed, and taken to themſelves many mediators. And this (ſaid he) is now deſigning among them, and therefore look you be ready.

This was the ſubſtance, and, for the greateſt part (I think) the words themſelves, which that holy man ſpake to me at the time beforementioned, which I ſet down, that ſo great a prediction may not be loſt to myſelf or others.

The ſame holy man repeated the ſame predictions to his only daughter the Lady *Tyrrel*, and that, with many others, much about the ſame time he had explained himſelf to me, as ſhe herſelf aſſured me with her own mouth. That, after ſhe had been at the door of his chamber, ſhe found him with his eyes lift up to heaven, and tears running down apace, in a kind of extaſy, wherein he continued after ſhe came into the room, without taking any notice of her, for about half an hour. And then he told her his thoughts had been taken up about the miſeries and perſecutions that were coming upon the church of Chriſt, that would be ſo ſharp and bitter, that they had forced thoſe tears from his eyes; but he hoped he ſhould not live to ſee it; but poſſibly ſhe might, for they were even at the door: Therefore take heed you be not found ſleeping.

The ſame he after repeated to Mrs *Biſs*, the chief Baron of Ireland's wife that now is, with this difference in circumſtances, that if (ſaid he) they bring back the King, they may be a little longer delayed; but they will ſurely come, and therefore look ye be not unprepared for it.

The Lady Tyrrel's anſwer to a friend's letter about the truth of theſe predictions.

'Sir,

'I cannot ſpeak ſo punctually to the particulars of 'your paper, but much of it I have heard him ſpeak 'with great aſſurance in the beginning of the ſummer 'before the rebellion in Ireland. Sir *Thomas Barrington*'s 'Lady was enquiring his opinion of the Interpreters of 'the Revelations and of the prophecies of Daniel: She 'was deſirous to know whether the laſt bitter dregs 'ſhould be poured out upon the world. I can never 'forget with what trouble he expreſſed his anſwer, viz. 'That he could not ſee but that God intended them on 'the Northern parts. And, ſaid he, I beſought God in 'mercy to divert a ſhare of the time from our dominions, 'and that they may not begin with poor Ireland: But 'we muſt all (ſaid he) taſte of them, I am certain. 'Mrs *Barrington*, who is yet living, was preſent at 'this diſcourſe as well as myſelf, when my father, 'among other admonitions, was pleaſed to give me his 'commands to be prepared for times of perſecution; 'for he feared wicked people would for a time prevail, 'and that the perſecution would be ſharp, but ſhould 'not laſt long. The laſt day that I ſaw my dear Father 'he told me, that I ſhould ſee, in a ſhort time, London 'burnt; at which when I was troubled; Yes, ſays he, 'it will be burnt to a cinder (that was his expreſſion): 'How can we expect other than jugdment upon the 'ſeat of rebellion and ſin, and miſeries that have pro-'ceeded from thence. He was alſo confident of his 'Majeſty's reſtoration within five years, or leſs. He 'ſaid it will be in a ſhort time; You will live to ſee it, 'but I ſhall not: And ſaid my thoughts and dreams 'are often troubled by being carried by violence into a 'great church. Theſe were his laſt diſcourſes to her, 'who is

'Your faithful Servant,

'*E. Tyrrel.*'

Jacobum,

(ww) Vid. rem. [D].

Jacobum, anno 1607 *data Epiſtola* (ww). Our Author did not long ſurvive this publication; for going ſhortly after to the Lady Peterborough's houſe at *Ryegate* in *Surrey*, he was taken [ZZ] on the 20th of March, 1655-6, with an illneſs which carried him off the next day, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age. His friends intended to bury him at *Ryegate*, in the vault of the *Howard* family (xx); but they were forbid by *Cromwell* [AAA], at whoſe order the corps being firſt removed to *Somerſet-houſe* in the Strand, was conveyed thence with great magnificence to *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, where it was interred in *Eraſmus*'s Chapel, the funeral ſervice being performed according to the liturgy of the Church of England, by Dr *Nicholas Bernard*. who preached a ſermon upon the occaſion, which was afterwards printed. As to the Archbiſhop's character: His genius, in every particular, has been ſufficiently marked in the courſe of this memoir; we ſhall therefore only give ſome deſcription of his perſon and temper. He was of the taller ſort of middle-ſized men, and well-ſhaped. He walked upright to the laſt. His hair was naturally brown when young, and his complexion ſanguine. His countenance expreſſed gravity and good-nature. He had a preſence that commanded both reſpect and reverence. The air of his face was ſo difficult to hit, that though many pictures were drawn of him, yet, ſays Dr Parr, I never ſaw any that was like him but one, which was done by Mr (afterwards Sir Peter) *Lely*. His conſtitution was ſtrong and healthy, nor was he ever troubled with the head-ache, gout, or ſtone; but bred blood ſo faſt, that it often burſt out of the veins on one ſide of his tongue; and this was ſomething ſingular, that he never felt his heart beat in the greateſt exerciſe. He was eaſy, affable, and chearful in converſation, and extremely charitable (yy). He was of ſo ſweet a temper, continues Dr Parr, that I never heard he did an ill office to any one man, or revenged any of thoſe that had been done to him. He envyed no man's happineſs, or vilified their perſons or parts, nor was he apt to cenſure, or condemn any man upon bare reports. Though he could rebuke ſharply in the cauſe of virtue and religion, yet he was not eaſily provoked to paſſion. He left his library, being the chief part of his ſubſtance, as a portion to his only daughter, who had been the mother of a numerous offſpring. It was firſt bought by the officers and ſoldiers of Cromwell's army in Ireland, and lodged in Dublin Caſtle, where it lay, though not without being much pillaged, till the Reſtoration, which bringing it into the poſſeſſion of King Charles II, he gave it, according to the Primate's firſt intention, to Dublin College, where it now remains [BBB]. From the Primate's manuſcripts we have ſeveral poſthumous pieces in print, ſome of which have been occaſionally mentioned in the courſe of this memoir. The titles of the reſt are, 1. *Chronologia Sacra ſeu Annorum πρωτοτοκίας Patriarcharum πρωτοκλίας Iſraelitarum in Ægypto; Annorum etiam Judicum, Regum Judæ Iſraelis ἀπόδειξις Chronologica.* Oxford 1660, in 4to, publiſhed by Dr *Thomas Barlow*, Keeper of the Bodleian Library, and afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln, and was reprinted with the *Annals of the Old and New Teſtament*, at Geneva, 1722, in fol. But this chronology is imperfect, the Author dying while he was engaged in it (zz). 2. A collection of Pieces, under the title of *The Judgment of the late Archbiſhop, &c.* publiſhed by

(xx) The Lady Peterborough was of this family.

(yy) Parr, p. 79.

(zz) Dr Smith ſays, he propoſed to have joined to it a tract, *De primitivo et vero Hebræorum Kalendario*. Smith in Vita Uſſerii, p. 117.

[ZZ] *He was taken ill.*] He firſt complained of his hip, thinking it was a touch of the *Sciatica*, which he had been afflicted with many years before. But next morning he complained of a great pain in his ſide, which could not be removed by the phyſician, and he departed about one o'clock in the afternoon. His laſt words were, *O Lord forgive me eſpecially my ſins of omiſſion.* Upon opening his body, there was obſerved a thick membrane lined with fat, ſuppoſed by the ſurgeons to be a continuation of the *Omentum* or *caul*, which extended itſelf quite over the ſtomach, and was faſtened above to the *Peritonæum*, ſomewhat below the diaphragm. The Primate had been often heard to ſay, he never felt his heart beat in the moſt violent exerciſes. He uſed frequently to have evacuations of blood from the veins on one ſide of his tongue, but more uſually in ſome lower parts of his body; which ſtopping for ſome time before his death, was thought to be the cauſe of it, as he had a quick digeſtion, and bred blood faſt (123).

(123) Id. p. 77.

[AAA] *They were forbid by Cromwell &c.*] A more conſpicuous inſtance of the Primate's great reputation among all orders and degrees of men could not be given than in this action of the Protector, who was plainly led thereto from the popularity of it. His relations durſt not diſobey the command, though it was much againſt their wills, perceiving well enough, ſays Dr Parr, the Uſurper's deſign, that (as it was intended ſo) it would make more for his own honour than that of the deceaſed, and withal perceiving (what accordingly happened) that he would never defray half the expence of ſuch a ſolemn funeral, which therefore would bring the greateſt part upon them, though they were leaſt able to bear it; and yet he would reap all the glory of it. I ſhould not, proceeds the Doctor, have ſaid ſo much on this ſubject, had it not been to ſhew the world the intriguing ſubtlety of this Uſurper even in this ſmall affair; and that, for the expence of about 200l. out of the Deodands in his Almoner's hands, (which was nothing at all to him) he was able to put thoſe he accounted his enemies to treble that charge (124).

(124) Parr, p. 78.

[BBB] *Where it now remains.*] This was according to the Primate's firſt intention; but, upon the loſs of every thing elſe except his books, it is no wonder he left theſe in the manner abovementioned; his daughter having before had nothing from him except ſome pieces of gold preſented to him by Mr Selden's executors and other perſons of quality. The library conſiſted of ten thouſand volumes, printed and manuſcript, and coſt the Primate many thouſand pounds. Both the King of Denmark and Cardinal Mazarine offered a good price for it by their agents here; but the executors were forbidden, by an order from Oliver and his council, to ſell it to any one without his conſent; ſo it was at laſt bought by the ſoldiers and officers of the then army in Ireland, who, out of emulation to the former noble action of Queen Elizabeth's army, were incited by ſome men of public ſpirits to the like performance, and they had it for much leſs than the real worth, or what had been offered for it before by the agents abovementioned. They had alſo with it all the manuſcripts which were not of his own hand-writing: as alſo a choice though not numerous collection of ancient coins. But, when this library was carried over into Ireland, the Uſurper and his ſon, who then commanded in chief there, would not beſtow it upon the college, leſt perhaps the gift ſhould not appear ſo conſiderable there as it would do by itſelf; and therefore they gave out that they intended it for a new College or Hall, which they ſaid they intended to build and endow. But it proved that, as theſe were not times, ſo, they were not perſons capable of any ſuch noble or pious work; ſo that this library lay in the caſtle of Dublin, unbeſtowed and unemployed, till Cromwell's death; and, during that anarchy and confuſion that followed, the rooms where this treaſure was kept being left open, many of the books, and moſt of the beſt manuſcripts, were ſtolen away, or elſe embezzled by thoſe that were intruſted with them (125).

(125) Parr, p. 102.

Dr Nicholas Bernard at London, 1658, 8vo; who alſo publiſhed in 1609, 3. *The Judgment and ſenſe of the preſent See of Rome, from Apocal.* xviii. 4; by the late Archbiſhop, &c. together with *Ordination a fundamental* &c. as alſo, *Of the uſe of a ſet Form of Prayer in the Church*; *The Extent of Chriſt's Satisfaction* &c.; *Of the Sabbath and Obſervation of the Lord's day* (*aaa*); *his Judgment and Senſe of John* xxi. 22, 23, &c. 4. *A volume of Sermons preached at Oxford before his Majeſty and elſewhere.* 5. *Hiſtoria Dogmatica Controverſiæ inter Orthodoxos et Pontificios de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis. Acceſſere ejuſdem Diſſertationes duæ de Pſeudo-Dyoniſii ſcriptis et de Epiſtola ad Laodicenos. Deſcripſit, digeſſit, et notis atque auctario locupletavit*, Henricus Wharton. Lond. 1690, 4to. 6. *A Collection of three hundred letters written to James Uſher Lord Archbiſhop of Armagh, and moſt of the eminenteſt perſons for piety and learning in his time, both in England, and beyond the ſeas. Collected and publiſhed from the original copies under their own hands by* Richard Parr, D. D. *his Lordſhip's Chaplain at the time of his death, with whom the care of all his papers were intruſted by his Lordſhip.* London 1686, folio. This collection is annexed to the Primate's Life, written by the ſame Gentleman [*CCC*].

(*aaa*) Theſe tracts are in Parr's Collect. No. xxii. and ccv.

[*CCC*] *His Life written by Dr Parr.*] This worthy Divine, Dr Parr, who had ſo great a ſhare in the Primate's friendſhip, was the younger ſon of *Richard Parr* of Devonſhire, who, being ſent into Ireland by King James I. to be a Miniſter there after Tyrone's rebellion, fixed himſelf in the town of *Fermoy* in the county of Cork, where this ſon Richard was born in 1617, his mother being then fifty-five years of age. Afterwards the Father, removing to *Caſtle-Lyons* in the ſame county, put his ſon to ſchool to an Iriſh Roman catholic Prieſt, who, with others of the ſame church, were the only ſchoolmaſters in Ireland at that time for the Latin tongue. In 1635 our Author was ſent to England, and, in Michaelmas term the ſame year, was entered a poor ſcholar or ſervitor of Exeter-college, at which time being recommended to the care of Dr *John Prideaux*, the Rector, for his towardlineſs and great ingenuity, he was, by the Rector's intereſt, choſen, while Batchelor of Arts (126), Chaplain-Fellow of that college anno 1641. In 1643, Primate Uſher being driven, in the civil wars, to take ſanctuary at Oxford, became a lodger in the ſame college, and taking notice of Mr Parr, then a junior Maſter (127), and a frequent Preacher in Oxford, he made him his Chaplain, and took him in his retinue that year to *Cardiff* and *St Donate* in *Glamorganſhire*; at which places continuing in the Primate's ſervice till the ſaid wars were terminated, he attended him then to London, and ſoon after became Vicar of *Ryegate* in *Surrey* by the preſentation of one *Roger James*, Gent. whoſe ſiſter he married, being a widow of a plentiful fortune. In a pamphlet that came out in 1647, containing the contents of the *Covenant*, and the names of the Miniſters of Surrey that ſet their hands in teſtimony of the lawfulneſs of it, Mr Parr's name appears among the reſt: Yet his friends and intimate acquaintance averred that he never took the ſaid *Covenant*, though much preſſed thereto by the Committee of Goldſmith's hall in London. In 1649 he reſigned his fellowſhip of Exeter-college, but continued Chaplain to the Primate till his Grace's death. Afterwards he became Vicar of *Camberwell* in the ſaid county of Surrey, Rector of St Mary Magdalen in Southwark for a time, and after his Majeſty's reſtoration he was created D. D. (128), and was about the ſame time offered the Deanery of *Armagh*, and ſoon after a Biſhoprick in Ireland; but, refuſing both, he contented himſelf with only a canonry of *Armagh*. He was ſo conſtant and ready a Preacher at *Camberwell*, and ſo generally liked, that thereby he broke two conventicles in his neighbourhood: For, outvying both the Preſbyterians and Independents in his extemporaneous preaching, their auditors left them, and flocked to Mr Parr. In this courſe of conſtant preaching at Camberwell he continued near thirty-eight years; during all which time he was eſteemed a perſon of great piety, and of ſo regular and unblemiſhed a converſation, that even the Nonconformiſt party could not pick up any thing to object againſt him on that account; but generally looked on him as a moderate perſon, chiefly, perhaps, becauſe he was a Calviniſt (129). He died at Camberwell, Nov. 2, 1691, and, according to his deſire, was buried together with his wife in that church-yard. Soon after a ſtone was laid over his grave, with an epitaph inſcribed thereon, teſtifying that *he was in preaching conſtant, in life exemplary, in piety and charity moſt eminent, a lover of peace and hoſpitality, and, in fine, a true diſciple of Jeſus Chriſt.* To which may be added, that he was a perſon of a generous, genteel temper, exceeding good-natured and charitable to all ſorts of people, inſomuch that thoſe of his own nation, though of a different profeſſion in religion, were often relieved by him (130) &c.

Beſides the Primate's life, he publiſhed: 1. *Chriſtian Reformation; being an earneſt perſuaſion to the ſerious practice of it; propoſed to all, but eſpecially deſigned for the ſerious conſideration of his dear kindred and countrymen of the county of* Cork in Ireland, *and the people of* Ryegate and Camberwell in Surrey. Lond. 1666, 8vo. 2. Several ſermons; as firſt, *The Judges charge, preached before the Judges of Aſſize at St Mary Overy's in Southwark.* Lond. 1658. 4to: Another, intitled, *Chriſt's gracious intention to ſinners &c.* Lond. 1661, 8vo: And a third, preached Feb. 20, 1676, at the funeral of Dr *Robert Bretton*, Miniſter of *Deptford* in Kent. Lond. 1672, 4to. P

(126) He took that degree June 23, 1639. Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 279.

(127) He took that degree April 23, 1642. Ibid. Vol. II. col. 5.

(128 Oct. 30, 1660. Ibid. col. 137.

(129) As was his Patron the Primate.

(130) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 879, 880, 881.

The END *of the* SIXTH VOLUME. PART I.

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